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THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



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BRITISH DISTRUST OF GERMANY

'By far the most dangerous foe to England in the future.'

WHEN a certain number of sentimental persons, more or less distinguished in inoffensive pursuits that keep them aloof from the stern and implacable competitions and rivalries of nations and empires, meet together for the purpose of promoting friendship and good-will between their own people and government and the people and government of another country, the easier and more convenient course would be to refrain from criticism of their proceedings for the sake of their good intentions. Such, no doubt, would have been the general attitude towards the Anglo-German Conciliation Committee if the meeting at the Caxton Hall on the 1st of December had stood alone.

But it was followed by other demonstrations which seem to show that an 'organised' effort is being made to create a factitious friendship between England and Germany which the organisers by their very efforts proclaim has no real existence. The relations of England and Germany, as Powers, are, in the German Emperor's words, 'correct,'

but as men, as communities, they must be described as strained. To remedy this state of things there has suddenly and mysteriously come into prominence an organisation specially founded, it would seem, not to help a spontaneous and natural movement of the English and German peoples towards friendship with each other, but to force England to sue for the friendship of Germany! The concluding words of the German Ambassador's address in London are not obscure, however surprising, and leave no room for doubt on this point. 'Englishmen,' he said, 'are to show in a manner that can be heard that they wish to be the friends' of the Germans, and then if we 'continue to do that for a little while the bad feeling between us and the Germans will speedily pass away.' 'We are not merely to sue but to go on suing—as if German friendship were of greater value to us than English friendship would be for Germans—and then, perhaps, after an unspecified interval the Germans will forgive us. For what? For Kruger messages, for Imperial vapourings about wielding the trident and being Admiral of the Atlantic? Count Metternich did not tell his audience.

The scene of the more noticeable of these demonstrations was a recently established Ladies' Club; and it must be admitted that Count Metternich chose for his somewhat unusual ambassadorial display a locale in which he might rely with some confidence on manifestations of sympathy, and, still more important for his purpose, on ignorance—if this may be said without offence to the fair members of the Club—of the prosaic facts on which our distrust of German policy and our resentment at much that has been said and done in Germany of late years have been built up. Still, if ladies are to figure on the political platform in connection with questions that, until the Amazons again appear on earth, will have to be settled by men, it is more agreeable and appropriate that they should do so in the guise of Irene than in the panoply of Bellona.

The remarks of the German Ambassador at this demonstration in our own capital are not, however, to be gauged by themselves. They must be measured by the contemporaneous important statements in the Emperor William's speech at the opening of the Reichstag on the 28th of November, and in the still more remarkable speech of the German Chancellor, Prince Bulow, in the same Assembly eight days later. Those Imperial and semi-Imperial statements about German relations with a Power which is nominally on terms of amity, and whose attitude is even admitted to be 'correct,' are without precedent in the annals of international intercourse. The language of the Emperor William and of Prince Bulow has never been used in official utterances except on the eve of an open rupture and a declaration of war. There is no mistaking the threats addressed to us from Berlin, if we do not follow the recommendations of the German Ambassador in London. In order to fulfil these threats we may reasonably

anticipate that the German Government will have little or no difficulty in getting its new, formidable, and menacing Navy Bill passed by the Reichstag, for the true gravity of the situation is caused by the views of a large, if not the larger, part of the German nation being thoroughly in sympathy with the aspirations of their ruler. As a matter of fact, expressions of civility and just consideration for England emanate from the mouth of Herr Bebel, the Socialist leader, alone among Germany's public men.

The question of Anglo-German relations is indeed a matter that calls for the most serious attention of all Englishmen, because they should be prepared for every contingency. We do not know what the real intentions of the German Emperor are, and although he seems now and then to desire peace he has been so long rattling his sword in the scabbard that it might come out at any moment without his intending it. An order for instantaneous mobilisation lies on his table ever ready for signature. The fatal stroke may be given in a fit of impatience or passion, and *volat irrevocabile verbum*.

The German Ambassador touched on some aspects of the question of Anglo-German relations in his speech, but he studiously avoided the real points. In this he was but following the lead set him by his countryman Mr. Karl Blind in the pages of this Review a month earlier. Mr. Blind gave his readers a good deal of ancient history, without perceiving that the very reasons which led England to oppose Louis the Fourteenth and the great Napoleon are those which to-day compel us to see in Germany, and still more in the Emperor William, our arch-enemy. It is an irrelevancy to say that 'Englishmen and Germans have never crossed swords' in the past, when every German paper has for many years been regaling its readers with assertions that England ought to be chastised, and also that it would not be difficult to do it. Mr. Blind claims to speak for his native land from which he was exiled fifty-seven years ago, but the 'inoffensive,' 'un-aggressive' and 'friendly' Germany that he describes is only a figment of his own imagination. It is certainly not the Germany of to-day. A protest also must be made against the reference to English public writers in both the Ambassador's speech and Mr. Blind's article. If Englishmen feel called upon to speak strongly on the subject of German policy it is only because they have satisfied themselves, by close study of German official declarations and by carefully 'watching German actions, that that policy is hostile to their country, and constitutes its greatest, I might even say its only, peril. We have not to explain what the German Ambassador is pleased to call 'our nasty remarks about other countries' to any one but our own conscience, or at any other bar save that of the public opinion of our own country. It may seem to some of us, indeed, that His Excellency's rebuke would have been better addressed to the German publicists who have been predicting the downfall of England for years past,

or even to Mr. Blind himself, whose assertion that the Prussians 'would have sealed the fate of those 40,000 English troops in a trice,' if we had intervened on behalf of France in the autumn of 1870, is one of those characteristic German phrases that always gain for the Germans the love of persons not born in 'the Fatherland.' Has Mr. Blind's long residence here led to his knowing us so little that he thinks the loss of 40,000 men even 'in a trice' would have deterred Great Britain from prosecuting to a victorious conclusion a work to which she had once set her hand?

The German Ambassador, as I have said, did not touch upon the real points that explain the variance between Englishmen and Germans. He showed skill in avoiding them, for he must know very well what they are. But if he is really desirous of seeing a better understanding between the two countries and peoples, he must take note of the main points, ignore the trivial side issues, and satisfy us of the error of the convictions slowly forced upon us, but that are now every day taking firmer root in the minds of all Englishmen.

The sole original cause of the estrangement of England from, let me say, as it will please the pedants, her historical German ally, is the unnecessary, excessive, and menacing growth of the German Navy. If Count Metternich is not already aware of this truth, he can easily verify the statement for himself, and then, perhaps, he will feel able to report to the Emperor that the true way of disarming English suspicion and of removing our ill feeling is to discontinue his ever-increasing outlay on a war fleet. If the German Emperor takes this course, and as some proof of his good-will he can at once withdraw the Navy Bill now before the Reichstag, he will quickly ascertain what is the basis of British distrust. He can thus achieve a success, with regard to producing a change in our opinion about Germany, that the presentation of his portrait to our military clubs, or the despatch of congratulatory telegrams to Conciliating Committees will never effect. If the Emperor were to do this he would be acting with true wisdom, and at least he would be able to say that he had done something tangible to show that he had no design of ousting England from her paramount position on the sea.

I have given the root cause of the suspicion, and even apprehension, with which England has regarded German policy and proceedings of recent years. There is no reference to it in the Ambassador's speech. But the growth of the German fleet cannot be separated from the declarations of policy made to explain that growth. It is not as a plaything that Prussia has been forming a great navy since the opening of the dock at Wilhelmshaven in 1869. It is not for mere amusement that in some years her programme of battleship-building has been even larger than our own. The German Emperor has himself told us what his object was and is. In the first phase it was merely to found 'a greater' Germany beyond the seas.' That

was at the commencement of his reign, and might have been harmless. Soon his ambition and views became larger. His next assertions were to the effect that 'Germany's future is on the water,' that 'the trident must be in our hands,' and then came the vaunting declaration that 'no decision can now be taken in distant lands or beyond the ocean without the participation and permission of Germany and the German Emperor.' Finally, there was the memorable and extraordinary telegram to the Tsar at Reval from the Emperor William styling himself 'Admiral of the Atlantic !' It is true that since that telegram to 'the Admiral of the Pacific,' the Tsar has lost his fleet. It is also true since the British fleet has been redistributed on a different plan from formerly that the Emperor William has been more reserved in the matter of boasting about naval power. But for material consolation he has caused to be presented to the Reichstag a Navy Bill more extensive and more formidable than anything of the kind in the past.

The German apologists may say, and indeed have said, What has the growth of the German Navy to do with you, as it is a question for the German people alone ? This argument is transparently silly, and will not impose on anyone. The strength of the German Navy is quite as vital a question for us as the strength and efficiency of the French and Russian armies are for Germany. There is no necessity to repeat the arguments that justify our desire and our determination to maintain our naval superiority over all possible enemies. As Tennyson wrote.—

• • • • • The fleet of England is her all-in-all

• • • • • And in her fleet her Fate.

If a German ruler ever holds 'the trident' or can be described as 'Admiral of the Atlantic,' our fate is sealed. We shall become a German colony, and did not Count Metternich say at Hamburg, before leaving to take up his present post, that England 'was the first of Germany's colonies ' ? Mr. Blind says that the German Navy was justified because Germany had to expect attacks on two fronts, and he reminds his reader that on paper the Russian fleet 'was' numerically stronger than that of Germany. One may call this a belated argument, for the Russian fleet has practically ceased to exist, and some newer 'catch phrase' than 'facing attack on two sides' will have to be found to explain or justify the present Navy Bill with its enormous increase of ships, and its addition of about sixty millions sterling to the Navy estimates for the next twelve years.

No one can follow the growth of the German Navy during the last twenty years without arriving at the conclusion that it does, and is meant to, menace this country. There is fortunately no reason as yet to believe that the German Navy has reached a point of equality with our own—even German optimists did not expect that till the year 1912—but its proximity to our shores, added to the fact that its whole

force can be, and is, held conveniently ready for concentration in the North Sea at the first signal, has already compelled us to readjust our whole defence-system, and to recall much of our scattered naval force to its base. In many points of naval efficiency, too, the Germans had stolen a march upon us, and it is only within the last few years that we have remedied our shortcomings and again forged ahead. We owe it, for instance, to German example that our naval experts were at last compelled to realise that battles on the sea are to be won by gun fire, and not by coal capacity ; and the theorists of the Baltic had come to the conclusion that battles might be fought and won at a distance of 7,000 yards, when our school were still wedded to the old belief of coming to close quarters, and quite ridiculed fire being effective at more than half the named distance. Then again we must remember that our alleged superior building power, on which we were wont to lay so much stress, has not been established. In 1899 Lord Goschen, then at the Admiralty, in a speech intended as a reply to the German Naval programme of that year, declared proudly that 'we would if necessary build two or even three ships to every one built by Germany.' Well, the threat was not fulfilled. We have not done, and what is more we could not do, what Lord Goschen asserted we would. The German fleet has ever since progressed nearer and nearer to a level with our own.

But the question of Germany's fleet cannot be considered alone and by itself. The policy behind it must be taken into account. It was strengthened in the early days of its development for the express purpose of creating 'a greater Germany,' or in other words of founding colonies. Well, Germany has obtained colonies in East and West Africa, among the Isles of the Pacific, and elsewhere. In obtaining them she owed much to the good-will and the assistance of England. She has forgotten that, but no matter. Are Germans contented with the possession of these colonial appendages ? Have they got any profit or other satisfaction out of them ? Ask any German, and he will tell you with a wry face that they have cost and are costing many millions, and that there appears to be no limit to the growing deficit of the Colonial Budget. The episode of the *Herrero* rebellion is a still more painful subject ; it seems to have cost Germany almost as much as our last Afghan war, and a real stable peace, for all the local officials say, is still unassured. Yet Prince *Bulow* the other day laid down the principle that 'Germany has a material interest that those territories in the world which are still free should not be further limited,' and that she has the right of placing what value she pleases on her claims and interests where a microscopical examination by impartial onlookers fails to discover the existence of any German interests at all. Such was very much the case in Morocco, and a repetition of the proceedings at *Fez* and *Tangiers* seems to be imminent with regard to Abyssinia.

Notwithstanding this wish to restrict the action of other States, there is a half admission in German colonial circles that the colonising experiments in the regions mainly acquired by Prince Bismarck have proved more or less costly failures. But at the same time as the admission is made new hopes have been created by the success of German merchants resident in British colonies. There no failure to make the best of colonial opportunities and to wax prosperous has to be recorded. At Singapore, in several Australian States, the German is to the fore. He comes to the head in every branch of trade and he ousts the long-established Englishman. He does not display administrative skill or organising power, that is all provided for him by the British official, but as a dealer in goods or in money his ability is not to be contested. Much of his success is due to his readiness to work at all times and his refusal to waste half his day in idleness or amusement. But the really serious part of the matter is that this success, which is no secret, has brought into existence a new school of colonial propagandists in Germany. They show their just appreciation of facts by demanding 'ready-made colonies.' 'Ready-made colonies' is an alternative phrase for conquests. Mr. Blind declares that Germany has no designs on Holland. His assurance is far from convincing, and is not shared by the Dutch themselves. Moreover, Prussia never has any designs before the moment has arrived to put them in execution. It is the secret of the success of the Hohenzollern legend, not to talk but to strike. But 'ready-made colonies' are for the moment to be sought for not in European-owned dependencies, but in decrepit states like Morocco, or others that need support like Turkey, as well as in kingdoms recently opened by the enterprise of Frenchmen and Englishmen to the outer world, such as Abyssinia. In none of these territories would Germany have to take upon herself any administrative duties. What she wants are concessions and political influence with the ruler, so that her counsels may alone be heeded. She has succeeded at Constantinople, she has created an involved situation in Morocco out of which no way of peaceful extrication may be found, and it will not be her fault if she fails to produce as much trouble at Adis Abeba as she has done at Fez. As Prince Bülow asserts, 'the importance of these interests is immaterial.' 'Whether it is a case of five marks or of five thousand' Germany reserves to herself the right of deciding what her own course shall be. 'In plainer words, she is ready to make five shillings' worth of German shoddy a *casus belli*. The world is forewarned.

But the ambition to acquire 'ready-made colonies' is not limited to countries that are nobody's colonies. That represents only the first phase in this later development of the system of 'world politics.' As soon as the German fleet is strong enough Germany will want the colonies of other States. Holland, Belgium, France and then England provide them in their likely order of attempted acquisition. But in

the meanwhile the position in each and all of them can be surveyed and sapped.

The German Chancellor and the German Ambassador are in error when they think that English distrust of Germany is of quite recent growth. It began as long ago as 1875, when it was due to the joint efforts of Queen Victoria and the Emperor Alexander that Germany was deterred from falling upon France, and in the Bismarckian phrase 'completing her work.' I have before me, as I write, a correspondence between the late Lord Lytton on the one side, and Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Rawlinson on the other, during the summer of 1877. The following extract from one of Lord Lytton's letters in July of the year named shows what were the views of the Beaconsfield-Salisbury Cabinet about Germany.

In your (Sir H. Rawlinson's) very interesting letter you say that the Queen's Government 'is determined not to fall out with Russia' because 'we shall need her support before very long against Germany, who is considered to be by far the most dangerous foe to England in the future.'

Lord Salisbury, in one or two of his recent letters to me, has hinted at the same apprehension about Germany as a reason for conciliating Russia at the present moment.

In face of this evidence it is impossible to contend that the suspicion and misgivings entertained by a large proportion of the English people about German policy are of recent growth, or that they have only been created by our public writers during the last few years.

Everything that has happened since 1877 in our relations with Germany gives force to the opinion I have quoted, but it is no longer the monopoly of statesmen to describe Germany as England's 'most dangerous foe.' Mr. Blind and Count Metternich, turning up the pages of history, repeat what everybody knows, that England and Germany have never been at war. What they omit to tell their readers or their listeners is that the Germany of the past was a very different State from the Germany of the present. It was a Germany without a Navy. It was a Germany swayed at first by the mild and unaggressive Hapsburgs, and then later on divided into two separate and rival hegemonies directed from Vienna and Berlin, which to some extent neutralised each other. But all that is passed and done with. The Germany of to-day is not merely united, it is aggressive. It wields the thunderbolt on land, it clutches at the trident on the sea. The Grand Monarque never had such power; if the great Napoleon had it for a time he lost it through mistakes that the Germans are not likely to repeat. In their careful calculations there will be no place for Moscow campaigns, or profitless enterprises in Spain. Napoleon fell because he squandered his strength in attempting too much; Germany, when she falls, will not do so from any failure to concentrate her strength on only a single and definite object at a time.

Moreover, if it is literally correct to say that 'Englishmen and

Germans have never crossed swords in war,' it is none the less true that England has several times opposed Prussian policy in a way showing that she was ready to appeal to the arbitrament of arms. She did so in 1815 when Prussia wished to dismember France by annexing Alsace and seizing the Vosges frontier. Mr. Blind's reference to this matter forms an interesting addition to the Emperor William's boastful assertion that 'the Germans saved the English army at Waterloo.' This is what he wrote in these pages about the attempt of the Prussians to secure both banks of the Rhine in 1815: 'The Germans all the more bitterly remembered what had happened after the overthrow of Napoleon the First through the influence of the Duke of Wellington, to whose aid Blücher had come on the field of Waterloo.' Mr. Blind's argument is that because Blücher did his duty as a soldier and as an ally at Waterloo, England should have acquiesced in all Prussia's nefarious schemes. What we did was to conclude a Convention with the King of France to defend his territory against German greed.

But that was not the only occasion on which we faced the alternative of war with Prussia. We forbade her interference, and that of her colleagues in the Holy Alliance, with France in 1830, and with Belgium in 1830-1. We stood up for France in 1875 against a threat of inhuman aggression that was intended to entail her annihilation, and we sent a military commission to Belgium to prepare the way for active operations. So erudite a person as Mr. Blind cannot but be aware of these little passages in history that somewhat detract from the obligatory force of the alliance between ourselves and the Germans which has been handed down from antiquity, and upon which he lays so much stress. We have opposed, and we shall continue to oppose, 'the overweening ambition' of Prussia, in its newly spun garb of Germany, just as resolutely, and, we will not doubt, just as successfully as we opposed the tyrants and would-be dictators of Europe in the past. But at the same time we will not altogether abandon the hope that a sense of her position may inculcate the practice at Berlin of the same moderation as was displayed on the four historical occasions to which I have referred, when Germans learnt that they could not have matters all their own way.

If the German Government is really desirous of removing the 'distrust' in this country which, as I have shown, did not spring up yesterday, but has been slowly growing during the last thirty years, it will modify its naval schemes and abandon its ambition to rule the seas. Of course I know very well that it will do nothing of the kind; any lingering hope on that point would be stifled by Mr. Blind's declaration that 'if a Republic were established in the Fatherland its naval policy would still have to remain the same.' That being so, the distrust must continue until active antagonism is substituted for passive dislike and suspicion.

The people of this country, encompassed by the still inviolate

sea, do not realise the extreme gravity of the situation in Europe. England wishes always for the preservation of peace. Even in the face of menace and intentional provocation—it is curious to note how in speeches that are intended to be amicable German insolence surely creeps in—her people still cling to the belief that the greatest of British interests is peace. But there is a limit beyond which it is not safe to taunt or to threaten us. Gibes from the German Emperor are like dragon's teeth, they may bring up men in arms as they have already produced discord. Perhaps a glimmering of the truth has dawned on him, for suddenly without any apparent reason there is a change. The taunts, except for some unfortunate expressions which reveal the true German nature, are kept suppressed ; there is a very remarkable and very condescending display of effort to remove 'profound dislike' and to substitute friendship. What is the motive of these proceedings ? Why have the Berlin executive, which never acts haphazardly, gone out of their way to be civil to this country, in, it is true, a clumsy and blundering fashion ? Why do the Emperor and his Chancellor breathe, at the same time that they make these overtures to us for concord, nothing but threats, alarms, and boastful vauntings in their speeches, made not to the German nation alone, but to the whole world ? Why are we told that Germany is strong enough to act 'without allies,' and to rely solely on herself ? England is all for peace, France is notoriously pacific, Russia is absorbed in her own troubles, why does the German Emperor—who in his own opinion is the Jupiter Fulminator of the present age—flash his lightning shafts in a clear sky ?

These are questions that must ever recur to us. If we cannot furnish the answer to a secret that is probably locked in the Emperor William's own bosom, and hidden from his ministers and ambassadors, we can at least get ourselves ready to ward off the blow whenever it comes, and not allow ourselves to be taken by surprise. We may in my opinion draw one safe conclusion from the Emperor's speech and that of his Chancellor. He is contemplating an act of aggression in which Germany will have to dispense with the co-operation of its partners in the strictly defensive pact called 'the' Triple Alliance.' The contemplation may require some months to develop into action ; on the other hand, it may terminate at any moment, and confront us with a crisis. It is improbable that we are his first and immediate object, and the time has certainly not arrived for any encroachment on the rights of neutral States. There is consequently no alternative to the conclusion that the Emperor is on the look-out for a pretext to attack France, and pretexts in the field of international rivalry are ever found easily when they are diligently sought for.

No one will seriously deny that last June France and Germany were brought to the verge of war by the action of the German Emperor in Morocco. The manner in which war was then averted is still secret

history, but at least one of the most important contributories to the baffling of the plot was the remarkable forbearance and self-restraint of the French people. Their admirable demeanour when confronted with an unprovoked and flagrant provocation will not soon pass out of memory, but, as I wrote in the July number of this Review, there is a limit to the patience of a proud people. Already a marked change has taken place in the tone of the French press. France is still studiously and honestly on the side of peace, but there has been a notable revival in the courage and confidence of the nation. If the coming Conference on the Morocco question reveals some fresh unpleasantries they will not be received so quietly as was the attack on M. Delcassé; if Berlin renews her insults they will not be taken lying down. While the scenery and stage properties are being got ready for a European tragedy the German Emperor makes his effort to lull us to sleep. He must take us for children or for fools.

If he wants the good-will of the people of this country the Emperor William can obtain it only by removing the causes of our distrust. On the one hand he has to curtail instead of increasing the expenditure on the German war fleet. Not less important, he must abandon the design of making any unprovoked attack on France. If he makes that attack, trusting because Russia is down that France will be left on her own single resources to oppose his 'overweening ambition,' he will commit the first stupendous blunder in Hohenzollern history. He will be emulating the bad example of those French 'scourges of mankind' in the past, recalled by Mr. Karl Blind, and he may discover very quickly that he is not only 'without allies,' but that he has made himself an object of reprobation to the rest of the world. The English people are loth at all times to draw the sword. They certainly would not think 'interests of the value of five marks' or even 'of five thousand marks' worth magnifying into a *casus belli*. But on the other hand they would not, and they could not, stand idly by while Germany proceeded to shed the life-blood of France. They would not do this in 1815 after twenty years of strife with France; they are still less inclined to do so now after ninety years of peace and friendship with their closest neighbour. Nor are the races of the United Kingdom—many of whom, like my own, have not a drop of Teutonic blood in their veins—so blind and stupid as not to see that the hour of German aggression on the Vosges would be the psychological moment to put an end for all time to Germany's claim to grasp the trident.

D. C. BOULGER.

LABOUR AT THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION

No one can now be in doubt as to the reality of the Labour Party, though few, perhaps, are aware of the extent of its growth or what its coming portends. At this stage everything said concerning its future must necessarily be in the nature of a conjecture in probabilities, based, however, upon a fairly well-grounded acquaintance with political facts. Will it succeed, and, if so, what influence will it exert upon the political life and thought of our times? Will it, like the Radical movement of the early years, or the Chartist movement in the middle years, of last century, splutter and flare up for a time, and die down again, and leave things as though it had never been? I think not. It is more solidly based than were either the Chartist or Radical movements, and the causes which have brought it into being are more likely to increase than to diminish in intensity, and so long as these remain the Labour movement must continue. A Labour Party is the logical and inevitable outcome of a popular suffrage; the object of such a party cannot be any one particular reform with the accomplishment of which the motive for the party would disappear. It is an outward and visible sign of the determination of the disinherited democracy to have government of the people by the people and for the people.

The foundation upon which the Party rests is the Trade Union movement, and its inspiration is the Socialism of the Independent Labour Party. These, with the Fabian Society and a few sections of Co-operators, make up the affiliated societies of the Labour Representation Committee. Every Trade Union, of any importance numerically, is either affiliated with it or has its own political fund. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain, for example, is not affiliated to the L.R.C., but each of its members, 320,000, pays one shilling a year into a political fund for Labour Representation. The Trade Unions actually affiliated with the L.R.C. have a combined membership of over 900,000. The Independent Labour Party pays on a membership of 16,000, and the Fabian Society on 900. The method by which the L.R.C. is financed is as follows. Each affiliated Society contributes 30s. per thousand members to meet working expenses,

and one penny per member per annum to the Parliamentary Fund. The Parliamentary Fund is used to pay a small proportion of the election expenses of candidates seeking election under its auspices, and an allowance of 200*l.* a year to each member returned to Parliament. The penny per member per annum is a tentative fixture based upon present needs, and can be increased as necessary to meet growing requirements. The affiliated organisation which promotes a candidate—i.e. selects him as one of its candidates—makes itself responsible for the entire cost of the election contest and such salary as it may agree to pay him if returned to Parliament. The method of raising the money varies. Some Trade Unions, like the Miners', impose a fixed levy for political purposes of one shilling a year upon their members, whilst others vote the money from the ordinary fund of the union. Both methods have been declared legal by such high authorities as Sir Edward Clarke, K.C., and Sir Robert Reid—the new Lord Chancellor—provided the rules have been properly framed to empower the union to so apply its funds. As there are 2,250,000 trade unionists in Great Britain and Ireland, a levy of one shilling each per annum yields 112,500*l.* The significance of this astounding fact will be apparent to even the most unsophisticated student of politics. Clearly the Labour Party need not fail for lack of funds.

The Co-operative movement, which has also, and like the trade unions, a membership of more than 2,000,000, is eligible for affiliation to the L.R.C., but has not yet decided to affiliate. Eight years ago the annual Co-operative Conference unanimously endorsed a resolution declaring that the time had arrived 'for the direct representation of the co-operative movement in Parliament and other councils of the United Kingdom,' and instructing the Union to "take steps for that purpose." Nothing came of this, and the question was not again raised in serious form until last year (1905), when a paper on the subject was read, and two resolutions discussed, at the 37th annual Congress. The first resolution was, after a brief discussion, carried by 654 voting for and 271 against. It read as follows :

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when it is necessary in the best interests of the Co-operative movement that Co-operators, in and through their own organisation, should take a larger share in the legislation and administrative government of the country.

The second resolution read :

That the Congress is further of opinion that this object can be best obtained by joining our forces with the Labour Representation Committee, thus forming a strong party of progress and reform; and the Parliamentary Committee is hereby instructed to act in accordance with this resolution.

This was met by an amendment to the effect that:

In the opinion of this Congress it is not advisable for the movement to formally ally itself with any political party, and it hereby emphatically disapproves

of the second resolution dealing with Labour representation, which recommends the movement to join its forces with those of the Labour Representation Committee.

After a lengthy and at times animated discussion, the amendment received 801 votes and the resolution 135. The discussion bore a curious resemblance to similar discussions at the Trade Union Congresses before the advent of the Labour Representation Committee. The objections to a Labour Party were identical, and in all probability the result in the end will be the same. For the present the bulk of the members will support Labour candidates at the polls. The Co-operative movement as a whole is, by the, above-quoted resolution, committed to the principle of direct representation, and it can only be a question of time until, as an integral part of the working-class movement, Co-operators cast in their lot with the Labour Party. As showing how easily the Co-operators may find the money for their candidates, I may point out that the dividend paid to members on their purchases last year amounted to the almost fabulous sum of 10,000,000*l.*, and that an assessment upon that for political purposes of one quarter of one per cent. (5*s.* per 100*l.*) would give an income of 25,000*l.*

The Labour Party can claim that its method of selecting candidates is thoroughly democratic. A Trade Union first decides upon the number of candidates for which it is prepared to take financial responsibility, and, after receiving nominations from its branches, proceeds by ballot vote of the entire membership to select the required number. I am far from being convinced that this is the best method, but it is the one which has been invariably adopted up to the present. There is no limit to the number of candidates which an affiliated organisation may thus put forward for endorsement by the L.R.C. Constituencies desiring a candidate convene a conference of branches of affiliated organisations and make their selection from the lists so prepared; after which the name is forwarded to the L.R.C. Executive for endorsement. It will thus be seen that there is nothing which corresponds to the caucus or political machine about the party, since everything emanates from, and is under the direct control of, the rank and file. Only those who pay the piper are allowed to call the tune.

Before endorsing a candidate the L.R.C. requires that he sign a copy of the constitution of the party. This is the 'pledge' of which so much was heard in the early days of the movement. The part bearing upon candidates and members of Parliament reads as follows :

To secure, by united action, the election to Parliament of candidates promoted, in the first instance, by an affiliated society or societies in the constituency, who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on Labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of

the Liberal or Conservative parties, and not to oppose any other candidate recognised by this committee. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, to abide by the decision of the group in carrying out the aims of this Constitution, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidate only.

As the membership of the Trade Unions is made up of men and women of all shades of political beliefs, from the most staid Conservative to the revolutionary Socialist, it has from the first been apparent to all who took the trouble to think out the question that a Labour Party could only be successful in so far as it could be kept clear of even the appearance of political partisanship; and as some of the candidates and elected members were showing a tendency to overlook this, the Constitution was amended as above quoted at the third conference of the party in 1903. There was a great outcry for a time against the 'rigidity' and 'isolation' which the new Constitution enforced, but this came chiefly from interested outside mischief-makers. The growth of the party since then, and its growing consciousness of power and of its own identity as a political entity, have completely silenced all the murmurings within, and the outside meddlers have apparently tired of barking at the moon.

A Labour Party in the making is bound, in the very nature of things, to present a somewhat topsy-turvy appearance to the uninitiated onlooker. Like everything else having the element of permanency, its evolution must proceed slowly, and at certain stages in the process the various phases through which it has passed will all be more or less in evidence at once. By keeping this fact well in mind what follows will be better understood. In 1874 Thomas Burt and the late Alexander MacDonald were returned to Parliament as the first working-men members. They were workmen members of the Liberal Party. The cost of the elections and their maintenance in Parliament were paid out of the funds of the Miners' Unions. Following them came several others, but it was not until the General Election of 1892 that Labour candidates put in an appearance as Independents, and owning no allegiance to either of the great historic parties. The year following the Independent Labour Party was formed as a national organisation, and that date marks the beginning of the movement as now organised under the L.R.C., which was itself the outcome of a resolution adopted by the Trade Union Congress in 1899. By agreeing to work with the Socialists the Trade Unionists widened the scope of their political outlook, since, unlike Trade Unionism, Socialism admits to membership all ranks and conditions of people without distinction, whereas Trade Unionism can only admit actual wage-earners. This explains why at the coming election men of good social position will be found on the Labour Party's platform, and seeking election to Parliament under its auspices.

A classification of the candidates is no easy task, owing to the

fact that whilst some who are Liberal-Labour are being financed by the Liberals, others, and by far the greater proportion, although calling themselves Liberal-Labour, are more of the latter than the former, since they are being financed by their Trade Unions, a fact which obviously makes a very great difference to their freedom of action if returned to Parliament. A majority of the miners' candidates are in a transition stage between Liberalism and Labourism, though those of them who have been put forward for constituencies in Scotland and Lancashire are all Independents, Mr. Robert Smillie, the leader of the Scottish miners, being a stalwart of the stalwarts. In addition to these varieties there are a few nominees of the Social Democratic Federation, a Socialist organisation not connected with the L.R.C., and finally there is the L.R.C.'s official list. The following table shows the constituencies which are being fought, the political complexion of the present representatives, and the opposition by which the candidate of the Labour Party is faced.

LABOUR REPRESENTATION CANDIDATES

Constituency	Candidate	Present Representation	Nature of Opposition
Barrow-in-Furness . . .	C. Duncan	Unionist	Unionist
Belfast (North) . . .	W. Walker	"	"
Birmingham (E.) . . .	J. Holmes	"	"
" (Bordesley) . . .	J. Bruce Glasier	"	"
Blackburn (2 seats) . . .	P. Snowden	Liberal and Conservative	"
Bolton (2 seats) . . .	A. H. Gill	Unionist	"
Bradford (West) . . .	F. W. Jowett	Unionist	Unionist and Liberal
Chatham	J. Jenkins	Conservative	Unionist
Croydon	S. Stranks	Conservative	Unionist and Liberal
Darlington	I. Mitchell	Unionist	Unionist
Deptford	C. W. Bowerman	"	Unionist and Liberal
Dewsbury	Bert. Turner	Liberal	Liberal
Dundee (2 seats) . . .	A. Wilkie	"	"
Durham (Barnard Castle) . . .	A. Henderson, M.P.	Labour	Unionist
" (Jarrow) . . .	P. Curran	Liberal	Liberal
Glasgow (Camlachie) . . .	J. Burgess	Unionist	Unionist and Liberal
" (Blackfriars) . . .	G. N. Barnes	"	"
Govan	J. Hill	Liberal	Liberal and Unionist
Gravesend	J. Macpherson	Unionist	Unionist
Grimsby	T. Proctor	"	Unionist and Liberal
Halifax (2 seats) . . .	J. Parker	Liberal and Unionist	Unionist
Huddersfield	T. R. Williams	Liberal	Liberal
Hull (Central)	J. Sexton	Unionist	Unionist
Lancashire (Gorton) . . .	J. Hodge	"	"
" (Ince) . . .	S. Walsh	"	"
" (Eccles) . . .	Ben. Tillett	"	Unionist and Liberal
" (Clitheroe) . . .	D. J. Shackleton, M.P.	Labour	Unopposed

¹ Also on Miners' List.

Constituency	Candidate	Present Representation	Nature of Opposition
Lancashire (Newton)	J. A. Seddon	Unionist	Unionist
(West Houghton)	W. T. Wilson	"	"
Leeds (E.)	J. O'Grady	"	Unionist and Liberal
Leeds (S.)	A. Fox	Liberal	"
Leicester (2 seats)	J. R. MacDonald	Liberal and Unionist	Unionist
Liverpool (W. Toxteth)	J. Sexton	Unionist	"
(Kirkdale)	J. Conley ¹	"	"
Manchester (North-East)	J. R. Clynes	Conservative	"
(South-West)	G. D. Kelly	Unionist	"
Merthyr Tydfil	J. Keir Hardie, M.P.	Labour	Unopposed
Newcastle-on-Tyne	W. Hudson	2 Unionists	Unionist
Norwich (2 seats)	G. H. Roberts	Liberal and Unionist	"
Portsmouth (2 seats)	W. Sanders	2 Unionists	Unionist and Liberal
Preston (2 seats)	J. T. Macpherson	"	Unionist
Stockport (2 seats)	G. J. Wardle	1 Liberal, 1 Unionist	"
Stockton-on-Tees	F. Rose	Unionist	Unionist and Liberal
Sunderland	T. Summerbell	2 Unionists	Unionist
St. Helens	T. Glover ²	Unionist	"
Wakefield	Stanton Coit	"	Unionist and Liberal
West Ham (South)	W. Thorne	"	Unionist
Whitehaven	T. Gavan-Duffy	"	Unionist and Liberal
Wolverhampton (West)	T. F. Richards	"	Unionist
Woolwich	W. Crooks, M.P.	Labour	"
York (2 seats)	G. H. Stewart	2 Unionists	Unionist

MINERS' CANDIDATES

Constituency	Candidate	Present Representation	Nature of Opposition
Ayrshire (North)	J. Brown	Unionist	Unionist
Durham	J. W. Taylor ²	"	"
Gateshead	John Johnson, M.P.		Unionist
Glamorgan (Rhondda)	W. Abraham, M.P.		"
" (South)	W. Brace	Unionist	
Morpeth	T. Burt, M.P.		
Northumberland (Wansbeck)	C. Fenwick, M.P.		
Yorkshire (Normanton)	F. Hall, M.P.	Conservative	Unopposed
Hanley	E. Edwards	Liberal	Conservative
Falkirk	D. Gilmour ³		Liberal and Conservative
Warwick (Nuneaton)	W. Johnson	Unionist	Unionist
Monmouth	T. Richards, M.P.	Labour	Unopposed
Paisley	R. Smillie ³	Liberal	Liberal and Conservative
Lanark (N.E.)	J. Robertson ³		Conservative
" (N.W.)	J. Sullivan ³		Liberal
Gower (Wales)	J. Williams		Conservative
Monmouth	J. Winstone	Unionist	Unionist and Liberal
Lancashire (Ince)	S. Walsh ³		Unionist

¹ Also on Miners' List.

² Constituency not yet selected.

³ On list of L.R.C. or the Scottish Workers' Representation Committee.

S.D.F. CANDIDATES

Constituency	Candidate	Present Representation	Nature of Opposition
Aberdeen	T. Kennedy	Liberal	Unionist and Liberal
Accrington	D. Irving	Liberal	" "
Bradford (East)	E. R. Hartley	Conservative	" "
Burnley	H. M. Hyndman	"	" "
Cambridge	J. Jones	Liberal	Liberal and Conservative
Northampton	J. E. Williams	2 Liberals	Liberal and Unionist
Southampton	H. Quelch	2 Unionists	" "

SCATTERED CANDIDATURES

Mr. Richard Bell, M.P., is again contesting Derby and is being opposed by the Unionists. His candidature is being promoted by the Trades Council, and is endorsed by the Liberals. His trade union finds the election expenses. Mr. W. C. Steadman is the Liberal-Labour candidate for Central Finsbury, Mr. John Ward for Stoke-on-Trent, and Mr. George Belt has been adopted by the Hammersmith Trades Council and Mr. Frank Smith by the Lambeth Trades Council, both as independents. An independent Socialist candidate, Mr. S. G. Hobson, is contesting Rochdale, and one of the most interesting contests of the election will be fought out at Middlesbrough, where Mr. George Lansbury, a member of the I.L.P., has been selected by the local L.R.C. to oppose Mr. J. H. Wilson, a Liberal-Labour nominee who has the support, financial and other, of the Liberals.

Such is the list of candidates as at present before the country. It will probably be added to ere the election is actually entered upon, although I do not anticipate that the L.R.C. list will be materially increased. The Executive of that body, as also the Council of the Independent Labour Party, has been endeavouring to impress upon the rank and file the necessity for concentration upon well-prepared constituencies so as to obtain the best results at the polls. How far they will be successful in restraining the impetuosity of their members remains to be seen. As showing the growth of Socialism in Great Britain I may mention as an interesting fact that an analysis of the above list shows that it contains the names of fifty-three avowed Socialists.

I am not of those who are indulging great hope of drastic legislation from the new Government. The administration of the different departments will, I anticipate, be much more sympathetic, especially towards Trade Unionism, than has ever been the case before under any Government, and that of itself is a gain of some importance.

The composition of the Cabinet, however, precludes my anticipating any far-reaching measures of social reform. Radicals have a record for allowing themselves to be smothered by the sweets of office ;

As bees on flowers alighting cease their hum,
So settling into office Whigs are dumb,

is a couplet which applies with equal force to the Radicals who enter a Whig Cabinet. No one can read down the list of names of the new Government without being impressed by the preponderance of the Whig element. The omission of Sir Charles Dilke from the Cabinet is difficult to understand. He is by far the strongest personality and the ablest man of the half-dozen front-rankers on the Liberal side, which fact alone makes his exclusion appear to me an inexplicable tactical blunder. I say this all the more readily because his activities for a long time past have been directed towards retaining the hold of the Liberal Party upon the Labour movement. Probably the explanation is to be found in part in the determination of Fowler, Perks & Co. to have a collection of stucco saints adorning the front bench, and in part to a fear amongst the place-hunters in the new Government that his ability, untiring energy, and mastery of detail, combined with his great knowledge of public affairs, would have made him a dangerous competitor for the leadership of the party. They doubtless remember that 'in the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king.' He is not, however, a man to be thus disposed of. I venture to predict that this deliberate act of boycott will, if persisted in, prove the Achilles' heel by which the Government will come by its death wound. Some of his Parliamentary friends are of the office-hunting type and their silence may be bought. Others, however, are of a curiously detached type, and, although nominally Liberals, will follow as far and as fast as he cares to lead in a wrecking policy ; but even those who are made of sterner stuff will for a time hesitate to imperil the existence of the Government in the quarrel of their colleague. But Sir Charles Dilke has a tenacious memory and draws with long traces, as the Government will one day discover, unless, that is to say, it is understood that he is to be included in the reconstructed Cabinet which is to follow on Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's elevation to the House of Lords.

For fighting purposes the forces in the next Parliament, apart from the recognised Opposition, will be the Irish and Labour parties. I do not anticipate any alliance between these sections, scarcely even an understanding, but certainly a general backing of each other in the division lobby. Unless, therefore, the Liberal majority is very large, the existence of the Government will be to some extent at the mercy of this combination. The Liberal-Labour members of the House of Commons will find it increasingly difficult to vote with the Government if a conflict should ensue between the Front Bench and the

Labour Party. A new group of Socialist-Radicals, mainly of the Church Socialist Union type, will find a place at the General Election, and these, unless they belie all the promise of their youth, will be working from within and bringing a steady pressure to bear upon the party in office to press them forward in the direction of social reform. In so far as the Government yields to this pressure it will find itself in conflict with the reactionary Whig element, and if the pressure be met with stolid resistance by the Government the effect will be to drive these young men more and more on to the side of the Labour Party. If, as is anticipated, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman goes to the House of Lords at the close of the first session and Mr. Asquith becomes the leader of the House of Commons, the movement of this group towards the Labour Party will be very much accelerated. Taking all these facts into consideration, the probabilities are that the action of the Government will be more directed towards keeping the team together than in pressing forward legislation.

On the other hand, one of the dangers ahead of the Labour Party is that it may allow itself to be drawn into the maelstrom of some political agitation. It is quite on the cards that the Government may speedily find itself in conflict with the House of Lords, in which case the legacy left by the late Mr. Gladstone to his party will probably be taken up, and an agitation set afoot to mend the Second Chamber. Should this develop any real strength in the country, whatever its ultimate end, the immediate effect would be to divert attention from social questions. No one supposes that a reform of the House of Lords worth having could be or would be carried, by a party composed as the Liberal party is, within the lifetime of this generation. My main hope in this connection is that the political and economic education of the workers has now advanced far enough to prevent their being drawn off on a false scent of this kind. That the House of Lords will require one day to be tackled goes without saying, but a Government composed in part of members of the House of Lords or of members desirous of going to the House of Lords is not likely to be very thorough in its reform of that Chamber. For this reason, if for no other, Labour will fight shy of any agitation that may ensue, or, at most, take advantage of it to point the moral of the need for more Labour members.

The work to which the Labour Party finds itself committed by its annual congresses falls into two fairly well-defined sections. Its demands are made up of reforms which are fundamental and reforms which are merely expedient. In the latter category such questions as Registration Reform and Payment of Members may be included. Time was when Payment of Members was held to be an indispensable preliminary to any big scheme of Labour Representation. Budding Radical candidates in particular have always fostered this idea, and until quite recently it was generally accepted in unquestioned faith by the working

classes. Now, however, it is seen that it scarcely comes within the category of questions of immediate interest, and is in no sense one of either moment or importance to the Labour Party. As I have shown above, the party is in a financial position to pay 250 members of Parliament without putting the least strain upon its resources. Payment of members, therefore, by the State ceases to be a question of urgency. If it were carried out in the coming Parliament one certain outcome would be a large increase in the number of glib unscrupulous young lawyers anxious to use Parliament as a stepping-stone to their own advancement. These would enter into competition with Labour candidates everywhere, and for a time might prove a very serious hindrance to the development of the Labour movement. Under the existing arrangement the workers have the full control of the party, and the decision, as I have shown above, of whom the candidate should be, and they will be well advised if they do nothing to weaken their hold over the movement until it is more consolidated than it can yet be said to be. The one political question of any real urgency is the enfranchisement of women, and the women themselves may be trusted to see that it is kept well to the front until the very glaring injustice under which their sex suffers has been redressed by having the franchise extended to them on the same terms and conditions upon which it is or may be held by men. It is not easy to see how any Government, much less a Liberal Government, can continue to resist a claim so obviously fair and just.

The fundamental matters which are really urgent, and which, probably, would be first dealt with were a Labour Government in office, include the provision of meals by the educational authority for children attending school. I do not say that this should be made compulsory, but that the educational authorities should be empowered to make such provision wherever the need exists. As in the case of free education, experience will probably show that it is more economical and in every way more desirable to make provision for every child in attendance at a school to have the right to use the common dining-room rather than to go on making provision for necessitous cases only. There is now abundant evidence to show that the physical deterioration of which so much has been written since the South African War is traceable not merely to the underfeeding but to the improper feeding of children. It may be alleged that the provision of meals for school children is only dealing with part of the problem and does not touch those who are under school age. If, however, the children attending school were being provided with one or two substantial meals each day, not only would the recipients be benefited, but their absence from the dinner tables would leave more to be divided amongst the children at home.

A drastic amendment of the new Unemployed Workmen Act is imperatively demanded. The skeleton passed during the last session

of the late Government must be clothed upon and made effective. The powers given to the new Distress Committees for dealing with unemployment will require to be considerably enlarged, and the cost of working labour colonies or other undertakings be placed upon the public funds. My suggestion is that where the Local Government Board sanctions a local undertaking designed to meet unemployment and the penny rate authorised by the Act is not sufficient to meet the cost, it should be met by means of Treasury grants. In this way the burden would be spread over the entire community, and would not fall with undue weight upon poorer localities which are usually least able to bear a financial strain. In addition, an attempt should be made to have 1,000,000*l.* a year estimated for in the Budget during the next five years to be applied to such great public undertakings as afforestation, the reclamation of waste lands and foreshores, and other works of public utility. There is now a very genuine demand on the part of the best of our unskilled workers to have increased facilities provided for going back to work upon the land. Distress Committees, therefore, should be empowered not merely to acquire land for Labour Colonies, but also land to let out as small holdings to those who have been trained in the Colonies. One further item in this connection is of importance ; the new Act deals mainly with the unskilled labourer, and, save in the matter of migration or emigration, leaves the highly skilled artisan outside its ken. In parts of Switzerland and other Continental countries a workman who is insured against unemployment is further assisted by a subsidy from the communal fund, and a demand for a similar arrangement in this country is, I should say, one of the certainties of the next Parliament. The Trades Union movement last year spent nearly 500,000*l.* in providing a small weekly allowance for those of its members who were out of work, and the proposal will probably take the form of supplementing this to the extent of at least 50 per cent. from the public funds. Pensions for the Aged Poor apart from the Poor Law is also a matter of some importance.

In education the Trades Union Congress has over and over again demanded that the whole of the schools of the country should be acquired for the nation, properly financed, and staffed by a body of civil servants whose work should be confined to the secular side of education. This does not mean, as is so erroneously assumed, a course of instruction in secularism, but only that definite religious instruction will be excluded. If the various creeds desire that the children of parents in communion with them should receive such instruction, it could easily be arranged to give them the right of entry to the schools outside of school hours ; but the main point to be kept in view is that religious instruction must not be a duty imposed upon teachers.

Protection for Trades Union funds and the right to picket is a

matter in which the Trades Unionists will brook no delay. Here, it may be, conflict will arise between the Government and the Trades Unions. The demand of the Unions is that under no circumstances shall the funds be available to compensate employers for loss or damage sustained by means of a strike or other labour dispute. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer has committed himself to the opinion that where the loss arises from the authorised but illegal act of a Union official the funds should be liable to make it good. Plausible as this may appear, it would leave the Unions pretty much as they are at present, at the mercy of the Law Courts, and will not be accepted as a settlement by them. In this connection a big effort will be made to have the various Government departments recognise the Trades Unions to the extent of receiving complaints from Government workers through their trade union officials. Small as this reform may appear to the outsider, it is one of great moment to the workers themselves. Personally I should strongly favour legislation for enforcing a minimum living wage in the sweated industries and for shortening the working day to a maximum of eight hours or a forty-eight hours working week for all wage-earners, beginning with the miners.

As many of the Labour Members have served an apprenticeship on local councils, they know how embarrassing it is to have to come to London for permission to carry out any improvement of any size, or to embark upon any public undertaking such as the making and working of a tramway; and an effort will certainly be made to confer upon municipalities full powers to proceed with any undertaking upon which the citizens of the town decide and for which they are prepared to pay. This, I anticipate, will include very extended powers for the acquisition of land within and without the city boundaries, so as to secure the land's increasing value for the town, to be used in relief of the rates. These are reforms which in my judgment are matters of greater or lesser urgency, and are amongst the fundamentals to which I referred above; but in addition to these the Labour Party will enthusiastically support proposals for the reduction of military expenditure, and for such a reform of our system of taxation as will not only graduate the tax upon incomes, but also upon sources of income. Salaries which are earned by services should obviously fall within a different category from incomes derived from either land or investments, especially foreign investments. Temperance reform, as a matter affecting the social condition of the nation, will for a certainty be warmly backed up by the Labour Party, though there may be difference of opinion as to the best method of dealing with the evil. Personally, I would empower localities to either suppress the public house entirely, reduce the number of licences, or municipalise the business, according to the opinion of the ratepayers.

Such is my speculation on the probabilities which will likely follow

the advent of the Labour Party into the political arena. Looking a few years ahead I can discern such a multiplication of Labour candidates as will compel all who are opposed to the rule of Labour to close up their ranks in order to prevent its coming. We have seen statesmen and politicians of widely divergent views sink their differences in order to unite in opposition to what they believed to be a danger to the integrity of the Empire in the proposals to give Home Rule to Ireland; we are again witnessing the same thing in connection with Mr. Chamberlain's tariff reform proposals. But Home Rule and Protection are not to be mentioned in the same breath with a Labour Government as a menace to the interests of the dominant class. What we are witnessing, therefore, in the approaching election is the beginning of a revolution which will remodel political parties and disturb the foundations of political faiths. The struggle for supremacy betwixt the disinherited toiling millions and their lords and masters was bound to come, and it is here, and its rate of progress will depend to a large extent on the spirit in which the Labour Party performs its work in the House of Commons. The political conditions of the moment are favourable to its advancement. Both the great historic parties are broken and distraught by discordant elements within their own ranks, a fact which gives the new party an opening of which I venture to predict it will make the most. By another General Election the eighty candidates of 1906, will have grown to twice that number. What will then be the attitude of Liberalism and Conservatism towards the Labour Party?

J. KEIR HARDIE.

MODERATE REFORM IN IRELAND

It appears evident that the generals of the allied armies of Conservative and Liberal Unionists have determined upon the somewhat dangerous operation of a complete change of front in the face of the enemy. Forces under the strange device of 'Devolution is Home Rule, and Home Rule is Rome Rule' are being rapidly pushed forward, and the wing under the banner of 'Fiscal Reform' is being as rapidly thrown back. Interesting as such a movement is as an episode in the manœuvring preliminary to a general engagement, it should not be suffered to blind our eyes to the real issues at stake. Whatever the results of a general election may be, two facts will emerge unchanged from the smoke and din of battle. The Irish problem will have to be dealt with; and Parliament will have to devise some means of recovering its authority over finance and Imperial questions by relieving itself to some extent of the duty of attending to other and less important affairs. Until some step is taken towards the solution of these problems, it will be beyond the power of any Government to deal adequately with other domestic questions however important they may be, or to make any substantial advance in the direction of unifying and consolidating Imperial interests. An overwhelmed Parliament and a justifiably discontented Ireland will block the way. Putting aside, therefore, electioneering tactics, which are after all ephemeral, ignoring the strange capitulation of the late Government to the stage ghost of the old 'ascendancy' party in Ireland, and the attempt to make party capital out of the sister kingdom by an appeal to the popular imagination of Great Britain, may I be allowed to set out the facts as they are and to consider the attitude of political parties towards them?

That the system of 'Castle Government' is bad will, I think, scarcely be disputed. It was well described by Mr. Chamberlain as 'a system as completely centralised and bureaucratic as that with which Russia governs Poland or as that which prevailed in Venice under the Austrian rule.' According to the same high authority the time had come twenty years ago when it was necessary 'to reform altogether the absurd and irritating anachronism which is known as Dublin Castle.' If these words were true then, it is certain they are at least equally true now. During the last twenty years nothing

whatever has been done to reform the system of government in Ireland; the only change in the conditions is that Ireland has slid back a little further, that the necessity for reform is more urgent, and that the Irish people have demonstrated their capacity wisely to administer county affairs.

That Ireland is, and has been for the last sixty years, rapidly decaying is a fact. It may be impossible to demonstrate cause and effect to the point of mathematical precision: no rigorous method of proof exists; but, when a community is perishing under a system of government generally, if not universally, admitted to be bad, the *prima facie* evidence of cause and effect is sufficient for ordinary men. They will come to the conclusion that 'something must be done.'

The use of the term 'Home Rule' leads to infinite confusion. 'Home Rule' may mean anything or nothing. County government is Home Rule, and so is any step in the long series of steps which may be taken from county government up to absolute independence. When a speaker uses this indefinite term of 'Home Rule' it is impossible to know what he means—he himself very probably does not know what he means. To describe any proposals, such for instance as devolution, as being the same thing as or a worse thing than Home Rule, is absurd in the absence of a definition of Home Rule. It would simplify matters very much if a definite expression having a definite meaning—'Repeal'—were substituted for 'Home Rule.'

The principle of local self-government is obviously capable of indefinite extension until the condition of a sovereign independent state is reached, when it ceases to exist. Between such a degree of local self-government as is contained in a partly elected consultative council in the department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, or as was granted by the Local Government Act of 1898, and virtual independence, no halting-place can logically be found; but the principle involved may be arrested at any point between local self-government, as Ireland now enjoys it, and complete autonomy.

That reform is desirable will not, I am sure, be denied by any candid Unionist; and I take it that the objection of the bulk of the Unionist Party to any extension of local self-government is based on the belief that any such extension must lead up to repeal.

It is noteworthy, in this connection, that two distinct schools of thought object to the extension of self-governing power involved in devolution and to the general policy of conciliation between the two countries, on diametrically opposite grounds. Extreme Nationalists object because they fear as an inevitable result the indefinite postponement of their ideal—*independence*. Extreme Unionists object because they fear as an inevitable result the rapid realisation of their bugbear—*independence*. They cannot both be right, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, in extending the principle of local self-

government, a point of natural equilibrium will be reached somewhere between the two extremes. But be that as it may, the answer to the question whether devolution must necessarily lead up to repeal is supplied in the negative by the statesman from whom I have already quoted.

In the fiscal controversy an objection of precisely similar character is raised by free fooders against Mr. Chamberlain's proposition of preferential treatment. It is admitted that a 2s. duty on foreign wheat would have no appreciable effect upon the price of the quartern loaf. The danger lies, it is contended, in the insertion of the thin end of the wedge. If a duty, however small, is placed upon imported wheat from certain countries in particular, it is argued that a principle is introduced which will lead to the imposition of duties, however big, upon all sea-borne wheat. The logic is sound, but what is Mr. Chamberlain's reply? That the self-interest and common-sense of the people may be safely relied upon to prevent the principle being carried to dangerous or improper lengths. That devolution would be beneficial both to the Imperial Parliament and to Ireland will scarcely be denied, but in this case again the danger lies, as we are told, in the insertion of the thin end of the wedge. How, we are asked, is the principle—once it has been introduced—to be prevented from extending to repeal or complete independence? In this case the logic is not so sound, for the principle of local self-government—the thin end of the wedge—has been introduced long ago. But ignoring that fact, is not the same answer applicable? Why cannot the people be relied upon to confine the principle of devolution within the limits of safety? If the thin end of the wedge argument were to be suffered to prevail, reform would be impossible. Parliament, in all its long history, has never passed a single constructive measure to which the thin end of the wedge argument was not applicable. If men are to refuse to do that of which they approve because the principle involved may lead up to that of which they disapprove, they would never do anything. Absolute stagnation would prevail.

The problem for Great Britain to consider is, What amount of self-government can be conceded to Ireland without danger? The problem for Ireland to consider is, What amount of self-governing power will relieve her from evils existing in the present system under which she is perishing?

Very widely divergent opinions, ranging from inaction or reaction to complete autonomy, will be entertained on these points, and where such divergence exists it is safe to predict that a compromise will result; not a compromise necessarily for all time, but a compromise to meet the requirements of the present and of a very urgent case.

The present attitude of official Unionism has the merit, at any rate, of simplicity. It consists of a flat *non possumus*. Ireland may perish, nothing can be done. On the fatal effect upon both the policy and the

party which this attitude is bound eventually to produce it is painful to reflect. The question of maintaining or repealing the Act of Union should be argued and decided on its merits, and it cannot be so long as grievances, capable of redress within the Union, remain unredressed. The present Unionist attitude involves a complete reversion both of policy and of tradition. No party has ever been held together on a policy of pure negation, as Mr. Chamberlain so eloquently pointed out the other day at Bristol. A wise constructive policy, moderate and beneficent reforms, are, as he said, the attributes of the Tory Party and the elements of its success. Referring to the Liberal Party, he said only twelve years ago, 'Every Liberal Unionist will readily agree to give to Ireland the management of such of its affairs as can be handed over to an Irish assembly without any risk or danger to this country, and I hope that I may add, without the loss of honour that would be involved if the property and the liberties of all her Majesty's subjects were not fully safeguarded.' Such was the attitude of both wings of the Unionist Party; such is the attitude and such are the principles of the Irish Reform Association, and if the principle of devolution, as advocated by that Society, is now to be stigmatised as worse than Home Rule, it must in common fairness be admitted that they are true to the traditions and policy of Unionism, and that it is the Unionist Party that has taken up new ground.

The attitude of the Liberal and Radical leaders towards this question appears to me eminently sane; nor can I perceive in their utterances the vital differences which are said to exist among them. The official leaders have apparently adopted to some extent the principles of the Irish Reform Association. A comparatively small measure of devolution is, as far as I can gather, all that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman considers to be within the range of practical politics, and with that Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane and others appear to agree.

They do not say—and why should they say?—what limit they individually place in theory, and for all time, upon devolution. If a number of men are agreed upon a measure of reform as immediately applicable as a remedy for an admitted grievance, what sense can there be in postponing action until they are also agreed as to the ultimate extent to which, under unknown circumstances and in the unknown future, the principle involved in their measure might be applied?

The position of the leaders of the Nationalist Party is a difficult one, and complicated by the strange delusion they labour under that Great Britain can be forced. It is curious that Irishmen, who know that Great Britain in all her strength cannot coerce Ireland, imagine that Ireland in all her weakness can coerce Great Britain. They forget that at the back of all parties and party manœuvres and party requirements is public opinion; and that public opinion on all matters that it deems essential to national safety will assuredly prevail. As

long as Great Britain has a leg to stand on she will refuse to be forced or bribed into acquiescence with anything hostile to her vital interests. She may be converted—she cannot be coerced. The length to which Ireland may possibly go towards the realisation of extreme Nationalist ideals depends largely upon the strength of the confidence which Great Britain reposes in her. In the meantime, leaders of the Nationalist Party will have to make up their minds on the simple proposition—‘ Shall we take what we can get or nothing ?’ They will doubtless bear in mind that Ireland is dying very fast, that there is much to be done in the direction of the administration of the Land Act, and in reference to many other matters outside of ‘ politics,’ and that a measure of devolution, however small, cannot be hostile to their ideals. If they accept a compromise without prejudice to those ideals they will raise their party in the estimation of practical men by showing themselves willing to appreciate political limitations ; they will have the support of numbers of moderate men on both sides of the Channel, and they will secure for their country a measure, though it may be in their opinion a very small one, of beneficial reform.

That greater self-governing powers will be misused in Ireland for the persecution of a minority, is not for one moment to be believed. Occasional outbursts of irresponsible fanatics may be quoted against that contention, but no indication whatever can be found of any general inclination towards foul play. On the contrary, unmistakable signs are abundant of a universal and sincere desire for fair play. A true sense of nationality, the desire for peace, conciliation, and mutual consideration are strong and are growing stronger every day. A sentiment exists which would be enormously strengthened by the sense of common responsibility in the management of the business of a common country. But I admit the advantages of gradual development. Compromise is in the air, and a compromise, if wisely accepted and wisely utilised, will give Ireland the opportunity of showing her intention of using such powers as may be entrusted to her for the general public good.

DUNRAVEN.

THE MAKING OF PARLIAMENT

THE electorate of the United Kingdom to-day consists of close on seven millions and a half of voters. How keen and unremitting is the party hunt for the capture of these electors, the ultimate source of authority in this country! 'Register, register, register' was the advice which Sir Robert Peel gave to his Tory followers in a speech at Tamworth in August 1837. 'The battle of the Constitution must be fought in the registration courts,' said he on another occasion. 'Register, register, register' is to-day more than ever the motto of all political parties. To this most important branch of political work the National Conservative Union and the National Liberal Federation, fighting under hostile banners, give the closest attention. Large sums of money—provided partly from the 'war chests' of the central organisations, and partly by the sitting 'representatives' to maintain their interest, as it is called, or by prospective candidates who are 'nursing' constituencies—are spent on the registration of supporters. No sooner has a stranger come to reside in a constituency, especially where the rival political parties are highly organised, than he is immediately waited on by the party agents to ascertain his political opinions. Is he Liberal or Conservative, Tariff Reformer or Free Trader? The organisation of the party to which he gives adhesion sees that his name duly appears on the voters' lists. Every year these indefatigable party agents, book in hand, make a house-to-house visitation of the constituency to see whether the householders and lodgers of their political colour are still to the fore.

The registration of electors, first introduced by the Reform Act of 1832, is the duty of the local authorities, and is discharged at the expense of the rates. The voters' lists are first compiled by the parish overseers in England, the clerks of the Poor Law unions in Ireland, and the valuation assessors in Scotland. Printed copies of these temporary lists are affixed to the doors of churches, chapels, vestry halls, police stations, and post offices within the constituency, for public reference, in August of each year. It is curious what little attention is given to these huge and unwieldy bundles of papers. Few voters consult them. Small boys, however, take an impish interest in them. Registration courts for the revision of the lists

are held in every constituency during the months of September and October. The courts are presided over by Revising Barristers, lawyers of not less than seven years' standing, appointed by the Lord Chief Justice in the case of London and Middlesex, and by the senior judge of the summer assize for each county and borough constituency within his circuit. They are paid 200 guineas each for their services.

Any person on the list may object to the appearance there of the name of any other person. Usually a large mass of objections and claims, lodged with a view to redressing faults of commission and omission on the part of the representatives of the local authorities, await the decision of the Revising Barristers. But these claims and objections are lodged, not by private persons, but by the party organisations. Each party is represented in the revision courts by able and zealous agents, who leave nothing undone to get on the register as many as possible of their own supporters, and to reduce, at the same time, the following of their opponents. In determining what citizens shall or shall not be permitted to exercise the right of voting for members of Parliament considerable power vests in the Revising Barrister. It is true that in regard to the vast mass of the claimants—the occupiers or householders—the law is clear and distinct. The qualifications for the household suffrage are a year's possession of a tenement and the payment, either directly or indirectly, of the local rates for the relief of the poor. There is, therefore, no scope in these cases for any vagaries on the part of the Revising Barristers. But the principles are not so settled and unmistakable in respect to claims under the lodger and the service franchises; and it is in dealing with these cases that the Revising Barristers display their differing bents of mind, or policy, with regard to the right to the vote. Some are most niggardly in allowing claims. Others, again, seem to think it their duty to dispense votes with a hand as profuse as the most liberal interpretation of the law will allow. There is an appeal from the decision of the Revising Barrister to the King's Bench; but it is very rarely that he is asked to state a case. The revised lists which he signs at the close of his inquiry, thus constituting them the official register of voters, are usually accurate and complete; and for that it is not so much the perfection of the statutory machinery that is to be thanked as the competing watchfulness of the rival party organisations. The register of voters is in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace in counties, and of the Town Clerk in cities and boroughs.

It is no exaggeration to say that in these revision courts the fate of parties at the General Election is mainly decided. The register comes into operation on the 1st of January each year, and remains in force until the 31st of December; and according as it is Conservative or Liberal, so will a Liberal or Conservative, a Tariff Reformer or a Free Trader, be returned if there should be an election for the

constituency within the twelve months. That is the general rule. There are, of course, occasional exceptions. A political party has been overwhelmed by an uprising of national feeling in constituencies where, according to the register, it was in a majority. But in the periods of calm which sometimes mark our public life, when there are no fundamental differences between parties, and political vitality seems to be at a low ebb, when the General Election means no more than a struggle to get one set of Ministers out and another set of Ministers in, a few votes go a prodigiously long way. There is no 'flowing tide,' no spontaneous uprising of national feeling, no great rush of electors from one side to the other. Victory at the polls for the Liberals or the Conservatives depends on the action of a small body of uncertain voters in a large number of constituencies; and the operations of each party organisation are directed to the supreme end of inducing these voters, who stand outside the ranks of both parties—the 'wobblers,' as they are often called—to march to the polling booths beneath its banners.

A man's politics, like his religion, is largely the accident of his birth or home environment. 'I was born a Conservative on the 29th of August 1848,' said a candidate at a recent Parliamentary election. Another man is a Liberal because of the chance that it was Liberalism and not Conservatism which he unconsciously imbibed at his father's knee. But the 'wobbler' seems to have arrived at no settled political opinions either by inheritance or by his own unaided exertions. The shibboleths of party make no appeal to him. He owes allegiance to neither of the great political organisations, nor to any of the smaller knots, cliques, and associations formed for special objects. 'Wobbler,' of course, is a term of contempt. He is supposed to be a person without political backbone, cold and indifferent to national issues, who exercises the great and sacred privilege of the franchise under the influence of some petty and passing mood of the moment. But is this description really correct? May he not be 'the ideal elector who, animated by a high and genuine sense of public duty, refuses to espouse violently either side in the party struggle, and, taking the welfare of the nation as his guiding light, exercises an absolutely free and reasoned judgment on the rival policies placed before the country at the General Election?

But whatever he may be, whether the ideal 'free and independent' elector, or merely an unstable creature swayed by every passing vain impulse, whether he represents a low standard of political intelligence, or the highest form of intellectual ability and moral integrity applied to politics, the 'wobbler' it is that swings the pendulum. He is the instrument for the working-out of that curious law of electioneering by which, with but little irregularity—due, when it does occur, to the disturbance caused by the sudden raising of immense and novel issues, like Home Rule or Fiscal Reform—one political party has succeeded

the other in office since the first really democratic extension of the franchise by Disraeli's Reform Act of 1867, when the principle of household suffrage was established.

All told, the 'wobblers' are probably but a mere handful. They are not organised. They have no newspapers for the dissemination of their principles. They are without a common consciousness of similar aims. They are, in fact, ignorant of each other's existence. Yet their political influence is immense. It is not that they succeed in having themselves overwhelmingly represented in Parliament. They find no representative, save by accident, in either House. It is not that their political views are writ large over legislation and administration. No doubt they are a varied lot in political ideas, tastes, and sentiments. If their political programme were drawn up at a convention of 'wobblers' it would probably be found to be a fearful mix of Toryism, Liberalism, Socialism, of the principles of Free Trade, Retaliation, Preference, open doors, closed ports, loaves big and little, and the whole hog or none. The power which they wield is this—that in many constituencies where parties are evenly balanced, the return of one or other of the candidates which carry the colours of the two great political organisations depends entirely upon them. It is in them that lies the decision of the fateful question of the General Election—shall the Government of the Empire be Liberal or Conservative for a term of years? As a rule, they are good-naturedly on the side of the 'outs.' 'Let the "outs" have a turn of office,' they say as they place their cross on the ballot papers in the polling booths. To and fro the pendulum swings. Or, rather, up and down go the scales, with the party of order or stability on one side, and on the other the party of progress or reform. Thus it is that the country obtains what is so essential to its development politically, commercially, morally, and intellectually—periodical changes of Government and of policy. Such is the secret of the healthy state of our political life.

Parliament is dissolved by proclamation, issued by the Sovereign on the advice of the Ministry. The same instrument commands the Lord Chancellor to 'forthwith serve out writs, in due form and according to law, for calling a new Parliament.' Accordingly, on the very day of the dissolution the writs are despatched, from the Crown Office at Westminster, to the Returning Officers of the various constituencies, who in England and Wales are the Sheriff for counties, and the Mayor for boroughs; in Scotland and Ireland the Sheriff for both counties and boroughs. The messenger of the Crown Office delivers the writs for the provincial constituencies to the Postmaster-General, or his deputy, at the General Post Office. The writs for the London divisions are sent by hand from the Crown Office to the Returning Officers. The provincial postmasters are instructed by the Postmaster-General

to deliver without delay the writs sent through the post, and to obtain in each case a receipt from the Returning Officer. These receipts are sent to the Postmaster-General, who files them and makes an entry of their particulars in a book which is kept at St. Martin's-le-Grand for inspection by persons interested in them.

One curious formality in connection with a Parliamentary election and affecting the Army is but little known. It is the duty of the Clerk of the Crown to give immediate notice of the issue of the writ to the Secretary of State for War. The War Office then directs the General Officer in command of the district in which the constituency is situated to keep all soldiers within barracks on the day of polling, except for the purpose of mounting or relieving guard, or of recording their votes. This custom is intended to prevent the military from coercing or overawing the electorate, and is, no doubt, a survival of the old national distrust of a standing army before it was brought under the control of Parliament at the Revolution.

In the case of boroughs, not less than two clear days and not more than four days must elapse between the receipt of the writ and the date of the nomination; and the poll must be taken not later than three clear days after the nomination. The limit of time for counties is, naturally, much wider. The nomination may, in the discretion of the Sheriff, take place any time up to the ninth day after the receipt of the writ, and the voting may be postponed until six clear days after the nomination. On the day appointed, which has been announced by public advertisement, the Returning Officer attends at the municipal buildings of the courthouse, to receive, within certain fixed hours, nominations of candidates. The nomination paper contains the name, abode, profession or calling of the candidate, and the names and addresses of two registered electors, who propose and second him, and of eight other assenting burgesses. Each candidate gives in several nomination papers, filled up by electors from various classes or sections of the constituency, with a view to show the representative character of his supporters, and at the same time to avoid the risk of the nomination being declared null and void by the Returning Officer owing to any irregularity in the original nomination paper.

Candidature for the House of Commons is now remarkably free and open. Under the Constitution of the United States a member of Congress, whether he sits in the House of Representatives or in the Senate, must be a resident of the State for which he is returned. There is no such restriction in the case of members of Parliament. At one time, by a statute of Henry the Sixth, it was necessary that every member should reside in his constituency. But in the reign of Elizabeth the law fell into disuse, and it was finally repealed by an Act passed in 1774. As one result of this freedom of choice in the selection of representatives the varying idiosyncrasies of the con-

stituencies are no longer reflected, distinctly and sharply, in the membership of the House of Commons. Our representatives are not racy of the soil of the constituencies. Each is not permeated with the spirit of the place for which he sits, thinking its thoughts, and speaking its dialect. A man with an Irish brogue sits for a London constituency. A South of England man represents the northernmost constituency in Scotland. This typical Yorkshire man finds a seat in Cornwall; that unmistakable Devon man speaks on behalf of Northumberland. It is true that in the main the Irish, Scotch, and Welsh representatives are characteristically Irish, Scotch, and Welsh; but the English membership, which constitutes, of course, the vast bulk of the House, is weak in what I may call territorial characteristics. At any rate, you can never calculate on hearing the local views, feelings, and interests of Hodgeshire expressed in the voice and with the manner of Hodge. In truth, representation in Parliament is more and more losing its local character, and ceasing to have any local purpose at all, under the operation of the Caucus or the system of organised parties. Members of Parliament are no longer representatives of constituencies. Their chief purpose is the advancement, not of local interests, but of political principles. This member is said to sit for Hodgeshire. What he really sits for is the Tariff Reform League, or the National Liberal Federation, the Conservative Central Office or the Labour Representation Committee.

The property qualifications which formerly limited to rich men access to the House of Commons have also been abolished. It was in the reign of Henry the Sixth that an Act was passed requiring a county representative to have an estate in land worth 600*l.* The object of this enactment was to secure to the landed aristocracy at least a monopoly of the representation of counties. But, greatly to their displeasure, no property qualification was needed in the representatives of boroughs. Time after time the country gentlemen tried, and failed, to abolish this menace to their ascendancy in Parliament; but at length in 1710, during the reign of Queen Anne, they succeeded in having a statute passed enacting that representatives of boroughs must be landowners also. The property qualification imposed was a landed estate of 300*l.* a year. But why should these qualifying incomes—of 600*l.* a year in the case of county members, and 300*l.* a year in the case of borough members—be restricted to real estate? Why should not personal property—investment in the funds, for instance—also qualify for admission to the House of Commons? It was inevitable that these questions should be asked on the rise of rich manufacturers and merchants ambitious of taking part in public life. Still, it was not until 1838—six years after the passing of the great Reform Act of 1832, which opened the doors of Parliament to the middle classes—that, by an Act passed by a Whig Government, a general property qualification was substituted. The property quali-

fication restricted to land tended more than the limited franchise to the retention of political power in the hands of the territorial magnates and the preservation of their class interests. Indeed, what did it matter to them who had votes so long as none but members of their own set could be voted for? In 1858 the property test for membership of the House of Commons was abolished, and it was abolished by a Conservative Parliament.

And this leads us to an inconsistency in the British Constitution which is strange and curious indeed. The wastrel of the slums, the pauper without a penny in the world, homeless and voteless, is eligible for election as a Member of Parliament; but only a man of property and position, to the extent at least of being a householder or a lodger of twelve months' standing, and a payer of Poor Rate, directly or indirectly, is qualified to vote for a member of Parliament. I remember a speech of Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons, about 1895, in which he gave a striking practical illustration of this anomaly. He said that his son, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who gave him the pleasure of his society by residing at the parental residence, being neither a householder nor a lodger, was not entitled to the Parliamentary vote. Yet, Mr. Chamberlain went on to say, the law of England not only allowed his disfranchised son to sit as a member of Parliament, but to become a member of the Government. Mr. Austen Chamberlain at the time was Civil Lord of the Admiralty. Since then he has filled the greatest and most responsible post in the Government next to that of Prime Minister, the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and in the years he was the head of the department controlling national expenditure his name was still absent from the burgess rolls of the kingdom.

Any British subject may not, however, be nominated for the House of Commons. To begin with, peers of the United Kingdom are disqualified. Neither can Scottish peers be returned, even those outside the sixteen representative peers of Scotland elected by the general body of the Scottish peerage to sit for each Parliament in the House of Lords. The Irish peerage is more favoured. Under the provisions of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland an Irish peer—providing he is not one of the twenty-eight Irish representative peers elected by the general body of the Irish peerage to sit for life in the House of Lords—may be returned for any constituency in England or Scotland. He is, however, disqualified from sitting for an Irish constituency. Clergymen of the Established Church and the Church of Ireland, ministers of the Church of Scotland, and Roman Catholic priests are also disqualified. Up to the beginning of the last century the question of the admission of the clergy to the House of Commons was involved in considerable doubt. It was first raised in a concrete form by the election of that famous Radical parson, Horne Tooke, for the borough of Old Sarum, in 1801.

There was a heated discussion in the House of Commons on a motion to expel Tooke ; but, though the motion was eventually withdrawn, and the parson allowed to retain his seat an Act was immediately carried which closed the doors of the House of Commons to clergymen of all Protestant denominations. Roman Catholic priests are expressly incapacitated by a clause of the Emancipation Act of 1829, which admitted Roman Catholic laymen to Parliament. Foreigners cannot sit in the House of Commons, unless, of course, they become naturalised British subjects. Lunatics and idiots are disqualified. A man convicted of treason or felony is also excluded from the House of Commons ; but when he has completed his term of punishment, or is pardoned, he may be nominated for election. A candidate found personally guilty of corrupt practices is for ever incapable of sitting for the constituency in which the offence was committed, nor can he be returned for any other place until seven years after the offence. If a candidate has been reported by the Election Committee as guilty of corrupt practices through his agent, he is incapable for seven years of being elected for the constituency. In the case of other persons reported by an Election Committee, or convicted, on an indictment, of bribery and corruption, the doors of Parliament are closed against them for seven years. A bankrupt may be elected, but he is not permitted to take his seat in the House of Commons until the adjudication is annulled, or until he obtains his discharge from the court with a certificate that his financial difficulties were due to no misconduct on his part ; and if he fails to obtain a certificate of discharge within six months the seat is declared vacant. This law, however, does not apply to Ireland. In that country a bankrupt is capable not only of being elected, but of taking his seat in Parliament, before he obtains his discharge. A post in the Civil Service is another disqualification for Parliamentary honours. Any person concerned in contracts for the public service is ineligible. Judges of the High Court and County Court Judges are also disqualified. The Master of the Rolls was exempt from this disability until the passing of the Judicature Act 1873. No Returning Officer can be elected for the constituency in which he acts. With these exceptions, any male over twenty-one years of age may be nominated for the House of Commons. But though all property qualifications have been abolished, the aspirant for a seat in Parliament must have money in his purse, or raise it from some other source. The charges of the Returning Officer for the provision of polling-stations, and the fee for his official services, must be paid by the candidates. If there be no contest the candidate on nomination pays 25*l.* In the event of a contest the charges are considerably higher. They run in boroughs from 100*l.* up to 700*l.*, and in counties from 150*l.* to 1,000*l.*, according to the number of electors on the register, and are apportioned equally between the candidates. At the last General Election

the total of the charges of Returning Officers amounted to 150,278*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*

The number of the polling-stations depends upon the extent of the constituency. They are open for voting from eight in the morning till eight in the evening on the day of polling. The chief personage in each booth is known as the Presiding Officer, who is the representative of the Returning Officer. He is assisted by clerks. The interest of each candidate is looked after by a personation agent. No one else has authority to remain in the booth. When an elector enters, the Presiding Officer first satisfies himself that he—or, rather, the person whom he claims to be—is on the register of voters. If any doubt exists as to the identity of the claimant he can be called upon to make an affidavit. What follows is so well known that it may be described very briefly. The voting-papers, with the names of the candidates printed in alphabetical order, are numbered consecutively and made up in books, each voting-paper having a counterfoil with an identical number, like a cheque and its counterfoil; and the Presiding Officer enters the voter's register number on the counterfoil, and stamps the voting-paper with the official die, before removing it from the book and handing it to the elector. The elector retires to a reserved portion of the booth. Sacred and inviolable, no one is allowed to approach him at that awful moment. Screened from observation he puts a cross on the voting-paper after the name of the candidate whom he wishes elected. Then folding up the paper, but leaving the official stamp exposed, so that the Presiding Officer may see it, he drops it through the slit of the locked and sealed ballot-box. Thus are votes recorded! Thus the citizen, however humble and obscure his station, exercises his great constitutional right of the franchise in the making of the Government of the Empire!

How simple and quiet it all is, compared with a polling in the days when voting was open, before the Ballot Act of 1872! In the early years of Parliamentary representation an election was decided by a show of hands. It was not till the reign of James the First that the right of a candidate to challenge the show of hands and demand a poll was established. From that time it was the practice of the Sheriff or Presiding Officer, on the day of nomination, to ask for a show of hands on behalf of each of the candidates, and to give his decision in favour of the candidate in whose support the larger number of hands had been uplifted. But as the majority of those present were usually non-voters, the demand for a poll by the other candidate followed as a matter of course. Formerly, the election might last for forty days, and the voting-booths remain open day and night. Early in the nineteenth century a limit of fifteen days was fixed for the polling. The Reform Act of 1832 further reduced the period of the poll to two days, and provided also that the voting should take place between the hours

of 9 A.M. and 4 P.M., with the option of opening an hour earlier on the second day,' if the candidates agreed. But on the polling days—whether forty, fifteen, or two—disorder and violence were common, if not universal, throughout the country at the General Election. Indeed, the first act of a candidate was to have organised a mob of bludgeon-men to protect himself and his followers during the campaign, and also, of course, to intimidate the supporters of his opponent. Between both the rival mobs the constituency was in uproar during the polling. The most trying part of a contested election was the ordeal of the hustings. These were temporary platforms erected in the square, at the market cross, or in some other open place, where the candidates had to stand for hours every day, each making heroic but vain efforts to convince the rowdy, shrieking mob below, amid showers of stones, mud, and dead cats, of the sublime virtue of his political opinions or of the utter depravity of the views of his opponent. The sort of item that was common in a candidate's election bill before the Ballot Act was this: 'To the employment of 200 men to obtain a hearing, 460l.' These men believed that the best way 'to obtain a hearing' for their employer was to prevent his rival being heard; and, as the hired mob on the other side was animated by the same conviction, both candidates were equally shouted down.

As an illustration of the treatment a candidate had to face on the hustings, and of the style of speaking which was thought appropriate to the occasion, there is the experience of Disraeli, when once addressing his Buckinghamshire constituents at Aylesbury, during an election. Received with a cry of 'You look rather white,' he thus retorted :

I can tell you that it is at least not the white feather I show. (Laughter and cheers, mixed with howling.) If any member of the melodious company of owls (loud laughter) wishes to address you after me, I hope that you will give him a fair hearing. (Interruption.) I can tell the honourable gentleman who makes this interruption, that if it were possible for him to express the slightest commonsense in decent language I should be ready to hear him. In the meantime I must say, from the symptoms of intelligence which he has presented to us to-day, I hope he is not one whom I number amongst my supporters. (Cheers and laughter.)

Disraeli, still directing his attention to his opponent, further said :

Your most brilliant argument is a groan, and your happiest repartee a hiss. (A voice then exclaimed: 'Speak quick! speak quick!' and he retorted): It is very easy for you to speak quick, when you only utter a stupid monosyllable; but when I speak I must measure my words. (Loud cheers and laughter.) I have to open your great thick head. (Laughter.) What I speak is to enlighten you. If I bawl like you, you will leave this place as ignorant as you entered it. (Cheers and laughter.)

Still, the mob influence exercised at elections in days of old, and often the determining voice in the issue, was not always venal. Those

unsavoury arguments, dead cats and rotten apples, were at times the expression of sincere political convictions on the part of people without votes who had honestly at heart the welfare of the country. As the use of violence was the only way in which non-voters could show their interest in public affairs, and their resolve to have weight in them, the Chartists were opposed to the introduction of the ballot so long as the franchise was restricted. They admitted that if universal suffrage were established the ballot would be a good thing. Until then they were determined that public opinion should not be deprived of the opportunity of influencing electors, who had to vote openly, by the terrorising methods of blacking eyes and smashing windows.

To convince Parliament of the beneficence of secret voting at elections took forty years of unremitting advocacy. Grote, the historian of Greece, who sat as a Radical for the City of London from 1832 to 1841, annually moved a motion in favour of the ballot. It was always rejected. On the retirement of Grote into private life in 1841, Henry Berkeley continued to move the motion every year, with the same want of success until 1851, when, despite the opposition of the then Whig Government, he carried, by a majority of 37, a declaration in favour of secret voting at elections. Nevertheless, twenty-one years were yet to elapse before the ballot was finally established by Act of Parliament. A Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1868, to inquire into corrupt practices at elections, reported in favour of the ballot as a measure likely to conduce to the tranquillity, purity, and freedom of Parliamentary contests. The undue influence which was exercised in various forms at open elections is strikingly set forth in the evidence taken by that Committee. Its most common form was the physical terrorism exercised by the hired mobs. There was also the more subtle intimidation of tenants by landlords, of workmen by employers, of servants by masters, of tradesmen and shopkeepers by customers; and, more reprehensible still, the spiritual influence of ministers of religion, who in the guidance of their flocks as to the way they should vote did not hesitate to invoke the terrors of the world to come.

In 1871 W. E. Forster, a member of the then Liberal Government with Gladstone as Prime Minister, introduced a Ballot Bill. It passed through the House of Commons, only to be rejected by the House of Lords by 97 votes to 48 on the motion of the Earl of Shaftesbury. The arguments against the measure had been set forth long before by John Stuart Mill, one of the ablest and most distinguished opponents of secret voting. As the franchise was a public trust, confided to a limited number of members of the community, the public were entitled to see how it was exercised, openly and in the light of day. The ballot meant power without responsibility. Secret voting was also a cowardly and skulking action. Under its shelter the elector was likely to fall into the temptation of

casting a mean and dishonest vote for his own benefit as an individual or as a member of a class. But these academic arguments could not prevail against the many practical reasons for the ballot. The Bill was re-introduced in the following session of 1872. It passed again through the Commons, was sent up to the Lords, and, despite the renewed opposition of Lord Shaftesbury, was carried into law. Since then the elector has been free to vote as he pleases, according to the dictates of his conscience, his political convictions, his foolish whims, and his wayward fancies.

In the Life of Grote there is recorded an interesting conversation between him and his wife on the subject of secret voting, after the Ballot Act had been passed. 'You will feel great satisfaction at seeing your once favourite measure triumph over all obstacles,' said Mrs. Grote to her husband one morning at breakfast. 'Since, the wide expansion of the voting element I confess that the value of the ballot has sunk in my estimation,' the historian replied. 'I don't, in fact, think the electors will be affected by it one way or another, so far as party interests are concerned.' 'Still,' said the wife, 'you will, at all events, get at the genuine preference of the constituency.' 'No doubt,' said Grote; 'but then, again, I have come to perceive that the choice between one man and another among the English people signifies less than I used formerly to think it did. The English mind is much of one pattern, take whatsoever class you will. The same favourite prejudices, amiable and otherwise; the same anti-pathies, coupled with ill-regulated though benevolent efforts to eradicate human evils, are well-nigh universal. A House of Commons cannot afford to be above its own constituencies in intelligence, knowledge, or patriotism.'

On the closing of the polling-stations at eight o'clock—an hour fixed by the Representation of the People Act, 1885—the ballot-boxes are conveyed by the Presiding Officers to some central building in the constituency, where the counting of the voting-papers takes place under the superintendence of the Returning Officer. There are several tables in the room, each with two counters appointed by the Returning Officer, and checkers in the interest of the candidates. The Returning Officer cannot vote at the election; but should there be a tie between the candidates he may, if a registered elector, give a casting-vote. At a by-election for the representation of South Northumberland in April 1878 the candidates, Albert Grey (afterwards Earl Grey) and Edward Ridley (subsequently the High Court Judge) polled the same number of votes—2,912—a thing unprecedented in the case of a big county constituency. The Sheriff declined to give a casting-vote as Returning Officer, although himself an elector, preferring to make a double return by declaring both candidates elected. Accordingly, a few days later, Mr. Grey and Mr. Ridley presented

themselves at the table of the House of Commons, the oaths were administered to them, both signed the roll, and both duly took their seats. Neither, however, was allowed to vote, so that the representation of the constituency by opposing politicians was neutralised. In the scrutiny which followed it was found that a few of the voting-papers were spoiled, and Mr. Ridley, having a majority of the legal votes, was awarded the seat. This, however, is a very uncommon event. The Returning Officer, at the conclusion of the count, has usually no other duty to discharge than publicly to declare the candidate to whom the majority of votes was given duly elected to Parliament, and to send forthwith the return to the writ of election to the Crown Office at Westminster.

MICHAEL MACDONAGH.

LES OCTROIS

AMONG the millions of spoken and printed words heard from the platform or read in public prints on the particular economic problem supposed to be before the jury of the British electorate at the present time, we have neither heard nor seen reference to the octroi system which prevails to-day in some foreign countries.

The British tourist in France or Italy sees nothing of the octroi oppression. Passing through one of the exits of the *Gare du Nord* or the *Gare Saint-Lazare* he may have seen some blue-uniformed officials glance at the packages in the hands of arriving passengers, and if he has asked the British-born Parisian friend who has met him at the platform barrier as to the functions of these men he has been told: 'They are the octroi officials. They want to see if you are smuggling any chickens or butter into Paris. There is a local duty, you know.'

The octroi, briefly, is a system of local customs duties levied on goods entering the city, town, or village constituting the octroi entity. The system of customs duties which most foreign countries impose at their borders is imitated by octroi communities, but the incidence of the taxation is infinitely more vexatious and more paltry, and the collection more expensive in proportion to the yield. The octroi establishes protection by one commune against another, although protection, it may be noted, is not the *raison d'être*. Octrois exist for revenue, and it is professed that only the difficulty of finding a practical substitute has prevented the suppression of the octroi in many French towns and cities. More than one quarter of the total population of France is contained in octroi areas, which number over fifteen hundred. The wisdom of submitting an empire area to a scheme of fiscal protection may be debatable, but to apply such a scheme to communities, each containing a few thousand souls, is to preserve the spirit of the feudal ages in modern democracy and to neglect all the lessons taught by centuries of experience in the departments of sociology and economics.

The octroi system, under whatever name it may have been called, finds its origin somewhere in the mists of antiquity. It is probably older than inscribed history. On the authority of Thucydides we

know that merchandise carried into Athens paid city dues. Under the Roman kings an impost was laid upon the transport of goods. A 'péage' or 'likin' of this nature in France can be traced back to the fifth century, and in the seventh century King Dagobert placed duties on all goods for the Paris markets entering the city by Port Saint-Martin. But an octroi applied generally to merchandise crossing the city barrier is found not farther back than the year 1121. And for nearly eight centuries the octroi of Paris, sometimes relaxed and sometimes increased, as the needs of the community or the wisdom of the city authorities dictated, sometimes abolished, though always speedily re-imposed, has been the chief means of providing funds for the city exchequer. The Great Revolution banished all octrois, and the occasion was celebrated with song and dance. But the drying up of such an important source of revenue soon caused reconsideration of a measure resolved in haste, and in 1799 Paris was compelled to re-establish certain octroi duties. Other French towns soon followed in her wake. An amusing attempt was made to sweeten the pill, and the system was called, on its resurrection, 'L'octroi de bienfaisance.' The revolution of 1848 was achieved amid cries of 'Vive la réforme! A bas les octrois!' There was a brief respite from octroi burdens, but again the impulse of reform was checked by the need for revenue. Since then agitation has not been idle in seeking to abolish the system. There have been debates, resolutions, and votes on the subject in the Legislative Assembly, in municipal councils, and on political platforms throughout every department of France. But the octrois have survived resolutions as they revived after revolutions. They have stood against attacks by platform and press. The various campaigns have not been quite barren of victory. The law of the 29th December, 1897, gave the municipal authorities the power to suppress octroi duties. To a consideration of this law we shall return later.

While the struggle has been in progress French reformers have witnessed success attend similar endeavours on all sides of them. Many strongholds of the octroi system have been carried by assault in other European countries during the last generation—the octrois of Belgium in 1860, of Holland in 1865, of Spain in 1869, and of Germany in 1875—until to-day only France and Italy remain upholders of this relic of mediævalism. The Frenchman may have what small consolation lies in the fact that the Italian system is worse than his own. The octroi revenues of the cities of Italy pass into the State treasury and are not directly administered for the behoof of the specific areas from which they are drawn, as are the revenues of the French octrois.

Let us examine more closely the octroi duties of the city of Paris, the manner of collection, and their effect upon industry and upon the purchasing power of the people. A tax upon alcohol is probably a sociological necessity, but when the machinery of collection is

placed at the entrances of the 1,500 odd French towns where octrois prevail the method is cumbersome, the working charges expensive, and the incidence unequal. The tax on alcohol is the most important in the Paris octroi scheme. It yields over one million pounds sterling per annum on an assessment of 15s. 1d. per gallon. The other liquids subject to imposition include vinegar and oils. The enhancement of prices in the latter class is very grievous and presses heavily upon the poor in a community where oil is such an important ingredient of the *cuisine*, and where oil is almost the sole domestic illuminant of the working classes. In the city of Paris to-day the workman's wife pays 5½d. a litre for petroleum—equal to 2s. 1d. per gallon—while her sister who lives in the suburbs beyond the fortifications, and therefore outside the octroi area, pays only 3½d. for the same quantity. Recent legislation has abolished the duties which a few years ago pressed upon wines, beers, and other beverages termed *boissons hygiéniques*, thereby giving considerable relief to the working man's budget. Water being almost undrinkable in Paris, common wines do not rise to the dignity of luxuries, but are a necessity in the weekly food bill. Butcher meat is heavily taxed. Every bullock entering Paris must pay a toll of 42s., every cow 28s., every calf 9s., every pig 11s., and every sheep over 3s. This is not all. These payments permit the animals to be taken to the abattoirs, but when they have been killed and dressed, and before they may be sold, they must again pay at the rate equivalent to about 4s. a hundredweight. Is it surprising that meat is dear in the French capital ?

Fowls of all sorts, most fish, ground game, butter, cheese, eggs, grapes, preserved fruits, these and many other necessary edibles are scheduled in the list of *comestibles* that may enter Paris only when the claims of the octroi have been satisfied.

Beyond the field of *comestibles*, the octroi stretches its arms into other departments. Combustibles are heavily taxed: wood, charcoal, coal, and coke. Hardwood fuel must pay 2s. 6d. per cubic metre, soft wood for burning 8d. less, and coal and coke 6s. a ton. Manufacturing is placed under a heavy disadvantage by these exactions, and the wonder is that under these disabilities Paris supplies so much as she does to the world's markets. Most woods used in manufacturing are mulcted to the extent of 9s. per cubic metre, which equals 35½ cubic feet. From nearly all forages—straw, hay, oats, barley, maize—tribute is demanded, as it is from building materials—stone, marble, granite, lime, plaster, and iron and steel of all sections. Manufactured articles listed for octroi exaction are numerous, but enough has been written to show the comprehensive scale upon which the category of articles coming within the scope of the octroi has been drawn up.

Anathemas filled with all the gall which years of suffering can inspire have been hurled at the octroi for centuries; the mad horses

of revolution have stamped through France with revolt against the octroi as one of the chief spurs, and heads have fallen and blood flowed, with the octroi as one of the important ultimate causes.

A few years ago a public man in Paris made a detailed personal investigation into the operation of the city octroi, and put on record the opinions of men of all sorts and conditions. One merchant was specific in his reasons. 'I have three carters and nine horses which cost me altogether 820*l.* a year. The time taken in passing the octroi barriers of Paris and its suburbs is, on the average, one quarter of the day. Thus in lost time alone the octroi imposes upon my business a dead charge of 205*l.* a year.' To one who has stood at the octroi barriers and seen the long queue of carts, sometimes about thirty, waiting to have their loads assessed and passed, it seems easily possible that three hours a day may be lost thus, waiting attendance, and the foregoing statement is therefore credible. It is this waiting that constitutes the greatest monetary loss upon the mercantile community whose members have constant occasion to cross the octroi path—a loss which has no compensation in corresponding receipts to the city exchequer. It is the very centre of the cancer and inseparable from the system. Modification could not cure this part of the evil. The only remedy possible is entire suppression.

The authority of the individual octroi official is within certain defined limits absolute. This could not be otherwise if the department were to be properly administered. But more than this—in his functional capacity his person is little less than sacred. The crimes which constitute 'opposition à sa fonction' may be trivial to extremity, and approach in ridiculousness the *lèse majesté* of another European State. The divine right of the octroi employé, if not admitted in principle, is maintained in practice. An observation, a suggestion, a remonstrance—such for instance as might honestly be made by a man who finds that he may not pass by a certain gate because his load contains varnish, but must proceed around the barrier to another a mile away, may, if the official cares, and he often cares, constitute 'opposition à sa fonction,' and the court before which the culprit may be cited to appear must impose a fine of fifty francs. The judge has no power to abate the penalty even should he desire to do so.

The writer lived in one of the suburbs of Paris within the tramway radius but without the city walls. It was just on the border line of an octroi area. In the same street a house and garden were being demolished, and a small summer-house with iron framework and latticed walls stood among the débris. He made overtures for the purchase of the structure. The contractor was most anxious to sell, and stated as his chief reason that while his yard was only on the

other side of the street it was in another octroi area, and permission to transport the article thither would cost him ten francs on account of the octroi duty on the iron of the framework. A specific example such as this, though trivial in itself, is important as a proof of the never absent need of reckoning with the octroi in the most ordinary transactions within areas divided by octroi barriers but commercially and geographically one.

It is possible for a smuggler to pursue his practices without outraging his moral sense. Thus smuggling is common at the barriers of the city of Paris and at the Paris railway termini. The housewife living within Paris and near the city gates may, if she succeed in adopting a method of secreting her purchases from the lynx eyes of the octroi servants, find a pecuniary advantage by doing her marketing outside the walls. Considerable skill combined with inventive ingenuity is sometimes shown in evading payment of legal dues. Some time ago it was discovered that a certain inventor had been importing alcohol, which is subject to a heavy duty, as denatured spirit, upon which the tax was little more than nominal. The method was simple and its discovery accidental. He imported the liquid in tins with screw stoppers. The officials were wont to unscrew the stoppers and examine the contents, which were always denatured spirit. The trick was in the stoppers, which covered tubes containing a few ounces of denatured spirit. The tubes had to be unscrewed bodily before the heavily taxed alcohol could be drawn, and the mechanism was not apparent under the rapid inspection usually accorded at the octroi stations. How long the illicit traffic had continued is not known. But one day a tin was presented with the small stopper a little too tight or the larger screw of the tube a little too free in its working. Thus the official who essayed to unscrew the stopper drew out the tube also, the scheme was exposed, and the fat was in the fire.

It is said that on another occasion a more daring plan was engineered and with temporary success. The reader who has chanced to be in St.-Cloud or Suresne on a Saturday has doubtless been interested in the marriage parties which invade the cafés and promenade in the parks, always arriving and departing in wagonettes. The bride is always seated, demure, happy, and sometimes pretty under her marriage veil, in a corner of the conveyance, and the relatives and invited guests in their best clothes or hired garments talk and laugh and otherwise enjoy themselves. Even the octroi officials smile benignly upon such parties, and may even abate somewhat the rigour of their inspection. But one Saturday an octroi officer, whose post had been changed a few days before, thought that he recognised a passing wedding party as one he had seen enter by another gate a week previously. The bride was the same, and also, he thought,

the groom, although a Frenchman pays small heed to the groom if the bride be within the zone of vision. The intervening time seemed rather short for the death and burial of husband number one, and for the courtship, acceptance, and conclusion of the nuptial arrangements of his successor, if the lucky man then passing had married the widow. Accordingly, a word of caution was sent round to the various octroi posts, and on the following Saturday the same party was stopped. The only unconcerned member was the bride. She retained her corner ; a wife with a frozen smile. Under the bridal veil the damask cheek was of wax, the blush a skilful application of pigment, and the somewhat portly figure was of zinc filled to the wig with alcohol. How often the weekly wedding knot had been tied was never known, but the polygamous practice was suppressed forthwith.

The veracity of another story admits of no doubt. Many kinds of sea fish—such for instance, as salmon, trout, brill, turbot, lobster—are taxed at a rate equal to about sixteen shillings per hundred-weight, and other fish considered not so high in the list of luxuries, and including lamprey, mullet, and eels, must pay rather more than half this tax. These are all *poissons riches* (rich fish), but *poissons pauvres* (poor fish) are permitted into Paris without octroi interference. The herring is a *poisson pauvre*. A Parisian merchant had a recipe for pickling herring. The preparation pleased his palate and he fancied that there might be money in the exploitation of his *marinade*. So he bought a supply of herrings in the Halles, the Paris Billingsgate, tinned them in vinegar and white wine with onions and cloves, salt and pepper, and began business. But the octroi authorities heard of the enterprise and came round. They demanded duty on the herrings so treated. The fish had been raised from the class of *poissons pauvres* into the department of *poissons riches*. The transition, according to their logic, was legal only if the duty were paid as if the fish were entering Paris as *poissons riches*. The manufacturer's sense of equity revolted against such an extraordinary claim. But the law was invoked, and in the end he had to pay 100 francs fine in addition to expenses and the confiscation of his goods—a total penalty of 600 francs, or 24*l.* Judgment was rendered on March 31st, 1900, and stands in the records for inspection by any *Didimus*.

We ask permission to relate another story, although we disclaim sponsorship for its authenticity. It is, however, well within the girdle of possibility. *La Fête de Neuilly*, just outside Port Maillot, is the most gorgeous of the many annual street fairs held in the neighbourhood of Paris. Festoons of street lamps, booths gay with bunting and tinsel, a hundred and one inducements to part with the modest bronze or silver coin—circus, mountain railway, swing-boat, round-about—games of hazard in their many forms, but always with

the odds of chance in favour of the vagabond tempter, and dozens of steam organs piping shrill music in a discordant medley, unite every July to draw the crowds in their tens of thousands to a usually quiet neighbourhood. A workman living near the Boulevard Saint-Germain took his wife and two children to this fair.² He yielded to the persuasion of a booth orator and bought a lottery ticket. The prizes were rabbits and chickens, with a live sucking-pig for *grand prix*. He won the *grand prix*. Little Marcel and Germaine were overjoyed, his wife and he as pleased, but less jubilant. The prize could not well be carried home, and the extravagance of a *fiacre* or open cab was resolved upon. Port Maillot, the nearest Paris gate, was reached half an hour before midnight. But here it was found that *détails sur pied* (animals on foot) were forbidden to enter. 'Never mind, we can try another gate,' and they did. They tried many, and they found that they could not enter Paris before 3 A.M., and even then only by the Porte de la Villette near the slaughter houses at the other side of the city, and not less than eight miles round. The pig fell asleep. So did the children, and in the silent watches of the night Jacques Bonhomme swore to his wife that his support was thenceforth for the Parliamentary candidate pledged to octroi suppression. A political conviction born under such circumstances is apt to be abiding.

When the incidence of taxation is as detailed as it must be under any scheme of octroi duties, inspection must be rigorous. And rigorous it is in all truth. The octroi is mistress of the railway stations. A door of exit may not be opened unless under the eye of an octroi official. The working of the large passenger stations is made more cumbersome and much more expensive by the obligations enforced by the octroi.

'Les Halles' is at once the Billingsgate, the Smithfield, and the Covent Garden of Paris. Imagination will help to a comprehension of the work of checking and assessing every package of goods received into that market from the feeding railway lines. Every quarter of beef, every chicken, nearly every fish, must pay toll. It is a confused scene. Apparent confusion would reign if the receipt and despatch of the goods only were undertaken. But when every one of the thousands of articles must be assessed by its weight or volume, when there are scores of different classifications with all the attendant schedules of specific declaration, confusion is multiplied. To confusion is added delay. Nothing can be passed out until the octroi has signified that its claims have been acknowledged.

The parcel post is not immune from octroi supervision. It is an important channel of commerce, and impartiality demands that here also examination should be strict. About sixty per cent. of the parcels are opened that their contents may be assessed. Sixty per

cent.! Let us try to imagine our London Post Office with such a task thrust upon its officials. Not examination merely to see that nothing contraband may pass, but careful and rigid scrutiny of weight or volume and quality, and the fixing of the regulation dues to be collected from each article. In the parcel post department, hammer and screwdriver, chisel and knife are freely employed. The contents of the packages are not improved in the process. Hence the use of parcel post facilities is restricted, and the value of the institution is much impaired.

The other important avenue of entry to the Paris market is by the water-way of the Seine, and there also the octroi keeps ward. At the Point du Jour near where Bartholdi's statue of Liberty seems to point the inconsistency of it all, the octroi *patache*, or cutter, guards the lower end of the water entrance to the French capital, and at Charenton boats descending the river are held up for examination and exaction. It is not the custom of the octroi officers to work by night, and all the river traffic entering the stretch within the city area must stop from dusk to dawn. Were similar regulations enforced in the other octroi areas bordering the Seine below Paris a barge from Dieppe or Rouen would require double its present time to make the journey. But only Paris subscribes to the rule, 'The night cometh when no octroi official can work.'

A steam tug entering Paris at the head of a barge or a string of them must pay octroi duties not only on the coal and oil used for motive and illuminating purposes while it is on the stretch of water within the city boundary, but also upon the provisions the crew may have on board and may consume before re-crossing the octroi barrier. An incident occurred during the last Paris Exhibition which may be considered typical of octroi conduct. A Venetian *fête* had been arranged, and a supply of candles and Chinese lanterns had been distributed among the owners of a small fleet of boats which were to help the spectacle. Many of these owners lived in Auteuil, Sèvres, and other villages outside the walls of Paris, and after receiving the accessories for illumination, they went home to dinner and returned for the *fête*. The octroi officials might have refused to allow them to repass on the ground that it was after official hours, but the *fête* was too important, and there were too many strangers in the exhibition to make such a course possible without strictures from those high in authority. So the boats passed, but not before they had paid duty on the candles given them a few hours before within the walls of Paris.

The maximum scale of octroi charges is laid down by State law. The octroi areas throughout France are divided into six categories, the lowest in the list being those with fewer than 4,000 inhabitants, and the highest consisting of cities with more than 100,000 souls. The more populous the area the higher may be the rates. Paris is

considered exceptional, and is exempt from State regulation restricting the scale of duties. The octroi taxes in the capital are on nearly all commodities higher than those prevailing anywhere else. There are three different methods of applying the octroi system. The majority of the octroi areas collect the duties direct through a department appointed by the municipal or communal authorities and under their direct control. Others simply farm out the collection of octroi taxes to an individual or a band of individuals, and under the third method the local body puts the local customs under the management and supervision of the State department for indirect taxation. As may be conceived, the second method led to many abuses, and there has been recent diminution of the number of octroi communities farming their octroi collection. A glance at official figures will show to what extent and in what direction change in the method of collection has been made.

	1894	1898	1902
Direct control	846	854	862
Farmed	389	364	343
Under the 'administration des contributions indirectes'	280	291	297
Total number of French octroi areas	1,515	1,509	1,502

The cost of administering the octrois varies greatly in the different communities. The percentage of revenue absorbed by working charges has shrunk considerably in recent years. In the year 1823, as much as 27.80 per cent. of the receipts from the Paris octroi was absorbed by its administration, in 1902 its collection cost only 10.32 per cent. The latter proportion represents about the average for the seventy-one French cities and towns with over 30,000 inhabitants. The exact figure for these seventy-one areas was, on the authority of the most recent records available, 10.58 per cent., and for the whole of France 10.95 per cent. Two years ago the most expensive town was Montluçon, in the department of Allier, where the cost of administration was returned at 22.85 per cent., and the town with the lowest relative charge was Clichy, which touches the city of Paris on the north-west, and where only 6.14 per cent. of the revenue was spent upon the machinery of the system.

The *per capita* incidence of octroi taxation is the true measure of its oppression upon the consumers within its circle. In 1898 this worked out at 61.66 francs—about 49s. 3d. for the dweller in Paris. The average for the octroi areas throughout France was 24.76 francs, just under a sovereign. The suppression of the duties on *boissons hygiéniques*—wines, beers, and ciders—has made a wonderful betterment, and the respective average figures for 1902 were 40.22 francs

(32*s.* 2*d.*) and 19·48 francs (15*s.* 3*d.*). From these figures an approximate estimate may be made of the burden of municipal taxation upon families. The figures given represent the average per head, not per household or per family: The fact that food has to bear the chief share of exaction means that the humble *ouvrier* pays a larger percentage of his income into the city coffers than his wealthier fellow citizen. Commodities are taxed upon volume or weight, never upon value, hence the poor are oppressed. The whole system is a tax, not upon the ability to pay, but upon the need for existence.

These values concern only money paid. There are more indirect contributions which may not be computed in francs or shillings. The merchant must have his profit, not upon the net price of his wares only, but upon the octroi exactions also, and the expense of the delays and of the observation of the octroi regulations comes from the inevitable ultimate source, the pocket of the consumer. These factors reckoned, an increase of the above figures by fifty per cent. would not constitute an exaggerated estimate of the actual *per capita* extraction from the individual Parisian budget.

A few years ago, the Paris journal *Le Temps* sent a commissioner to investigate this phase of the subject. He selected the house of a carter and examined the actual details of the domestic receipts and expenditure. The husband worked thirteen days out of every fourteen and earned five francs—four shillings—per day. The wife did charring and made forty francs—thirty-two shillings—per month. The revenue of the household came to 86*l.* a year, all going well. The octroi of Paris exacted from the family purchases—meat, oil, vinegar, cheese, coal—9·3 per cent. of this sum, just 8*l.* and more than three shillings a week. The calculation took no account of the indirect enhancement of prices on account of octroi charges, of the influence of French customs duties upon the wage-earner's disbursements, of his contribution to his country's revenue by his purchases of tobacco and matches—both of them remunerative government monopolies. Had all these factors entered into the sum the resultant percentage contribution to municipal and State funds by a humble Parisian carter and his wife without children would have been shown to be about fifteen per cent. of the earnings of himself and his wife. The presence of children in the family would of course increase the percentage still more, and the sickness of either or both of the wage-earners would diminish revenue without appreciably diminishing taxation, of which food carries the burden.

The inquiry could be followed much deeper. The taxation described makes it a necessity of the family economy that the wife of the Parisian working man should be a bread-winner. This necessity discourages the bearing of children and accounts in no small measure

for the high infant mortality among those born. Here the main cause of the lack of growth of the French population—that tendency which is rousing the apprehension of statesmen and economists as to the ultimate national fate—is laid bare. The need for maintaining and strengthening the French national stock and the French scheme of taxation are directly antagonistic. So long as there is a tax on every meal for every mouth, so long will it be an impossibility for an average Paris artisan or labourer to rear a large family.

The contention that consumption rises as prices fall scarcely requires proof, but we may point out the extent to which consumption varies with movement in octroi charges. When the tax upon edible oil in the town of Nantes was 6 francs per 100 kilos, the *per capita* consumption was 1.510 kilos, but an increase of duty to 12.50 francs lowered the *per capita* consumption to 1.09 kilos. In the same town the annual consumption of soap per head was 4.542 kilos on a duty of 6 francs per 100 kilos, but the increase of the tax by 100 per cent. reduced consumption to three kilos per head. The duty on mutton was raised from 50 centimes per animal to 1.50 francs, and afterwards to 3 francs. Even this seemingly unimportant charge lowered consumption from 11.023 kilos to 8.43 kilos, and at the second increase to 5.64 kilos. Evidence might be drawn out, but *quantum sufficit*.

These figures show one side of the question, the consumer's, but there is another side, that of the producer. When the producer is a foreigner his interests may be disregarded, but the producers who suffer by the octroi evils are members of the same national entity, and therefore may properly claim consideration.

France has in the north of Africa a colony probably richer in potentialities than any other colony of any other country, except perhaps our own Canada. The most promising industries in Algeria are the cultivation of the grape and the olive and the manufacture of their products. The city of Paris, which constitutes the largest and most important market in France, places a duty of 3d. a litre, or 1s. 2d. per gallon on olive oil. In the country of salads and sauces, oil is an important ingredient of two meals per day at every table in the land. The use of oil is restricted, and economy compels the use of lower-grade vegetable and animal oils in place of good olive oil. Olive oil is only one department—albeit the most important—where harm is wrought. A frequent argument in favour of octroi duties is that as the funds for the *assistance publique* are drawn from octroi receipts, and as the poorer classes supply the recipients of aid from the public purse, it is proper that the poor should contribute the larger share. The contention cannot claim even the quality of speciousness. But the reform party have been irrepressible in insistence upon legislation dealing with the subject. Among the names of illustrious Frenchmen who have denounced the system we find those of Victor

Hugo, Ledru-Rollin, Jules Grévy, Léon Say, Glais-Bizoin, Meline, and others of less note. Turgot wrote: 'The octrois constitute an evil in themselves, and I would far rather suppress them altogether than reform them. It is believed that they make the towns pay the taxes, which, in reality, are paid by the country districts which produce the articles taxed.' During the last generation, agitation has been continuous. Always the difficulty arose in the Republican Parliament that the suggested scheme of replacement, with which any measure of suppression had to be saddled, failed to secure the approval of the majority. A commission was sitting to examine the whole question, when the troubles of 1870, fell on France. The majority report of that commission held that the total suppression of octroi duties was impracticable, but strongly recommended the diminution of the taxes, the restriction of their increase, and their assimilation to uniformity in the different octroi communities. The minority advocated progressive diminution and ultimate suppression. The troubles of the war, and the more pressing affairs occasioned thereby, prevented the adoption of either recommendation. Through the succession of years followed proposal after proposal, debate after debate, division after division. A favourite suggestion was to make over to the municipalities several taxes pertaining to the State—the house tax, the doors and windows tax, and the license-to-trade tax, and to compensate the State by raising the duties on alcohol in her favour. The establishment of a government monopoly in assurances was even suggested to meet the State deficit which would follow the granting of the several State taxes to the communes. In 1895 the opinions of many French towns, through the mouths of their mayors, was taken on the subject. Six voted against octroi suppression. All the others who responded favoured it.

One available means of replacing the loss caused by octroi suppression, not entirely, but to the extent of about 50 per cent., does not seem to have occurred to Frenchmen. Paris is about eighteen miles around, with something like fifty-six gates, at each of which is an octroi post. An enceinte of waste land, of an average width of not less than 300 feet, girds the city. It carries the fortification walls, relics of the time when Creusot and Krupp and Armstrong were names unknown in connection with artillery. These walls would be useless for purposes of defence in modern warfare, and there is even now much talk of their removal. But the commercial value of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ million square mètres of land seems to be ignored. A proper scheme for the utilisation of this land for building purposes, and the retention by the city of the future increment in value, would dissolve half the difficulties besetting a solution of the Paris octroi problem. The section skirting the Bois de Boulogne might be preserved for reasons of sentiment, but to pay homage to sentiment by per-

petuating a monument eighteen miles long and 300 feet wide, when so much could be gained by its removal, entails too costly a sacrifice for a utilitarian age. But this is a digression, and we stray from our history.

The important law of 29th December 1897 found a place on the statute book of France after a hard battle. Its final form showed marks of the Parliamentary warfare. It was mutilated from its original draft, but its provisions contained a fair measure of its original and fundamental spirit. The act is so important, so much good has come from it, and so much more will follow, that it may be briefly noticed. It does not compel the suppression of octrois. It only permits it.

The communes were allowed at their discretion to abolish the tax on *boissons hygiéniques*, which include wines, ciders, perry (pear cider), beer, and mineral waters. Communities unwilling to abolish the taxes on these articles were bound to reduce such taxes in accordance with a prepared scale permitting, in the case of wines, the maximum duty of a farthing a gallon in towns with fewer than 6,000 inhabitants and one penny a gallon in areas with populations over 50,000. On the lighter beverages little more than half these rates were fixed as maximum. To meet the deficit caused by such abolition or diminution, the tax on alcohols might be raised, the vendors of beverages might be specially taxed, also horses, carriages, and automobiles, dogs, billiard tables, and clubs. Communities wishing to abolish their octrois completely might frame schemes of taxation for the ratification of the Legislative Council, and certain guiding principles were laid down.

Advantage was speedily taken of the powers conferred by the new Act. In many octroi communities; Lyons (Rhône), Bourgoin (Isère), Billom (Puy-de-Dôme), Amboise (Indre-et-Loire), Argenteuil (Seine-et-Oise), Vervins (Aisne), Saint-Amand (Cher), Petit-Quevilly et Lillebonne (Seine-Inférieure), all octroi duties except that on alcohol were abolished. In many other towns, the names of which we need not here recapitulate, only the taxes upon alcohol and upon butcher meat were retained, all others being suppressed.

We may briefly look at the example set by Lyons with its half a million of inhabitants, and see the scheme and the effect of the replacement taxation. The Lyonnaises may be proud of the fact that theirs was the first French city to cast off the bondage of octroi taxation. The scheme of replacement taxation may leave something to be desired, and experience will bring knowledge in this respect, but the primal fact remains that their city has been freed for all time from the octroi incubus. In Lyons a municipal tax of 200 francs per hectolitre upon alcohol—about 7s. 3d. per gallon—is still maintained, and the replacement taxes are as follows :

Each horse or mule not in public conveyances—72*s.* per annum.

Automobiles—32*s.* to 60*s.*, plus 4*s.* 2*d.* per horse-power per annum.

Horse-hirers stable tax—8*s.* per stall per annum.

New dwellings—from 6*s.* 6*d.* to 16*s.* per square mètre of floor-space, with a reduction for buildings over two stories high.

New factories and workshops from 4*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* per square mètre of floor-space.

Materials—sand, wood, and iron—used for walls, chimneys, and other construction work when the finished work will have no floor area upon which a tax could be levied.

Buildings tax—annual—less than one penny per square mètre.

Drink vendors—4*l.* to 16*l.* per annum, plus 8 to 20 per cent. of rent value. (This presses heavily upon large establishments.)

Landlords tax—5 per cent. of rent received per annum.

Land tax—25 per cent. of value per annum, with a revised valuation every two years.

Tenants tax of 9 per cent. of rental, with a rebate of the tax upon 6*l.* of the rental to all householders paying less than 32*l.* rent per annum.

Hotel and boarding-house tax—public rooms being assessed as drink vendors' premises and private rooms as dwelling houses.

Club tax ranging from 5 to 20 per cent. of subscriptions received, plus 2 to 8 per cent. of rental valuation.

Houses of entertainment—one penny per seat per representation.

An examination of these new taxes will show that they are replacement taxes not in name only. Horses are taxed instead of fodder. It is easier to assess a finished building than the component sand, lime, stone, iron, and wood used in its construction. A tax upon wine has given place to a tax on wine merchants. The effect sought is attained. The methods of collection under the new scheme are as little irksome as taxation can be. The difference between the new methods and the old is that whereas taxes were formerly paid in sous so many times per day, they are now redeemed in francs twice a year.

Only now, three years and more after the suppression of the Lyons octroi, are the full benefits beginning to be reaped by consumers. The merchants where possible tried to pocket the saving of tribute previously exacted by the city tax-gatherers under the plea that they had still to pay this under another name. Therefore prices did not at once fall as they ought to have done. But the economic laws in the hands of time have prevailed against attempts to maintain artificial conditions. Big profits beget competition, and competition kills big profits. Thus things have found their true level. Food is both cheaper and better. Since the octroi was abolished, the inhabitant of Lyons drinks fifty-one more litres of wine per annum, and eats twelve pounds of meat more than he did under the old order. So it will be in time through the length and breadth of France. The lessons of experience have only to be made convincing, and the 1,500 octrois of France will be relegated to the shades of the has-beens. The heritage of

King Dagobert will be sent to seek its creator. Too long has the French workman borne an excessive burden of contribution. But he has his Magna Charta. It lies with him by the weight of his votes to compel the civic and communal authorities whom he elects or deposes at will to execute his behest. When this power is exercised, we shall see fulfilled the dreams of the reformers of 1789 and 1848, we shall witness the granting of the prayer, 'A bas les octrois!'

W. B. ROBERTSON.

*THE GENEALOGY
OF THE THOROUGHBRED HORSE*

PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY'S THEORY

THERE is no more fascinating pursuit within the domain of science than that of constructing theories with regard to the early domestication of animals. It is one, moreover, in which not only professional men of science can indulge, but also, without much fear of ridicule, the intelligent layman, inasmuch as physical science supplies a minimum of facts to go on, and such dim indications as history affords lie within the easy reach of us all.

The reclaiming of wild animals took place in that twilight of the past which lies between the geological history of the world and history proper; and the doings of early savage races in the late Stone and Bronze Ages are a field for almost endless conjecture. Beyond the scanty evidence of the bones of a few quadrupeds found in conjunction with those of prehistoric man, and bearing on them marks which may be interpreted as indicating domesticity or the reverse, and again of a few rudely cut figures engraved on reindeer horns, there is no positive record in physical science on which to go. The only other way in which probability can be reached is that of examining the contemporary doings of the natives of various lands who are still living under the same conditions as those which our ancestors in Europe enjoyed before civilisation was thought of. These show us far more clearly than the fossil record the attitude of early man towards the wild animals which he succeeded in taming, and it is between these two sources of information, supplemented by what texts we may unearth in history, that we are able by an effort of imagination in some way to reconstruct the past.

It must, however, be distinctly understood that it is not in the range even of the most accurate thinker to arrive on these matters at any certainty. Huxley was doubtless right when he used to insist on the fact that all theories of the kind were mere guesswork, nor have the facts which have been added to our store of knowledge since Huxley's day gained for us any much more solid ground.

With regard especially to the horse the manner of his early taming

is a perpetual puzzle. The geological record reveals him to have been an object of chase in Europe by prehistoric man in his hunting days of the late Stone Age, but there is no indication of even an approximate date at which he may have become domesticated. Again, his earliest appearance in the civilised world at the dawn of history shows him, contrary to what we would naturally expect, used for draught, not for riding, nor is there any record of his having been mounted in any country much before 1000 B.C.—this although the ancient Accadian kings are said to have possessed chariots two thousand years earlier.

Nor are we less perplexed by the sudden appearance in Egypt of horses and chariots for the first time between fifteen hundred and eighteen hundred years B.C., while in North Africa, further west, there are indications that the horse was first ridden rather than driven. On the other hand, Arabia, which till the other day was traditionally held to have been the original home of the whole equine race, has now been shown, by a careful collation of classic and other ancient texts, to have been in all probability without domesticated horses, either driven or ridden, as late as the first century of our era. It will be realised, therefore, what a wide field there is for the imaginative faculty of anyone who would trace the genealogy of the modern horse to its original wild sources or explain when or in what part of the world he first was subjugated by man.

I am led to these remarks by the recent publication of a highly speculative work on the origin of the thoroughbred horse by the Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge, Mr. Ridgeway. But before entering on a critical examination of this, the first serious work of the kind we have had in England, it will be well if I say a few words about Mr. Ridgeway's predecessors abroad in the field that he has chosen. By far the most important of these are the two well-known French savants Sanson and Piétremont, especially the latter, who in 1883 published his final volumes on *The Prehistoric and Historic Horse*, a truly monumental work, which remains to this day the most complete marshalling of all the known facts, whether scientific, philosophical, or historical, which can throw any light upon the subject. His conclusions, while mainly theoretical, are based upon an elaborate examination of all available evidence, approached in a thoroughly scientific and trustworthy spirit. According to him the wild horse of the old world—for America, too, had its horses—was indigenous only to Northern Europe and to those regions of upper Asia which lie north of the Caucasus and of the mountain range joining the Caspian Sea with the Himalayas. Thus limited he divides the wild horse into several varieties, assigning three or more to the forest regions of Europe, while he divides the Asiatic horse, a plain-dweller, into two very distinct breeds, separated longitudinally by the Alatau Mountains, and domesticated respectively by the Mongols east of them, and the Aryans to their west. He holds the Mongolian horse to have

been distinguished by a head with a convex forehead line, a *chanfrein moutonné*, and tail set on low; while to the Aryan breed he assigns the straight or upturned profile, and tail set on high and carried wide of the flanks, which we find in the sculptured horses of ancient Greece, and in its most perfect existing type in the Arabian Kehilan. His theory is that the primitive Mongols and Aryans carried with them these two breeds in their separate migrations to India, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and wherever else they penetrated. With regard to the horses of Egypt and North Africa, Piétremont holds that the former were introduced to the Nile Valley by the Hyksos or shepherd kings, who had procured them from the Aryans, and the latter to the African coast of the Mediterranean by the Phoenicians, horses of the Mongol type. Sanson, on the other hand, suggests that the Egyptian horse was a native breed of the Upper Nile waters, that which is represented at the present day by what is called the *Dongolawi*. I confess that, while an ardent admirer of Piétremont's work, I have always felt a little sceptical in regard to his double North Asiatic theory, in spite of the brilliancy of reasoning by which he upholds it. It seems to me far less likely that so marked a distinction as is certainly found between the two breeds, and which is a matter not merely of externals, but affecting their bony formation, should have arisen in regions of the same latitude and under the same physical conditions, than in others separated by differences of latitude, and so of climate and environment. And I would rather look for the coarser breed, Piétremont's Mongolian, in the north, and what he calls the Aryan breed in Southern Asia, that is to say in India, west of the Indus, Persia, and Mesopotamia—all desert regions, where the wild horse may well have acquired those characteristics of beauty, speed, and refinement of limb which we associate with what is now called thorough breeding, and so have become specialised.

The advantage of this counter-theory is that it accounts, as I think no other does, for the curious fact that the early civilisations all show us the horse as a chariot horse only. My reading of the matter is that the horse having been first put to this use was due, and in this I agree with Piétremont, to its having first been tamed in the northern plains, that is to say, in some of the cold regions of Upper Asia or Eastern Europe, where snow lay long in winter, and so may have suggested the using of animals for draught in sledges rather than for any purposes of riding. The first wild animal to be reclaimed by man was probably the dog, who had already become a parasite on him during his hunting days, and whom he may be reasonably supposed to have put to the task of drawing home for him in winter the game that he had killed, or to transport his rude household furniture from camp to camp. It may well be that the women of the tribes accomplished this first taming. Thus we read that in Saghalien the natives who still live there as in the Stone Age, have taught the

wild dogs of their neighbourhood to join them in their fishing work on the sea shore, and have learnt to harness some of them in their sledges, although they live on still in the woods. To the dog may have followed the reindeer, and at a later date, but still as a draught animal, the horse. The art of taming and breeding animals thus acquired in their first northern homes would have been carried with them by the Mongols and Aryans in their migrations southwards into lands where snow was unknown and where the sledge, no longer of use, came to be replaced by the more suitable contrivance of vehicles on wheels. Where I venture to differ from Piétrement is in his belief that not only the use of the horse but also of necessity the horse himself was wholly derived from the north. There is no reason at all to suppose that, granted the existence of wild breeds in the countries invaded by the Mongols and Aryans, they should not have added these to their domesticated stock. Indeed, it is certain that under the early conditions of nomadic breeding, whether of horses or of any other animal, where the herds ran loose under little supervision, the tame breeds of all tribes on their march must have constantly become mixed with the indigenous wild breeds of the countries they traversed. Of this intermixture I see indications in the early monuments of South-western Asia, where we find horses depicted of every variety of type between the two extremes.

I had the advantage of discussing this rival theory twelve years ago with no less an authority than the late Professor Huxley, who, while warning me against putting it forward otherwise than as an unproved hypothesis, on the whole approved it. I will return to this subject later when I have examined Professor Ridgeway's theory, which differs from either of those just stated.

Professor Ridgeway's book aspires to be in English what Piétrement's book is in French. Indeed, it is very largely borrowed from that exhaustive work, with insufficient acknowledgment, as it seems to me, of the parentage. The geological facts recorded in it are very much the same as Piétrement's, and the quotations from writers of antiquity differ only from his in being rearranged and on some points supplemented. Professor Ridgeway is a distinguished scholar, and between him and Piétrement no apposite fact in ancient literature can well now remain unstated. On the point of natural science he has gathered up the facts of his predecessors and has brought them down to date by including Professor Ewart's experiments in cross-breeding, and these are very fully explained in the letterpress and with the help of illustrations. As nothing of the kind has hitherto been published in English, his work is therefore of great value, and as such deserves the attention it has attracted in the Press. On the other hand, there are, as I think, certain defects, probably of temperament, in his method of arguing, which not a little invalidate his doctrines as a sound statement of the equine case.

Restricting himself, as the title of his book indicates, to an examination of the origin of the thoroughbred as contrasted with the coarser breeds, Professor Ridgeway assigns to Europe and Northern Asia the sole responsibility of the latter. . He will hear nothing of the Aryans as the domesticators of any fine breed, and he agrees with Piétrement in maintaining that Southern Asia was never possessed of an indigenous wild horse. Again he agrees with Sanson in attributing the horses of ancient Egypt to an African wild source, though declining to accept his theory of that horse having come from the Nile sources. As a substitute for this Professor Ridgeway puts forward a theory of his own, and this is the only original suggestion in his book—that it was from the Mediterranean littoral of North-West Africa and the plains immediately south of the Atlas that the horse reached the Nile Valley. It is in fact the modern Barb that he announces as being the fountain head of all thorough breeding, including that of the finer horses of Greece and Asia Minor, and even those of the Peninsula of Arabia. It would, of course, be hypercritical to complain of any new conjecture being started by a writer on so speculative a subject, and if the Professor could support his guess with any sound array of fact I think all inquirers into the horse's origin would feel grateful to him for so new a light in their darkness. He must, however, forgive me if I say that the inversion of the hitherto admitted rôle of the Barb—namely, as a breed brought to the Barbary states by the Arabs in their historic conquests and mingled there with the less distinguished horses of Numidian antiquity, requires better proofs than any that he offers us in his present work. His conclusions, which are stated with no little dogmatism, are arrived at only by a course of argument in which very few and meagre facts are made to play a part for which, as it seems to me, they are inadequate, and, what is perhaps less excusable in a serious man of science, by the ignoring of other facts far better ascertained. I will give examples of these presently.

His reasoning begins with an argument based on one of Professor Ewart's experiments which seemed to indicate a nearer affinity in blood between the existing Arab horse and the *Equidae* of Equatorial and Southern Africa than can be affirmed of the coarser breeds of Europe. Mr. Ewart founded his suggestion on the occasional occurrence in Arab foals of certain striped markings on the forearms and shoulders, on peculiarities of their chestnuts and ergots, and on a depression, found by Mr. Lydekker, in the skull below the eye sockets pointing to a former face-gland. Out of these discoveries, which it may be remarked are still quite in the experimental stage, Professor Ridgeway constructs the hypothesis of a thoroughbred horse of North African breed identical with the Barb, to which, as he denies an indigenous origin to the Arabian, he gives the name of Libyan, being at the same time careful to tell us that his Libyan is not the same as, Sanson's *Equus africanus* of the Upper Nile sources and tropical Africa, which

that writer connected with the modern Dongolawi. This matter settled to his satisfaction, he goes on to lay down rules as to the Libyan's shape and colour. He admits that he has no text or record of antiquity to go by on these points, but nevertheless decides that the colour was bay, and that the head was carried high, of a type like that of the modern Arab, and with the Arab's high carriage of the tail.

This pronouncement I confess to finding a little surprising seeing that the Barb's peculiarity and indeed special characteristic is that he is ram's-headed—that is to say, with a convex forehead line, and that his tail, set low down, is carried trailing between his hocks. In order to justify his decision, however, Mr. Ridgeway has constructed an elaborate argument in which he is at pains to prove first that the primitive Libyan horse was the same as the horse of the Egyptian monuments, whose colour is generally represented as bay, and secondly, that the Arabs of Arabia, at a comparatively recent date, obtained their equally bay horse stock in their turn from Egypt. His proofs in regard to the horse of the Nile monuments are as follows: The earliest connection he is able to discover in history between Egypt and the people of Libya he finds in a passage of Homer's *Odyssey*, where Ulysses recounts that he landed at the mouth of the River Nile and was beset with his followers by the native horsemen and by the chariots of the King of Egypt. Mr. Ridgeway's deduction from this passage is that the locality of the landing would naturally have been the neighbourhood of modern Alexandria, and that as this lay to the extreme west of Egypt, the horsemen mentioned would as naturally have been Libyan horsemen, and the King of Egypt presumably a Libyan king.

This rather free rendering of Homer's words he fortifies by a passage from Strabo, who, writing many centuries later, tells us that the ancient kings of Egypt kept a guard at Rhacotis, a former village on the site of Alexandria, to check the descents of the Greeks, these guards being herdsmen; and by a second quotation, from Herodotus, showing that in his time the people of the lower Delta were in part of Libyan origin. It is to be remarked, however, that these quotations, even if they proved all that Mr. Ridgeway reads into them, only carry us back as far as the time of Homer, which was at least five hundred years subsequent to the introduction of the horse into the Nile Valley, a gap in chronology which leaves them of little value. In order to remedy this, however, Mr. Ridgeway constructs a further argument founded on the character of an early Egyptian chariot discovered at Thebes in Upper Egypt, and now in the museum at Florence. This chariot, he argues, is of a primitive construction, wholly of wood and without any such metal fittings as might be expected if it had been made in Egypt or had been brought from Asia, where metals had long been in use, and in default of such local or Eastern origin he makes bold to assign it to Libya as the sole

remaining country from which it could have been acquired. His third and only other argument is still more recondite. Some fragments, he tells us, of Greek pottery have been unearthed at Defenneh, the ancient Daphne, representing a bearded man leading a horse on which is seated a woman accompanied by a dog. The man and horse are painted of a dark colour, the woman and the dog white. This he bids us believe represents a Libyan and his wife, and asks us to accept its having been found in Egypt as a confirmation of his theory that the Libyan horse, like the Egyptian, was bay in colour, that his head and tail were of the type he has assigned to them, and that the connection between the Libyan horse breeders and the Nile Valley was a close one.

Unfortunately, however, the line of reasoning on this point is gravely invalidated by certain peculiarities of the case. Thus the two figures of the man and his supposed wife, which Mr. Ridgeway would have us accept as Libyans, have profiles not of the African, but rather of an Aryan type, while by breakage of the pottery the horse, which should show his lineage by an erect carriage of the tail, is without tail at all—that and the whole hind quarter having disappeared. Moreover, as a matter of geography, Defenneh, which one would have expected from the argument to find on the Libyan frontier of the Delta, lies, on the contrary, east of it, in Asia, not in Africa. Nor is it even certain that the pottery, which is of Greek manufacture, was really found at all in Egypt, for I understand that some archaeologists hold that the discovery was made in Asia Minor.

Such are the three solitary facts, the fabulous landing of Ulysses, the wooden chariot found at Thebes, and the Greek painting just mentioned, on which the whole of Mr. Ridgeway's dogmatic statement rests. I do not say that, as an hypothesis, it may not be held that the Egyptian horse had an African origin, and undiscovered facts may yet prove it true, as, for instance, the possible recovery of horse fossils in Abyssinia or the Upper Nile sources further westward. But it will take much more proof than Mr. Ridgeway has been able to get together to identify it with the ram's-headed Barb of the Atlas. Mr. Ridgeway seems to imagine that the two types are identical, and also that the hill country of the Barbary States is connected with the Nile Valley by regions of a habitable and pastoral character. As a matter of fact the northern Sahara, west of the Nile, is, unlike any desert of Asia, an absolutely arid wilderness, destitute for the most part even of camel pasture, and a wholly impossible habitat of the horse under any conditions wild or tame. The highlands of Cyrene, now known as the Jebel Akdar, alone break the monotonous waste of unwatered sand and pebbles which stretch to the Tunisian frontier, while the Atlas range was itself cut off from the rest of Africa, so effectively that I believe I am right in saying that the

fauna of the Atlas is, with the exception of the gazelle and the ostrich, of European rather than of African type.

My own explanation of the Barb in his original wild state and as he figures later in Numidian history is that he may have found his way to the North African shore at a very early date from the neighbouring coasts of Spain, and there in the special environment of the desert plateaux immediately south of the mountain range have acquired what I have already called the superficial qualities of thorough breeding, while retaining the convex head, drooping quarter, and low carriage of the tail which belonged to his European progenitors. This is very different from any breed which may have existed south of the Sahara, and in which M. Sanson believed. It is easier to hold that the horse of the Egyptian monuments obtained his special type, which is certainly not that of the Barb, from this than from the other. Until, however, we get better proof than Mr. Ridgeway has been able to provide for us of the connection of ancient Numidia with ancient Egypt, I think we shall do well to believe with Piétrement that the Egyptians obtained their horses, or at least their idea of using them in chariots, from their far nearer Eastern-neighbours in Syria and Mesopotamia. Mr. Ridgeway would indeed have us believe that the horse was unknown in Western Asia before about 1500 B.C., but to effect this he must persuade us that the primitive civilisations of the Euphrates Valley, with their mixed Mongolian, Aryan and Semitic population, were without knowledge of the horse. I think it is Oppert who has assigned to these an antiquity of over three thousand years B.C., and who has recorded the fact, discovered on tablets of that date, that the Semitic Kings of Accad were already then possessed of horse chariots. To me, with my belief in the northern origin of the draught as opposed to the riding horse, it must remain certain, until better informed to the contrary, that it was from Asia, and not from Africa, that the Pharaohs obtained their chariots. I would ask Mr. Ridgeway to justify his theory by ascertaining the precise nature of the timber of which the Thebes chariot he speaks of is constructed, and showing that that timber was grown, not in Egypt or Syria or again in Abyssinia, but in the Barbary States.

Following Mr. Ridgeway's theory still further we come to that part of it which derives the Arabian thoroughbred, the modern Kehailan, from the horse of the Nile Valley. Here his reasoning is still less consonant with ancient historic probability or modern geographical fact. He displays, indeed, in constructing it, a strange carelessness of citation joined to a lack of practical horse knowledge really inexcusable, while he adds little or nothing to his predecessor's facts. Closely following Piétrement in the texts he cites from the Hebrew Scriptures and from the classic writers, Mr. Ridgeway demonstrates the apparent absence of the horse in peninsular Arabia down to the commencement of the Christian Era, and the only difference

discoverable between his statement of the historic case and Piétrement's is that for Piétrement's suggestion that, when at last the Bedouins of Nejd took to horse riding, it was from the Euphrates Valley that they acquired their breeding stock, he substitutes a far less likely one that it came to them from the Nile. Piétrement's argument had been—and it certainly has an air of probability, supposing the case proved that indeed the Bedouins were without horses of their own till that time—that it was the founding by the Yemeni Arabs, in the second century A.D., of the two Arab Kingdoms of Hira and Ghassan, on the banks of the Euphrates and on the Syrian frontier respectively, that occasioned the change of habit in Central Arabia from that of camel to horse riding. These kingdoms are historically known to have taken their rise in the decay of the Roman Empire about 120 A.D., and to have continued in power and independence until merged in the great Moslem conquests of the early Caliphate. It is also a matter of history that the courts of the two Arab dynasties maintained a close connection with the lands of Upper Arabia, their former home, over which they exercised an intermittent suzerainty.

This, whether true or not, and granting it as a fact that the Arabs of that day were without horses, is at least a reasonable explanation, and one in accordance with local facts and some facts of history. Mr. Ridgeway's explanation seems to me to have no kind of probability either local or historical. His theory is that Central Arabia, lying on the trade route between Egypt and Yemen, must have been in constant communication with the Nile Valley, and that therefore it was from Egypt that the Arabs, when they made up their minds to have horses, acquired their breeding stock. As a matter of fact, however, the Bedouins of the high plateaux, where alone the horse finds any natural pasture, and where alone he is now found, have never had a direct trade communication with the Nile. Their trade has always been with Syria and the Euphrates Valley, partly because these countries are nearer and partly because the wheat and rice which they require, and for which they barter their camels, are considered by them of a better quality than those of the Nile. Their homes lie, besides, away from the Egyptian trade route, and there is no security of passage for them to Egypt by way of Akaba and Suez. Moreover the Nile Valley, fertile as it is, has never been a good breeding place for horses; there is no natural pasture in it, and the stock artificially fed there has always degenerated, so that although the horses of Egypt have had a certain reputation for good looks, they have always been despised by the Bedouins as lacking powers of endurance and that sobriety of diet, especially in the matter of water, which is an absolute necessity of their desert existence. It is therefore to the last degree improbable that it is to Egypt they would have looked for the acquisition of brood mares and stallions. There are things which it is no discredit to Mr. Ridgeway that he should not know,

but it nevertheless makes his reasoning absurd to those acquainted with the physical conditions.

Even more absurd perhaps is the solitary instance that he quotes in the way of historical proof. It consists of an obscure tradition that Ali the Fourth Caliph was once possessed of an Egyptian horse named 'Maimun,' one of the numerous semi-religious traditions which are rejected now by the best critical theology of the Azhar at Cairo, as they have long been by Europe, and elsewhere are by Mr. Ridgeway himself. Nor does Mr. Ridgeway's erudition save him from a supreme blunder when he attributes other traditions respecting the horse, of a like unauthenticity, not merely to the recognised body of the *Howadith* but to the Koran itself. Yet other proof, beyond this of Ali's charger, Mr. Ridgeway fails to show. He contents himself with seeing an exact likeness between the modern Kehailan and the horse of the Egyptian monuments, and again between the horse of the monuments and his imagined Libyan horse, and pronounces the whole matter proved.

The truth, however, is that away from his own special subject, the literature and archaeology of Greece and Rome, Mr. Ridgeway shows a really astonishing lack of judgment in accepting or rejecting the authorities he quotes. I promised a few instances of this, and I will give three as to which I can speak with confidence, for they concern passages from my own writings. Mr. Ridgeway does me the honour to quote from a book of travels I published some thirty years ago an account of a white mare I had seen of the Hamdani breed of Nejd, in which I spoke of her as being 'In shape, head apart, more like an English hunter than a racehorse.' Now I certainly had no other meaning in this phrase than to attribute to the mare a power of carrying weight as well as galloping, and it was certainly as far as possible from my intention to disparage her, for she was one of the most perfect types of the Kehailan it had ever been my good fortune to see. Mr. Ridgeway, however, who had it in his mind to prove that the white colour in horses was an indication of coarse Northern blood, has seized upon my words and made them the text of a long argument in favour of his view. After first quoting me correctly, he proceeds, a few pages further on, to change my expression 'racehorse' into 'thoroughbred,' and therefore to saddle me with the opinion that she could not have been of pure Arabian origin, and a little later to describe her as by my evidence 'a good cross-bred horse.' This is hardly fair quotation, and in its application is the more foolish because the most perfect types of the pure Arabian breed are notoriously white, though it is also true that bay is the prevailing colour.

While talking of white horses Mr. Ridgeway will perhaps be surprised to learn that the Arab colts which most frequently show striped markings on their forearms, a peculiarity which he uses to identify them with the horses of Africa, are in my experience just those that,

whatever colour they may have been foaled, will afterwards be white. Mr. Ridgeway is, however, probably not aware that no horse of the Kehailan breed is ever foaled white, but always bay, chestnut or dark brown, nor has the white Kehailan, as Mr. Ridgeway seems to suppose, a white skin, but retains the distinctive *Kohl* epidermis of his breed under the grey coat. Another matter, too, may surprise him in connection with the colour chestnut, which he somewhere disparages, that the produce of two chestnuts is in the Kehailan always chestnut, whereas no other colour, not even bay, is equally persistent, a fact which would seem to suggest chestnut rather than bay as the original Kehailan colour.

A second instance of Mr. Ridgeway's strange treatment of quotations is where he cites what was told me by the old Algerian hero Abd el Kader, that a certain earlier name for the Kehailan, which is no longer in use in Arabia, still survives among the Arabs of the Sahara, and where he argues from it that this is a proof that the breed originated, in Abd el Kader's opinion, not in Arabia but in N. Africa. If Mr. Ridgeway had taken the trouble to read Abd el Kader's book, or the French version of it given by General Daumas, he would have seen that the Emir's whole pleading, I may say his whole passionate pleading, is that the Sahara Barbs are in reality pure Arabs, having retained their ancient Arabian blood brought by the tribes in their migrations westwards at a time anterior to Islam when the older name was still in use. Mr. Ridgeway, it is clear, misunderstands the system, if system it can be called, which regulates Bedouin nomenclature. It is the same with their own tribal names as with those of their horses. The ancient names, in the constant subdivision of the tribes, become also subdivided; the new sections adopting some added appellative most frequently from the name of a new chief which distinguishes them from the main stock. Then the early name gets gradually forgotten by disuse and perhaps disappears entirely, leaving only the more modern names which in their turn give place to yet newer ones. And so with their horses.

I will give yet a third quotation which needs a more elaborate answer. Mr. Ridgeway quotes me as holding the opinion that, while the Arabs of the North, the Syrian desert and Mesopotamia, may have possessed horses at an early date, those of Central Arabia obtained them later because their country was one so destitute of pasture and water that the horse could not have been found there in a wild state. It is true that such an opinion was expressed by me in the work of travels already alluded to, but the volume in question was written not after but before I had visited Arabia proper. Since then I have made a more serious study of the case, partly by observations when in Central Arabia, partly by a better knowledge acquired of deserts somewhat similar, and with the result of having long since altered my first crude opinion. An article on the whole subject was published

by me as long ago as in the July number of the *New Review* of 1895, which I beg Mr. Ridgeway to read. There my more mature and present view is fully recorded. I found first when I was in Central Arabia that the whole of Nejd consisted of an elevated plateau rising to a general height of some 4,000 feet above the sea, while the mountains which form its buttresses may be well 2,000 ft. higher. Also there are clear evidences everywhere of the former existence of far more abundant water there than there is now, and again I have ascertained that the Southern confines of Nejd, the district of Jebel Toweyk, still contain troops of wild asses, hemioni, which, though very sober in their diet, yet need occasional waterings. This proves that, in spite of the desiccation, water still exists in the higher ground; and it becomes quite conceivable that the wild horse too may in former times have maintained a gradually diminishing existence in these upper regions. Of pasture there is in many districts no lack. There are at least four grasses in Nejd which are good forage for even the domestic horse, besides certain shrubs of a more or less aromatic kind which the tame asses of the Bedouins thrive upon. My observations in various parts of the desert show me that the domestic horse, if of Bedouin origin, will eat, however sparingly, of these; indeed, there is very little difference between his diet and that of the Bedouin ass. Nor is it, I think, sufficiently appreciated how large a difference exists in the matter of sobriety between the wild stock of any animal and the tame. I therefore find the whole case simplified.

My present theory is—and it is the only one which sufficiently accounts for the extreme difference we find between the true Arabian breed and the horses found in any other part of the world, either now existing or represented on the monuments of ancient times—that at a very early date, when the desiccation of the Arabian Peninsula had not reached the extreme point where we now find it, the wild horse which I believe existed in Southern Asia may have wandered southwards, following the higher line of hill country which joins Syria to the central plateaux of Arabia, and have there in the growing dryness become isolated and specialised. As already said, I submitted this theory to Huxley in 1894, and obtained his approval of it as at least a reasonable hypothesis. Further, while admitting that the balance of historic proof brought by Mr. Ridgeway and his predecessors is against the antiquity of the Arabs as a horse-breeding people, I do not altogether accept it as convincing. Strabo's account of Arabia, which is the only positive testimony as to the absence of the horse in Arabia in his day, is by no means complete, the regions of the Peninsula which he describes being only those along the sea coasts, and he leaves out of his description altogether the great Central Plateau which has been, and still is, the chief horse-breeding district of Arabia. The whole of the Tehama

or sea-coast district of Arabia lies at a low level, and is quite unsuited to the horse, whether wild or tame, nor are the tribes now inhabiting it horsemen, or even in many parts camel-riders. It is in Nejd alone that any extreme antiquity of horsemanship can have been found, and no mention of Nejd is, so far as I know, to be found in any classic author. I do not, however, so far as our present knowledge goes, feel justified in putting forward any strong opinion contrary to that generally held, though I refuse to accept Mr. Ridgeway's extreme dictum that the Semites were from the beginning without knowledge of the horse. There is one significant fact which needs explanation before such a statement can be seriously accepted, and it is one based on philology. Arabic, as is well known, is the most precise and regular of languages, and from its root-words more may be learnt than perhaps from those of any other. Now the name for horse in Arabic is, according to the best authorities, certainly an indigenous one and not borrowed from abroad. Moreover, it is triplicated according to sex and number, precisely as the name is for the camel, an undoubtedly Arabian-animal domesticated from the earliest times. The name, or rather I should say names, borne by the camel are first the feminine *Naka*, that most commonly used by the Bedouins when speaking either of the female or without special reference to sex; secondly *Jemel*, where the male is intended, and thirdly, in a collective sense as used of a herd, *Ibil*. Precisely in the same way we find *Faras* used for the mare or generally the horse, *Husan* for the stallion, and *Kheyl* for horses collectively or in a herd. But I have not space here to argue the philological matter further.

Even accepting the introduction of the domestic horse into Arabia at the late date assigned to it by Mr. Ridgeway, the centuries immediately following the birth of Christ, I see no reason for supposing the Kehailan as we now know him to be otherwise than indigenous to Nejd. My reading of the change brought about, as Piétrement suggested, by the establishment of the Arab Kingdoms in the north, would be not so much that the Nejd tribes had obtained their breeding stock from the Nile Valley or Syria, as that they acquired in the North the art of horsemanship. I have sometimes thought that the delay of the Arabs in capturing the horses we may suppose to have existed wild within their district may have been due, first, to the unsuitability of their country for wheeled traffic, the only use to which for so many centuries the horse was put in Asia. Secondly, they may have been content with their already domesticated camels, which were, and still are, far more useful to them than the best of horses; and again, in their isolated communities, where the use of the metals was little known, they may have found a difficulty in riding horses until the iron shoe had been invented, owing in part to the nature of the ground, which, except in the sandy districts, is astonishingly rough, and partly to the difficulty of procuring the iron needed. To the present

day the Bedouins of Nejd are accustomed on long expeditions to shoe their camels with leathern sandals, and are obliged to have recourse to an alien caste of blacksmiths for their horses. It must be remembered that before the invention of iron shoeing, which has been ascribed to the time of Alexander the Great, or even some centuries later, the chief value of the horse for military purposes lay in the height and hardness of the hoof; and so the Kehailan, who has a round and though hard comparatively shallow foot, may have been of more limited use than some other breeds, and so failed to win esteem.

With this brief statement of my corrected view of the origin of the Arabian horse I must be satisfied to-day, and I leave Mr. Ridgeway, I hope, without having too much offended him by my lay criticism, and recommending him to make a better study of that portion of his subject which relates to Arabia, if he would establish his theory on really sound ground. All horse lovers will congratulate him on his success if he succeeds, for he will be solving a problem one of the most difficult a man of science can undertake, and one to them the most interesting. For the present I fear I am obliged to say that so far as Arabia is concerned he seems to me rather like one lost in a strange land who is following every *ignis fatuus* which appears in his path, rather than as a calm and deliberate explorer who looks well to his feet and thinks twice and thrice and a fourth time before he accepts as proved opinions which in Huxley's words are still only 'guesswork.'

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

*THE ANTAGONISM
OF THE PROPHET AND THE PRIEST*

THE Prophet and the Priest have always confronted each other, will always confront each other, in a more or less hostile attitude. And yet they are both ministers of religion, and dedicated to the same work. Assuming that they are both equally sincere, it is interesting to note their differences in character, methods and results. Speaking roughly, the priest is characterised by the assumption of supernatural powers, and by a ritual of which he is the sole custodian, and through means of which he obtains divine favours for himself and others.

This is true alike of the most ancient and the most modern priesthood. The Egyptian is, perhaps, the oldest priesthood of which we have any knowledge. We cannot see it, however, in its origin and growth. When we first come upon it we find it fully developed with an elaborate temple ritual, containing minute and intricate rubrics, which are so many chains binding the people to the temple and the priest. From this priestly bondage no one was able to escape; not even the Pharaoh himself; so it naturally resulted in the monarch becoming the 'High Priest,' the 'Pontifex Maximus,' of all Egypt. He was thus the chief vicar of the supreme God, and on his behalf received divine honours. The prophet seems to have been unknown to Egypt, as no traces of him have been found in the valley of the Nile. But this negative testimony is not conclusive, for it is not in the nature of the prophet to leave behind him systems, monuments, or other memorials of his existence and activity. He is never the founder of a cult. He does not organise, and hence cannot propagate a doctrine or a system. His function is for the most part to destroy 'cults' and systems of all kinds. The basis of the prophet's function is righteousness, personal character and conduct, as opposed to cult and ritual. He is impatient both of priest and ritual, and in his enthusiasm for individual righteousness would sweep away with them both, as obstacles to personal communion with God. Micah is the typical prophet, and this is the summary manner in which he deals with the priest and his sacrificial offerings. 'Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come

before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old ? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil ? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul ? ' No, no, says the prophet, have done with all these priestly contrivances, these idolatrous abominations, these sacrificial substitutes for personal righteousness, this submerging of the individual soul in the gulf of ceremony. ' He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good ; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ? ' There could not be framed, even to-day, a clearer or more direct challenge to the priest. No words could place before us in clearer contrast the fundamental differences between the prophet and the priest. Every word of the prophet is personal, individual, as opposed to the catholic and impersonal formulary of the priest and the cult. Wherewith shall I come before the Lord (not we) and bow *myself* (not ourselves) ? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of *my* soul ? Nothing of the sort. These things hinder rather than help you in coming before the Lord. What the Lord requires of each of you is justice, mercy, and humility. I have said that the fundamental characteristic of the priest is sacrificial ceremony, and that of the prophet personal righteousness. It is not meant by this to imply that the priest is indifferent to righteousness. He is perhaps at his best, and in his own way, as much interested in individual goodness as the prophet. But his code of ethics is radically different from that of the prophet. The priest believes that individual righteousness can only be attained through the use of the means appointed by the cult of which he is the custodian. To the priest there is no such thing as secular righteousness, *i.e.* righteousness dissociated from the Church and its prescribed formularies. To the prophet goodness is goodness, wherever found. To the priest, dissent, nonconformity, is always and everywhere a sin. The prophet is almost always a dissenter in some form or other. All the great religions of the world are characterised by either, priestly or prophetic predominance. It is impossible to know always whether the priest or the prophet appears first in any given religion of ancient times ; for they are, for the most part, prehistoric. But however this may be, the influence of both can be pretty clearly traced and determined. So true is this that the great religions of the world may, I think, be correctly classified as the 'Priestly' and the 'Prophetic.'

This classification, however, has never been made, so far as I am aware, and I venture to make it now subject to correction. Historically speaking there have been four great 'Priestly Religions' and four great 'Prophetic Religions.' The great 'Priestly Religions' are the Egyptian, the Babylonian, including the Assyrian, the Brahmin, or 'Brahminism,' and the 'Græco-Roman.' The great

'Prophetic Religions' are 'Judaism,' 'Buddhism,' 'Christianity,' and 'Islam' or 'Mohammedanism.' The Prophetic Religions are always *founded* by an individual. The Priestly Religions are always *instituted* and *organised*, so far as we know, upon foundations laid by the prophet. Tibetan Buddhism is a case in point. Originally, Buddhism was one of the purest forms of the non-priestly prophetic religions. But Tibetan Buddhism to-day contains an elaborate priestly system, with an 'all-powerful and exclusive hierarchy. It will be seen from this general classification that the only surviving religions—that is to say, the only religions possessing great power, and exerting great influence in the world to-day—are the prophetic, and this, in spite of the fact that the priest, and not the prophet, is the recognised instrument of religious propagation. But the priest is the propagator of the 'cult' and the institution, *i.e.* the letter. And the letter killeth. It is the spirit that giveth life. In classifying the great historical religions of the world as 'Prophetic' and 'Priestly' it is not meant of course to draw hard and fast lines. This could not be done, for I suppose no great religion has ever been wholly without both its prophet and its priest. It is the predominance, and not the mere presence, of the priest or the prophet that gives its distinctive character to a religion. As we have seen, there is one great religion which seems to be absolutely characterised as 'Priestly' and another as 'Prophetic.' We find no traces of the prophet in the ancient religion of Egypt, and Islam remains to-day a religion without a recognised priesthood. But it is impossible to trace the prophet in a far-off and extinct religion, and evidence is not wanting of the priestly hand in Mohammedanism. In fact, there are good authorities who affirm¹ that the priest is actually present in Islam, though under another name. Judaism was, so far as we know, the first great prophetic religion, and there never has been a greater. There never has been a religion in which have appeared so many and such great prophets, nor a religion in which the prophet was so powerful and predominant. Moreover Judaism is the first great historical religion in which can be seen the birth and growth of both the prophet and the priest, and in which their comparative strength and character can be traced and determined. The beginning of Judaism, according to tradition, we trace to Bethel, where Abram dedicated an altar to God without image or symbol. Abraham simply believed in God, and it was counted to him for righteousness, not for salvation from some immediate or remote calamity, nor for forgiveness of his sins in the sense of absolution, but for personal righteousness, *i.e.* his belief was evidence of a righteous character. The next prophet who appears upon the yet far off and somewhat dim horizon of Judaism is Moses, who leads the Israelites out of Egypt, and away from priestly power, to Sinai, where he delivers to them, not a priestly code, but

¹ The late Professor Robertson Smith, for example.

the ten words of righteousness, and upon this law of righteousness he founds Judaism. Moses calls Israel 'a nation of priests,' thus destroying at one stroke not only the intermediary character of the priest but all class distinctions. It was precisely the same as if he had declared that all Israelites were laymen. But, strange to say, it was immediately after this declaration of the great prophet and lawgiver that the priest first appears in Israel, as if provoked into being by this sweeping word of exclusion. Moreover the priest first appears in the person of Aaroh, the brother of the lawgiver, and a life and death struggle now begins in the wilderness between the prophet and the priest, which goes on through the whole life of Israel, until the priest gains his final but fatal triumph at the foot of the Cross. Christ was the last of the Jewish prophets, and in destroying Him the priest destroyed the sublime religion of Israel. So long as Judaism found place for the prophet as well as the priest, it maintained its life and character, but when it shut its ears against the voice of the prophet it sealed its doom. Christianity was born out of the prophetic not the priestly life of Judaism, but Israel died in giving it birth. In rejecting the Christ, Judaism cut short its own history. For, not only was Christ personally cast out of Judaism and destroyed as a Prophet, but His message of love from God the Father to all mankind has never been accepted by the Jewish Church, and with its rejection Judaism ceased to be a prophetic religion. But the death of Judaism is, after all, only in the outward seeming, for its true life and character have been perpetuated in Christianity. Christ came out of the prophetic loins of Israel. He could not have come from any other race or religion. I repeat that probably no great religion was ever wholly without both its prophet and its priest.

Mohammedanism seems, at a first glance, to be an exception; but, as has been already intimated, the old thing is to be found under a new name. Yet it must be frankly and fully admitted that there is in Mohammedanism not only no organised priesthood with special functions and authority, but there are also no class distinctions, such as clergymen and laymen. But, in a strict sense, Mohammedanism is not a distinct and original religion. It is a composite religion, made up of Judaism and Christianity. It was, in its origin, a religious reform rather than a new religion. It was as a reformation something akin to Protestantism. It was a revolt against priestly rule; a turning back to the individual life and personal righteousness of the prophet. It was an attempt—a sincere attempt—to repeat, or at least to imitate, the beginnings of Christianity. It was at any rate a true prophetic outburst, and, as in the case of Christianity, swept away at once both priest and ritual. But the priest, like the ghost of Banquo, will not down. He is the natural evolution of all cults, and a religion without a cult of some sort soon becomes a formless incoherent mass of sentiment and aspiration. It appears, therefore, that notwithstanding

standing the perpetual and natural antagonism of the priest and the prophet, they are necessary to each other, and to religion. Religion must govern to live, and the cult and the priest are necessary to religious form and government. As there are always a large number of the most worthy people who oppose all forms of political government, believing them necessarily tyrannical and corrupt, so also in the religious world there have always been a most respectable body of men and women who are against all class distinctions, fixed ceremonies, and prescribed rituals, believing that they lead naturally to arbitrary authority, moral stagnation, and spiritual death. And so they do, if left wholly in the hands of an exclusive and self-perpetuating class. Moses hated and feared the priesthood, and yet he was forced to accept it. It is true that he guarded against its predominance by establishing a Council of seventy prophets. But if seventy could prophesy, why not seventy times seven? Why not all the people? So the first protestants Eldad and Medad reasoned, and Moses saw the logic of their reasoning, and allowed it when he exclaimed: 'Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets.' Still, even after this very comprehensive statement, and after the priestly conspiracy against him, headed by the high priest, his brother, and the high priestess, his sister; after all this Moses came at last to recognise and acknowledge the priest as a necessity, and supported the priestly authority against the prophetic rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

Christianity, like Judaism, begins without a priesthood; and it is not till the third century—till the time of Cyprian—that we see the priest coming into prominence and power. Of course, there are those who see the priestly character and function, clearly if not fully developed, in the Apostolic Church. But I suppose no disinterested scholar would support such a contention. The efforts to read the priesthood into the beginnings of Christianity is parallel with the attempt made by the post-exilic Jews to read a fully developed and controlling priesthood into the beginnings of Israel. The 'Protestant Reformation' next to Christianity was the most important revolt that has ever been made in historical times against the priesthood. There had been many similar protests leading up to it by such prophet-priests as John Huss, John Wickliffe, and Savonarola, but the priesthood was able to check or absorb these revolts. The Monastic Orders, for the most part, in their conception and origin, were prophetic and protestant movements; but the Catholic Church was wise enough and powerful enough to hold in her communion even such radical reformers and protestants as St. Francis of Assisi, who, it should be remembered, was a layman. Luther, however, and his German forerunners, were 'too much for the dyspeptic stomach of the now decrepit Church, dominated entirely by the priesthood, and Protestantism was the tremendous result. Protestantism, like Judaism,

and Christianity, was in its origin and beginning non-priestly. This was especially so in Germany, the place of its birth and growth ; and hardly less so in England, notwithstanding the fact that the English Church held very largely to a priestly nomenclature. But it is very significant that in the office of the ^{the} Holy Communion, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer—the words curate, minister, and priest are all used interchangeably. Yet not until the second quarter of the nineteenth century did any considerable portion of the English clergy assume priestly functions. Presbyter was the word used to designate the minister of the Established Church in England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. We know, of course, that there is little or no difference of meaning, etymologically, between these two words, priest and presbyter. But the historical associations sometimes determine the meaning of a word more clearly and correctly than its etymology. Words are known by the company they keep. I suppose that most persons past fifty now living can well remember when the term priest was seldom if ever applied either in England or in America to clergymen of any Protestant communion. Its very frequent, I might almost say its well nigh universal, use at the present time in the Established Church of England and in the Protestant Episcopal Church in America indicates a relapse from the prophetic to the priestly idea of religion. But the Protestant is an emasculated priest. He is shorn of all his magical and miraculous powers ; and a priest without miracle is an impotent thing. He cannot offer a propitiatory sacrifice nor forgive sins. There is a small body of so-called priests, both in the English and the Protestant Episcopal Churches in America, who assume such powers. But they are logical enough not to call themselves 'Protestants.'

It will be seen from this very rapid survey that the prophet, in character and temper, is a religious democrat and socialist ; whilst the priest is in religion an aristocrat and monarchist. But it is just beginning to be seen and fully recognised that Christ was the most thoroughgoing, the most uncompromising socialist the world has ever known. One instinctively feels that an Episcopal Church, with its orders of deacon, priest, and bishop, is fundamentally undemocratic. It was not a mere accident that almost the entire body of the clergy of the Established Church in America opposed the Revolution which brought about American independence. Seabury—the first bishop consecrated for the American Church—served as a chaplain to King George's forces during the war ; and the fact that this unpatriotic conduct (he was a native-born American) did not disqualify him for the office of first bishop in the newly organised American Church speaks louder, and with more telling emphasis, than volumes of special pleading by Church historians. The Episcopal Church could not have done a more unpopular, or a more unwise, thing ; and the evil effects of this Church Anglomania are still to be traced in America ; especially

in New England and Central New York, where the Episcopal Church is to this day regarded by many as an anti-American English institution.² For many years the Episcopal Church was unable to obtain a charter for a Church College in Connecticut, so strong was the popular feeling against it as an un-American Church. 'Kenyon College,' Ohio (named in honour of Lord Kenyon), is to this day even known as the English Fort.

The temptation of the priest, whilst concerned with his cult and his ritual, with his mint, axise, and cummin, is to omit the weightier matters of the law—'Judgment, Mercy, and Truth.' 'These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone,' says the Christ. The priest who went by on the other side was evidently too much absorbed in his priestly functions to regard the sore distress of an unfortunate fellow-being as of any urgent importance, and left this neighbourly act of human compassion to be performed by a poor Samaritan, who doubtless had nothing of more importance demanding his time and attention. But there is nothing of more importance than human sympathy, and the parable of the Good Samaritan was the most damaging thing that the Christ ever uttered against the priesthood. But if the 'priest' is sometimes caught napping, it does not follow that the 'prophet' is always true to his profession. We have only to remember that King Saul was among the prophets to correct this erroneous notion. As the temptation of the priest lies in the direction of formalism, so the temptation of the prophet lies in the direction of what I shall call, for the want of a better word, religious 'Demagogism.' The prophet appeals directly to the individual, and that he may produce an immediate result he is tempted to use the most effective methods, and often without a too strict regard for their character. It was the usual thing for the Old Testament prophet to profess a special divine commission to reveal God's will to His people. Moses, Isaiah, Daniel, Jeremiah, Micah, and all the great Old Testament prophets, proclaimed themselves the channels of divine revelation. And so they were. But hundreds of Old Testament prophets who made the same profession were anything but instruments of spiritual revelation or enlightenment. Buddha and Mohammed made claims to be the prophets of a special revelation. Their claims were perfectly sincere, and must be allowed. Wickliffe, Savonarola, Luther, and Wesley were true prophets of God; but in their wake we encounter a vast army of false prophets, of religious

² Abundant evidence of this hostile feeling towards the P.E. Church I found in preparing a series of articles on 'Church Colleges,' which were printed in the *Churchman* in 1896. I discovered in many places that the P.E. Church was called by the oldest inhabitants the 'English Church.'

The American Church in Munich, Germany, of which I was for some years the rector, is designated as 'The American Church' simply. In 1902 the rector was confronted by a lady from New England, who exclaimed with great indignation: 'The idea of the English Episcopal Church calling itself the American Church.'

demagogues, who play upon the superficial emotions, with the most insincere and demoralising methods; and leave the religious consciousness of the people in an unhealthy and deranged condition. England and America have both suffered from the false prophet, almost more than the false priest, and are now prepared to accept an established form and order of religious service. But they will never accept a Priesthood.

G. MONROE ROYCE.

*MALTHUSIANISM
AND THE DECLINING BIRTH RATE*

PREFATORY

A CENTURY ago sociologists and others were greatly exercised, by what they considered the excessive birth rate that then prevailed among the people of England, which, they asserted, necessarily doomed the masses to chronic poverty and want. To-day dignitaries of the Church and of the State, both at home and abroad, lament the decreasing birth rate, as proof of a moral and physical degeneration that calls for general reprobation, and menaces the future of the Anglo-Saxon race. Our purpose is to examine the grounds for either the one apprehension or the other, and to invite a study of the natural laws, that regulate the birth rate and the growth of population—a subject that has hitherto failed to attract the attention its importance demands.

MALTHUSIANISM

In the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries want and its attendant miseries, were the portion of large masses of the population. Even in good times hunger was never far from the door, while periods of actual starvation were of frequent recurrence, and bread riots from time to time gave evidence of widespread misery and discontent. Among the many remedies, more or less empirical, propounded as cures for this diseased state of the body politic, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, by Professor Malthus, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, published in 1798, met widest acceptance. Mouths, said Malthus, multiplied by Nature's law faster than food could be produced to fill them—hence misery and want. No agrarian regulations could obviate the effect of these conflicting powers, and the only way to repair Nature's mistake, was for the impoverished masses to restrict their families. This, he strenuously argued, was their duty to themselves and to posterity.

Malthus's panacea found ready acceptance among the governing and well-to-do classes. His diagnosis of the disease relieved them of responsibility for the wretched condition of their less fortunate

fellows; for, if the masses suffered, they suffered by Heaven's decree, and besides were themselves the cause of their own distress. It does not appear that Malthus's advice was largely followed, but, during the greater part of last century, his arguments and doctrines were generally held to be, a sound exposition of Nature's laws affecting the growth of population.

Chalmers, an eminent Scottish divine and economist, writing in 1832, declared that 'An increasing population follows in the train of increasing food and at length overtakes and presses on it.'¹ 'The only effectual expedient was a general principle and prudence with regard to marriages, which is for the working classes of society and them alone to put into operation.'² Again, 'It is to a moral restraint on the numbers of mankind, and not to a physical enlargement of the means of subsistence, that we shall be henceforth beholden for sufficiency and peace in our commonwealth.'³ John Stuart Mill held the doctrine of Malthus to be unassailable, asserting in his *Principles of Political Economy*, Book I. chap. x., that 'The evidence of these propositions (the basis of Malthus's theory) is so ample and incontestable, that they may now be regarded as axiomatic.' And Huxley (*Darwinia*, p. 408) declares that 'The conclusions of Malthus have never been disproved and never will be.' Even so late as 1895 Malthus's essay was republished in a series of Economic Classics, and, judging by the recent Romanes Lecture, its doctrines still hold sway in the world of science.

To Malthus and the other economists, the laws that determine the growth of population seemed very simple, and the conclusions based upon them, irrefutable. All animals and plants, they argued—the human race being no exception—increased in geometrical ratio, while the ratio in which food could be increased was only arithmetical. Population thus increased faster than food, and therefore a chronic condition of want and misery was the inevitable outcome, which no reform of the Land Laws could obviate or prevent. Supporting these abstract conclusions by observation and experience, Malthus and Mill point to the great fecundity of plants and animals which, if their progeny reached maturity, would soon fill the whole earth. The same natural law, they said, dominated the human race. The population of the United States had doubled in twenty-five years, and the population of England, estimated by Malthus at seven millions, would in twenty-five years become fourteen* millions, and in fifty years twenty-eight millions. It might be possible to double the produce of England in the first twenty-five years, but it would be impracticable to again double it in the second twenty-five, and, in consequence, the food supply 'would prove insufficient for the population before the end of that period.'

Such, briefly stated, were the grounds and arguments on which

¹ *Political Economy*, p. 142, par. 12. ² *Ibid.*, p. 32. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 70, par. 28.

Malthus arraigned, what he believed to be, Nature's law affecting population, and declared that 'No agrarian regulations in their utmost extent could remove the pressure of it for a single century.'⁴ The only remedy was for the labouring classes to restrict their families. Hopeless indeed would be the future of the human race if amelioration could be found only in this counsel of despair, but, happily, the experience of less than a century has practically demonstrated that Malthus and his followers did not understand the laws of population, and that their conclusions are at variance with the facts.

The population of England has increased four times over since Malthus wrote, and yet the masses are now better fed, clothed, and housed than in Malthus's day, while adequate subsistence for practically an unlimited population, is more abundantly assured than at any previous period in the history of the world. In the North-West Provinces of Canada is enough good corn land, waiting only the railway and the farmer, to yield bread for a population of more than 300 millions, while the plains of Australasia and Argentina have hardly been touched by the plough. If to the possible supplies of food from these vast areas, is added the increased return obtainable by improved cultivation of the land in old settled countries, it is evident that the time is indefinitely remote, when the land of the globe will prove insufficient to feed its population, even if its present rate of increase is maintained.

Thanks to the railway and the steamship, the area of the land available for subsistence has increased enormously in the last sixty years, but perhaps the actual increase in the supply of food is due as much to the greater capacity of man to produce it, as to the larger area available. In the days of Malthus, and for a generation later, the maximum quantity of wheat one man, harvesting with the sickle—the only implement then in use—could produce, did not exceed 144 bushels—a quantity sufficient for the bread of twenty-four people; now, ^{but} by the help of the self-binding reaper, the duty of one man, in producing wheat in England, is no less than 820 bushels—enough for 137 people. Thus, although the population has increased four times over, its bread is provided by two thirds of the field labourers employed in the time of Malthus. These facts fully demonstrate, that in the last two generations the measure of subsistence has largely outstripped the growth of population, and fully disprove the conclusions of Malthus and the economists who adopted them.

Although it does not bear directly on the present question, it is instructive that farmers say their harvest bill is no smaller now than in the days of old, and thus the whole saving in the cost of harvesting has been reaped by labour in the workshop and in the field. The farmer's advantage is in a shorter harvest and less risk of damage to his crop.

⁴ *Principle of Population*, ed. 1895, p. 8.

The laws affecting the growth of population are more varied, and their action far more complicated than Malthus supposed. The propositions that animals and plants increase in geometrical ratio while the increase of the produce of the earth is only arithmetical, and that these conflicting laws affect mankind in the same way as the lower animals, are incomplete or erroneous and misleading. In a state of nature, animals and plants do tend to increase in geometrical ratio, but in the same sense food does not increase; and there is this fundamental difference between man and the lower animals: plants and animals—civilised man alone excepted—merely appropriate the sustenance that Nature provides, and do practically nothing to increase their own food; they neither sow nor reap. But civilised man is a food-producing animal, and, given a sufficiency of land, can, as we have seen, provide food for himself and 136 others. If the acorn the squirrel hides becomes an acorn-bearing oak, or the seeds disseminated by birds germinate and produce fruit trees, it is not a case of fore-thought but an accident, and the outcome is an independent operation of Nature. There is thus no analogy in respect of subsistence between man and other animals.

It is, in a limited sense, true that the return from the same crop can be increased only in arithmetical ratio, and, assuming land to be in a fair state of cultivation, that the produce of the same kind of crop on the same area cannot, with our present knowledge, be profitably doubled more than once; but the population the produce of an acre will sustain, either directly or indirectly, varies greatly with the kind of crop, and the limit in a temperate climate has not yet been practically ascertained. An acre of potatoes will sustain many more than an acre of wheat, and an acre of wheat more than if the land is used for the production of beef. Market gardens in the neighbourhood of Paris produce under intense cultivation crops worth 200*l.* an acre, and, although the crop produced, would not sustain the labourers employed, its value provides them with adequate subsistence. A crop raised by spade husbandry is so much greater, than when the land is cultivated by the plough, that the increase will meet the greater cost of spade cultivation, and we believe, that as a general rule, the soil in a temperate climate, will yield in proportion to the industry (including capital) and intelligence effectively expended in its cultivation.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

It is quite true that population increases, if it does increase, in a geometrical ratio, but its growth does not depend solely on the births but also on the deaths. The difference between the two is the natural increase, and is the measure of the geometrical ratio, which thus may be very small, and the growth of population, as in France, very slow. Malthus and his followers assume, that the birth rate increases with the increase of food, but the natural law is really to the opposite effect,

although newly settled countries may, for other reasons than the increase of food, be for a time an exception. Doubleday, in a book entitled *The True Law of Population*, published in 1841, advanced the proposition, that the fecundity of the human animal and of all other living beings, is in inverse proportion to the quantity of nutriment; that an underfed population multiplies rapidly, but that all classes in comfortable circumstances are, by a physiological law, so unprolific as seldom to keep up their numbers without being recruited from the poorer class. The law may be briefly stated: In civilised countries the more severe the struggle for existence the higher the birth rate among animals or plants, and the more they are protected in that struggle the less their fertility.

‘ Whenever,’ says Doubleday, ‘ a species or genus is endangered a corresponding effort is invariably made by Nature for its preservation and continuance by an increase of fecundity or fertility.’⁵ The last efforts of Nature seem to be devoted to the maintenance of the species rather than to preservation of the individual life.

So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life.—TENNYSON.

Doubleday’s book is referred to by Mill in his *Principles of Political Economy* (Book I. chap. x.), and dismissed somewhat contemptuously in a footnote. Without adducing any argument against Doubleday’s theory, Mill says: ‘ Anyone who may be inclined to draw conclusions at variance with the principle of Malthus need only be invited, to look through a volume of the *Peerage*, and observe the enormous families almost universal in that class, or call to mind the large families of the English clergy.’ We have no statistics of the families of clergymen, but it will be admitted that many of them are not exempt from a keen struggle for existence, and the following figures from Burke’s *Peerage* conclusively prove that Mill’s impression about the families of peers is erroneous. According to Burke, one fourth of the peerages existing at the beginning of the last century became extinct before its close—that is, within three generations. The permanence of a peerage is of course prejudiced, by the usual restriction of the patent to the male line, but, on the other hand, at the beginning of the century there existed many collateral branches, entitled to succeed in the event of the failure of the main stem, and these also had all died out in the male line.

Every observer of Nature must have been struck by the fact, that it is not thriving plants, growing under favourable conditions, that yield most seed, but, on the contrary, those struggling for existence under unfavourable circumstances. Again, the breeder whose success in producing fine specimens, depends largely on protecting them from any struggle for their existence, knows that the greatest difficulty he has to contend with, is the infertility of his stock, and various are the

• *True Law of Population*, 3rd ed., p. 5.

methods he adopts to harmonise, if possible, the conflicting effects of the laws of selection and of fertility.

The birth rate in Ireland was never so high as immediately after the great famine, and similar results attend the periodical famines in India. Half a million more children were born in Bengal in 1899—the year following the famine—than in 1898, and in the North West Provinces the births increased from 1,741,725 in 1898 to 2,255,627 in 1899, and in Banda the birth rate of 13.76 per 1,000 in 1897 advanced to 41.52 per 1,000 in 1899.

But, coming nearer home, a brief examination of the Registrar General's statistics for London shows how closely the birth rate follows Doubleday's law in accordance with the social status of a locality. The average birth rate of nine of the poorest districts of the Metropolis, —viz. Bermondsey, Stepney, Southwark, Shoreditch, Poplar, Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, Mile End, and St. George's in the East—is 35.6 per 1,000 of the population. In eight districts—viz. Islington, Hackney, St. Pancras, Wandsworth, Woolwich, Lambeth, Greenwich, and Fulham—which on the whole are better off than the previous nine, the average birth rate per 1,000 is 29; and if we take St. George's, Hanover Square, Hampstead, and Kensington as representing the wealthiest parts of London, although abject poverty prevails to some extent in these parishes, the average birth rate per 1,000 is 18.6.

A writer in the *Contemporary Review* for June last states, apparently on the authority of Burke's *Peerage*, that since 1840 thirty peers or eldest sons of peers have found wives in the United States, and of these thirteen are childless; other five have no sons, and the remaining twelve have only thirty-nine children, whereof eighteen are sons; and that of the other forty-four titled Americans (excluding wives of knights) seventeen have no child and eight only one. Thus of the seventy-four titled Americans (excluding wives of knights) thirty are childless, fourteen have only one, and the children of the seventy-four number only 107—an average of less than 1½ per family. The writer, presumably a colonial, points with satisfaction to the superior fertility of colonials, for, of the wives of twenty-three peers or eldest sons who married in the colonies four have no children, but the remaining nineteen have sixty-three, of whom twenty-nine are sons, while seventy-two colonials, wives of Englishmen with courtesy titles, or of baronets, have 203 children. The ninety-five colonial wives have thus 266 children—an average of 2½ per family. The estimated average English family in the same period was over four, but probably the families in the corresponding classes in England were no larger than the colonial. Will President Roosevelt or the Bishop of London tell us, that the failure of the eighteen American peeresses to have heirs was wilful, or deny them an eager desire to have the glory of presenting their husbands with an heir to his title?

Nature, to insure maintenance of species, has implanted deeply

in woman's nature the maternal instinct, and in some cases at least, it is as powerful as that of self-preservation. It may be defeated, as suicides defeat the instinct to live, and perhaps the cases where a healthy *childless wife* seeks, without some special reason, more or less excusable, to evade maternity, may compare in number not very unfavourably with those of suicide. The frivolities and follies of a small section of wealthy society are not a cause of infertility, but a consequence. A wife without intellectual resources, disappointed in her maternal instincts, "seeks distraction in society that she would gladly exchange for motherhood and home."

Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.

Our first impression is frankly hostile to the doctrine, that births decrease with increasing abundance and comfort, and increase with growing poverty and privation. It seems at variance with the experience, that both animals and plants thrive best under favourable conditions and tend to increase in number faster than their food. But facts and figures abundantly establish Doubleday's law, and further consideration brings the conviction that the economy of Nature accords with that law. According to this law, population increases from below; the pressure is upwards, and the dying out of the upper classes facilitates the rise of the lower, who again in their turn make way for successors. Society is thus a mixture of all classes, and the lower in their turn have a share in the good things of this world, while the upper, having had their share, become extinct. If population were recruited from above, by superior fertility of the higher classes, the increasing numerical weight of those above, would make the rise of those below more difficult, and society, instead of advancing, would tend to sink continuously to a lower level. If, then, Doubleday's law is well founded, it follows that the harder the struggle for existence the higher the birth rate, and the greater the well-being the fewer the births.

The birth rate of a country is thus a natural and impartial test of the social condition and progress of its people.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS

As already pointed out, the growth of population depends on the deaths as well as on the births, and there is a mysterious relation between them. In every country in Europe where the birth rate is high, so also is the death rate, and when the death rate declines the birth rate follows; but what the connection between the two may be we cannot suggest, or even decide whether the birth rate influences the death rate, or the deaths the births. Statistics tell us only, that the death rate begins to decline at a certain period, and that some years later the birth rate follows. We might suspect that the births would be affected by the death of infants, but comparing the death

rates in decades from 1841-50 to 1891-1900 it appears that although the general death rate declined three per 1,000 of the population, there was no decrease per 1,000 *births* of children under one year old.

It is very remarkable that the birth rate all over Europe culminated in 1876, and, except in Russia, has declined more or less continuously ever since. In twelve of the fifteen countries of Europe (Russia not included) the statistics of which are given in the Registrar General's Report for 1900 the birth rate culminated in the year 1876, and also to within a fraction, in the other three. In that year the birth rate varied per 1,000 of the population from 26.2 in France to 46.3 in Hungary, while the natural increase of population—the difference between the births and deaths—varied only between 3.6 in France and 15.4 in England. In Hungary, which had the highest birth rate (46.3), the natural increase was only 9.3, showing how unsafe it is to estimate the growth of population by the births alone.

The close interdependence of the birth rate and the death rate is very clearly shown by comparing the births and deaths when the birth rate was highest and again when it was lowest. In 1876 the birth rate in the fifteen European countries averaged 35.3 per 1,000, and the death rate 23.7 per 1,000. The average natural increase was thus 11.6 per 1,000. In 1903 the average births had fallen to 29.8, and the deaths to 18.4, making the average increase of population 11.4 per 1,000. Thus while the birth rate fell 15½ per cent., the natural increase declined only 1½ per cent.

The prevalence of war and cholera on the Continent vitiates detailed comparisons based on the death rates, but the comparison of the English figures in the following table is instructive.

ENGLAND AND WALES
Averages per Thousand of the Population

		Marriages	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase
3 years, 1838-40	.	15.6	31.3	22.4	8.9
10	1841-50	16.1	32.6	22.4	10.2
10	1851-60	16.9	34.1	22.2	11.9
10	1861-70	16.6	35.2	22.5	12.7
10	1871-80	16.2	35.4	21.4	14.0
10	1881-90	14.9	32.4	19.1	13.3
10	1891-1900	15.7	29.9	18.2	11.7
3	1901-1903	15.8	28.5	16.2	12.3
.	1908	15.6	28.4	15.4	13.0

These figures conclusively prove, that our declining birth rate gives no cause for alarm, but, on the contrary, for satisfaction, indicating as it does the growing wellbeing of the masses of our people; and if the Bishop of London had acquainted himself with the subject, as the gravity of his denunciation demanded, it would have been manifest to him, that there was no reason for his unspeakable dismay, or ground

for his imputation on the women of England, which a mere layman does not care to repeat.⁶

Turning to the deaths, and comparing periods of five years from 1838 (when registration was introduced) to the present time, the death rate increased up to the period 1846-50, when it culminated, and with slight exceptions has steadily declined since; but the decline was much more rapid in the later than in the earlier years.

May we not in this happy result recognise the beneficial effect on the health and well being of the people, that attended the abolition of the Corn Laws and the adoption of Free Trade in the period 1846-1850? The birth rate did not begin to decline till 1876, when a generation had grown up, that had not suffered from the penury and want of the evil forties.

If we attempt to measure the increased well being of different countries by the decrease in the birth rate we find that between 1876 and 1903 the improvement in England was 21 per cent., in France 18.3 per cent., in Scotland 17 per cent., in Hungary 15.3 per cent., and in the Netherlands 15 per cent.

The colonial statistics give results similar to the English. The birth rate has declined with the death rate, and although twenty-five years ago the natural increase of the population was much greater than in England (owing to the abnormal proportion of women of child-bearing age and to the change of climate and conditions of life, which we know has a stimulating effect on the fertility of both animals and plants), the growth of the population of the Australasian Colonies now varies from 11.6 in Victoria to 17.7 in Western Australia, and averages for the seven Colonies 14.5 per 1,000 of the population, against 13 per 1,000 in England.

A few words about Russia, which the Bishop of London holds up as an example to English women. It is the only country in Europe where the birth rate has not declined. The average birth rate for the first three years of the period, given by the Registrar General in his Report for 1903, was rather under 49 per 1,000, and for the last three it slightly exceeded that figure, while the natural increase was in the first period 14.4 per 1,000 and in the latter 17.0—but the average for the whole twenty-one years was only 14.4 per 1,000. The average in England for the same period was 13.2 per 1,000. In England the population increased a unit for every 2.4 births, while in Russia a unit of increase required 3.4 births. Does not the condition of Russia support our proposition that the birth rate is a test of the social condition and progress or non-progress of a country?

SUMMARY

Let us now summarise the conclusions to which the foregoing facts and figures, with the arguments based upon them, seem to point.

⁶ Bishop of London's charge, *The Times*, October 20, 1905.

In a state of nature all animals and plants tend to increase, while subsistence does not. The inevitable outcome of these conflicting conditions is starvation. But when man, the food producer and protector, comes on the scene the conditions are essentially modified; for man can and does increase subsistence faster than population can multiply.

With abundance of food and protection in the struggle for existence, the birth rate of man and the animals he protects decreases.

Malthus's *Principles of Population* are at variance with the facts of experience, and his advice to restrict families may be safely disregarded.

The birth rate gives impartial evidence of the social condition of a country, and a declining birth rate marks the growing well being of its people.

The birth rate does not indicate with even approximate accuracy the growth of population.

The birth rate declines with the death rate, and their close correspondence suggests the existence of a natural law that ultimately controls conception.

However great the birth rate of an old settled country may be, the natural increase of population—i.e. the difference between births and deaths—does not, on a ten years' average, exceed 15 per 1,000 of population.

In consequence of the superior fertility of the lower and comparative infertility of the higher classes, population increases from below, and thus all classes of society are mixed together and every class has in due succession a share of life's advantages and disadvantages.

Having regard to the readiness of the earth to reward man's labour with abundant subsistence, and to the decrease in births that attends growing abundance, poverty and privation are not the inevitable outcome of Nature's laws, but presumably of man's own acts and of defective social organisation.

JAMES W. BARCLAY.

STRAFFORD AS A LETTER-WRITER

SOME little time ago Lord Rosebery commended the creation of a literary 'muezzin who should raise his voice and recall the names of good books and good authors who stood in danger of being forgotten.'

Among these neglected classics, the correspondence of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, might well be included. Indeed, considering the revival of seventeenth-century literature this decade has witnessed, it is strange that so vivid a picture of stirring times should be omitted. Undoubtedly a large portion of the material has been utilised by historians. But there remains much which should be of interest to a generation unlearned in the folios of our forebears.

It is pre-eminently in their familiar letters that we obtain the true presentment of the men of that period. As, in France, the verse of his forerunners has a pungency lacking to the suavities of Racine, so the correspondence of the Stuart worthies—rather than that of their more polished successors—bears the unmistakable impress of clear-cut individuality. And of these, few hold a more faithful mirror to themselves than does Thomas Wentworth. Sir George Radcliffe, his trusted friend and secretary, tells us that Strafford 'used a very great care and industry when he was young in penning his epistles and missives of what subject soever.' Save, however, in the stately courtesies he exchanges with the high nobility of the realm, no style is less laboured. In truth the Lord Deputy had neither leisure nor inclination to waste in vain compliments his opportunities for council with Archbishop Laud. Again, it was needful that Lord Conway should receive as well as give information, while to wife or child 'Black Tom Tyrant's' utterances breathe unbidden, sterling affection. As is so often the case with men of action, Strafford possessed a happy faculty of expression. A certain grim humour is no stranger to his State despatches, where his wit finds a foil in the cumbrous jesting of the Archbishop. Diction less pointed and picturesque might, however, be condoned where the subjects are of such incomparable moment as those treated by the Lord Deputy and his friends. For the years of which these epistles bear the date were big with the crisis of England's destinies, and the

hand that traced these lines was unconsciously steering the crazy ship of State straight for the breakers.

In common justice it should, however, be admitted that talents and perceptions of no ordinary kind were needed to bring order out of the chaos which greeted Wentworth on his arrival in Ireland in 1633. Poverty, which had countered all the endeavours at reformation of previous governors, was still the dominant force in the land. The King's writ, it is true, now ran throughout the country, and, by the letter of the law, the 'meer' Irish was the equal of his victor. But the case of the Byrnes proved that judge and jury were no obstacle to favouritism, backed by Castle Chamber tyranny. Here and there, walled settlements, garrisons of the ruling race, were springing up, oases of industry in the desert; but the failure of James the First's vast scheme to 'overlap' the Celtic with the Anglo-Saxon element was already apparent in Ulster, where Wentworth exacted large fines for the non-performance of contract. Religion, the chief engine of civilisation with a semi-barbarous people, was here the barrier that blocked all progress. Long before the Reformation, a gulf, not only of sentiment but of statute, sundered the churches of the Pale and the Irishry. Temporal edict was now reinforced by Papal ban. Nor were the singular missionary methods of the Anglican Establishment calculated to wean the population from the monks and friars, who counted life and freedom as dross, could they but retain their flocks within the one true fold. Had the reformed clergy imitated their self-sacrificing zeal, the results, as Spenser long before observed, might have been otherwise. For the Welsh, a race as emotional as the Irish, are now the bulwark of Protestant nonconformity. And in 1599, when Archbishop ~~Hugh~~ Mathew presented Bibles,¹ to Christ Church and St. Patrick's, the cathedrals were thronged with eager readers of the Word. But pluralist and non-resident parsons, expounding Testament and offices in the unknown tongue of the hated conquerors, were unfitted to make proselytes amongst a folk who early identified creed and nationality. Moreover, in 1633, close on a century had passed since the first Jesuit landed in Ireland, and, pitted against the persuasive accents of the Society of Jesus, the voice of the State Church was but a tinkling cymbal.

Decorous himself to a fault, the disorderly condition of the Irish Church was as great a scandal to Wentworth as to his Grace of Canterbury. The Lord Deputy was aghast to find the viceregal horses stabled in a 'decayed' church. Nor was he edified when, with all the pomp of the King's representative, he attended service at the Cathedral. He tells Laud:

There being divers Buildings erected upon the fabric of Christchurch,² and the vaults underneath the church itself turned all to Alehouses and tobacco

¹ Reid, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ulster*, i. 44.

² Letters and Despatches of Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford, ed. by W. Knowles, vol. i. p. 173, Wentworth to Laud, Dec. 1633.

shops, where they are pouring in or out their Drink Offerings and Incense, whilst we above are serving the High God, I have taken Order for removing them.

Nor did his reforms end here. He issued a decree that none should walk about, or talk, or wear his hat before the preacher had delivered the text of the sermon—customs, which certainly throw a curious light on the devotional practices of Christ Church.³ The Lord Deputy and his lady were alone entitled to curtains round their pew. But the eagle-eyed Governor, bent on ‘thorough’ in matters great and small, must have appreciated the privilege less—one imagines—than his subjects desired.

In Ulster, where the hot Gospellers of Presbytery could not be accused of the lukewarmness prevalent in Dublin, there was an aggressive negation of ritual. ‘It would trouble a man to find twelve Common Prayer Books in all their churches, and those only not cast behind the altar because there is none,’ wrote Wentworth’s ecclesiastical whipper-in, Bishop Bramhall.

Principle apart, however, the atmosphere of Ireland must have been naturally antagonistic to ceremonial, for the Nuncio Rinuccini in 1646 equally deplores the same shortcomings in his own communion. He promptly brands as heresy the axiom that, since the Hebrews lived for centuries without a temple, Christians needed not churches built with hands. But he found it as difficult to forbid the celebration of the Mass at the bedside of the poor, on a table, whence playing-cards and food were just removed, as Bramhall did to prevent the Scottish settlers ‘receiving the Sacrament, sitting together like good fellows.’ And the Roman prelate’s denunciations of the bishops administering the mysteries ‘in what is little else than a secular dress,’⁴ matched Wentworth’s threats of royal displeasure, should the Irish Episcopate persist in discarding their rochets.

Matters secular were in no better plight. Indeed, the situation might have absolved Wentworth for neglecting the minutiae of ecclesiastical discipline. The revenue produced by the Customs in 1633 only slightly exceeded 25,000*l.* Nor had this paltry sum been garnered without vast pains and risks. St. George’s Channel swarmed with pirates. The two frigates provided by the Admiralty for police purposes were never in commission till the month of May, and then so ill-found that their unhappy commanders spent most of their time repairing rotten masts. Meanwhile from Spain, from Dunkirk, from Sallee flocked the sea-rovers, holding high carnival in British waters, paralysing trade, and carrying the King’s subjects off into captivity. The ingenuity of the ubiquitous buccaneers equalled their swiftness.⁵ They would strip the stolen bales off their outer covering, substituting

³ *Cal. S. P.* ii. 32, 1633.

⁴ *The Embassy in Ireland of Mons. G. B. Rinuccini*, trans. by A. Hutton, pp. 141-2.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, ii. p. 22, Oct. 12, 1633.

forged marks of different nationality. One captain, hailing from 'that den of thieves,' St. Sebastian, employed his Flemish and English sailors merely to rob ships, while his Walloons and Spaniards lay concealed under hatches so that the victims might believe their captors to be Dutchmen. As a rule, however, the corsairs despised precautions, burning boats under the very guns of forts, and marching their prisoners in chains across France to Africa. Though bondage in Moslem lands suggests mediæval rather than modern conditions, it was long a very present danger to the inhabitants of the Irish coast. It needed the general liberation of British slaves from Algiers effected by William the Third to restore many an Irishman to his hearth and home, and late in the eighteenth century, the Lynches and Trenches of Galway still celebrated "the King's accession with 'exhibitions' of orange lilies, and lighting of bonfires, in grateful memory of their common ancestors' release from servitude by that monarch.

Such a betrayal of its primary duties by the State as this situation revealed was in direct opposition to Wentworth's conception of polity. 'Princes,' he characteristically said, 'are to be the indulgent nursing fathers to their people; their modest liberties, their sober rights ought to be precious in their eyes, the branches of their government to be for shadow, for habitation, the comfort of life.'

Apart, however, from ethical considerations, Wentworth's resolve to inaugurate his reforms by making St. George's Channel 'the chief of His Majesty's harbours' where trade was 'to be no more disturbed' than in his river of Thatnes,' was probably not un-stimulated by personal injury. The insolence of the pirates had not spared the Lord Deputy's wardrobe. But though the haul was valued at 4,000*l.*, the thieves had eventually cause to rue their costly booty.

The army was in as parlous a condition as the naval defences. In Wentworth's picturesque phrase, the want of wage and rations reduced the soldiery to 'live *precario*, fetching in every morsel of bread at their swords' points.' They treated Ireland as a conquered country, and were the terror of the population they were enlisted to protect.

Indeed, the traffic in liquor and usquebaugh was the only thriving industry. As every chronicler from *Giraldus Cambrensis* downwards has testified, temperance has never found a congenial soil in Ireland. Even amongst the fair sex drunkenness was of frequent occurrence. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, according to Fynes Moryson, 'some gentlewomen' being 'so free in this excess as they would, kneeling upon the knee and otherwise, garausse health after health with men.' And a generation later well-informed people deplored the 'excessive number of taverners,' not only as demoralising to the health and well-being of the nation, but as a direct menace

⁶ Hardiman, *Hist. of Galway*, p. 15.

⁷ *Strafford's Letters*, Ld. Dep. to Sec. Coke, Aug. 28, 1633, i. 107.

to Government. The hostgeries, where unlicensed wines and illicit *aqua vitae* flowed as water, were the rendezvous of all 'rebellious, idle, and disorderly vagrants.' There they met in security 'to plot their mischievous villainies, and there receive⁸ their intelligences whereby they knew how to execute most strange and cruel stratagems.' Nay, the smuggled spirits were preferable to the match, lead, and powder which the ostensible wine barrels often contained.

Such, then, was the aspect of the country the most imperious spirit of his age and stock was set to reclaim. And surely never was more arduous task committed to mortal man.

Had Strafford been born a couple of hundred years later to the world and to his work, he would have known that a rule which disregards racial characteristics and national idiosyncrasies is foredoomed. As it has been truly said, 'the history of Ireland⁹ would have been quite different had it been possible for England to govern Ireland as she has governed India—by scientific administrators who tolerate all creeds and respect all prejudices. But no such machinery, nor even the idea of it, existed then.'

A sense of humour, genial rather than sardonic, might have supplemented these deficiencies. Not only, however, did Wentworth close every safety-valve with an iron hand, but his endeavours were frequently marred by a want of proportion which lent them the appearance of self-seeking. Moreover, his eagerness to add humiliation to punishment outraged the sentiment of the average Englishman, who believed the Lord Deputy to be avenging his own wrongs under the pretext of upholding the dignity of his office. In truth, as many a sacerdotalist has proved, the dividing line between the two is often invisible. And Strafford's fanatical earnestness did not teach him to keep personal and public motives locked apart in water-tight compartments. The great proconsul's character has, however, been a manifold subject of debate since St. John identified him with the 'beasts of prey,' arguing that 'it was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes or wolves on the head.' Nor is such discussion the subject of this short study, devoted rather to recalling Black Tom Tyrant as friend, father, husband, and above all, letter-writer.

The copious administration of good advice seems in old days to have been a popular exercise with the elders of the community. In fact, a volume of such exhortations might be compiled with even more historical than moral profit. Strafford, who was an exemplary guardian to his nephew Sir William Savile—the father of the future Marquess of Halifax—did not conceive himself absolved from this duty by his multifarious occupations. At some length, but in language

⁸ *Cal. S.P. (Ireland)*, vol. iii. 170, 1632.

⁹ Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, iii., pref. vii.

of refreshing crispness, he sketches the career of the aspirant to honours and esteem. Above all, he warns Savile not to think

of putting yourself into Court before you are 30 years of age and at least till your judgement be so awakened as that you may be able to discover and put aside such Trains as will infallibly be there laid for men of great Fortunes by a company of Flesh Flies¹⁰ that ever buzzed up and down the Palaces of Princes. Rather should you live in your own House, order and understand your own estate, inform and employ yourself in the affairs of the country; carry yourself respectively and kindly towards your neighbours; . . . and at the first be not too Positive or take too much upon you till you fully understand the course of Proceedings; have but a little patience and the command and Government of that part of the country will fall into your hands with Honour to Yourself and Contentment to others; wheras if you catch at it too soon, it will be but a means to publish your want of Understanding and Modesty and that you shall grow cheap,¹¹ and in Contempt before them that shall see you undertake that when you are not able to guide yourself in your own way.

So much for the career political. The life domestic needs no less careful nurturing; while the spacious leisure of a bygone race—planters of oak avenues, builders of palaces—lives in the next axiom.

Considering that your Houses in my judgement are not suitable to your Quality, nor yet your Plate and Furniture, I conceive your expence ought to be reduced to two-thirds of your Estate, the rest saved to the accommodating you in that kind; those things provided, you may if you see cause enlarge yourself the more.

It is, however, in his parental relations that Wentworth must appeal to a modern audience. In this connection his tenderness and solicitude recall the 'man of blood and iron' of our own generation. The choleric Deputy, who at the mildest word of dissent threatened 'to pull' a recalcitrant prelate's 'rochet over his head,' was the fondest of fathers. If it were 'not for two little girls who sometimes come and play by me,' he protests 'that the long-continued strain of labour would be almost unendurable. His devotion to his second wife, 'that blessed saint'—Lady Arabella Holles—outlived the grave and a third marriage, and the letter in which he confides 'those children of hers God of his mercy lends me' to their maternal grandmother, sheds an unexpected light on the character of the 'most outrageous tyrant,' the 'Vizier Basha' of Ireland.

Madam [he writes],¹² I must confess it was not without difficulty before I could persuade myself thus to be deprived the looking upon them, who with their brother are the Pledges of all the Comfort, the greatest at least of my old Age, if it shall please God I attain thereunto. But I have been brought up in Afflictions of this kind, so as I still fear to have that taken first that is dearest unto me, and have in this been content Willingly to overcome my own Affections, in order to their Good, acknowledging Your Ladyship capable of doing them more good in their Breeding than I am, otherways in truth I should

¹⁰ *Letters*, vol. i. p. 20, Lord Wentworth to Sir W. Savile.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 169.

¹² Vol. ii. p. 379, Earl of Strafford to Countess Dowager of Clare, Fairwood Park, Aug. 10, 1639.

never have parted with them, as I profess it a grief unto me not to be as well able as any to save the memory of that noble Lady in these little harmless infants. Well, to God's Blessing and Your Ladyship's Goodness I commit them; wherever they are, my Prayers shall attend them and have of Sorrow in my heart till I see them again I must, which I trust will not be long neither; that they shall be acceptable to you, I know it right well, and I believe them so graciously minded to render themselves so the more, the more you see of their attention to do as you shall be pleased to direct them, which will be of much contentment to me; I desire and have given it unto them in Charge (so far as their tender years are capable of) to honour and observe Your Ladyship above all the Women in the World, as well knowing that in so doing they shall fulfil that Duty, whereby of all others they could have delighted their Mother the most. . . . Nan, they tell me, danceth prettily, which I wish (if with convenience it might be) were not lost, more to give her a comely Grace in the carriage of her body, than that I wish they should much delight or practise it when they are Women. Arabella is a small Practitioner that way also, and they are both very apt to learn that or anything they are taught.

Nan, I think, speaks French prettily, which yet I might have been better able to judge had her Mother lived; the other also speaks, but her maid being of Guernsey the Accent is not good; but Your Ladyship in this is excellent, as that, as indeed all things else which may befit them, they may, and I hope will learn better with Your Ladyship than they can with their poor Father, ignorant in what belongs Women and otherways, God knows, distracted, and so awanting unto them in all saving in loving them; and therein, in Truth, I shall never be less than the dearest parent in the World.

Wentworth's third spouse, Elizabeth Rodes, was not of the same exalted lineage as her predecessors, Lady Margaret Clifford, and the 'dear saint,' Lady Arabella Holles. It was about a year after the latter's death, and under circumstances almost mounting to mystery, that he married 'Besse'—as he calls her. The match was not declared till after his arrival in Dublin, whither Lady Wentworth was escorted by his trusted friend Sir George Radcliffe. Probably Wentworth considered his conduct required explanation, for Laud hastens to declare that he never doubted 'that you undertook that course but upon mature consideration.'¹³

The poor lady herself was fully conscious of the Lord Deputy's condescension. Indeed, although Wentworth was quick to discourage any attempts at self-assertion on her part, he seems, from the following quaint homily, to have considered her humility overstrained:

It is noe presumption [he assures her] for you to write unto me,¹⁴ the fellow-shipp of marriage ought to carry with it more of love and equality than any other apprehension, soe I desire it may be ever betwixt us, nor shall it breake my parte. Virtue is the highest value we can sett upon ourselves in this world, and the cheafe which others are to esteem us by. That preserved we becum capable of the noblest impressions which can be imparted unto us. You succeed in this family two of the rarest ladies of their time; equall them in these excellent dispositions of your minde, and you becum every wayes equally

¹³ Vol. i. p. 125, Laud to Wentworth, Oct. 14, 1638.

¹⁴ *Bio. Brit.* (York), art. Wentworth, p. 4182, Nov. 19, 1632, Lord Wentworth to his wife.

worthy of anything that they had or that the rest of the world can give, and be you ever assured to be by me cherished and assisted the best I can thorow the whole course of my life, wherein I shall be noe other to you than I was to them, to witt, your loving husband.

The letter is characteristic of the man and his methods, political as well as marital. But human nature, remaining essentially the same throughout the ages, can it be that, for all her meekness, Besse secretly cavilled at the choice of those 'two rarest ladies of their time' as models for her own conduct? Modern depravity almost suggests the hope that, in Strafford's phrase, she only acquiesced 'from the teeth outwards.' At any rate, it is a relief to find that after five years of marriage she had acquired sufficient self-confidence to propose herself uninvited to rejoin her lord at Naas. Her timid essay at emancipation received, however, scant encouragement from the Deputy, who writes :

These hoyting journeys backwards and forwards of all things I love not;¹⁵ they are good for nothing but to disorder companies and spoil houses, and therefore I pray you let us have as few of them as may be. My business being despatched, I will come with all speed to you, nor shall you need to meet me on the way, being to come into town, with much company and the sword before me. In which case you will find the Deputy's wife never came; nor indeed decently can in her coach without being either sooner or later than were fit. I am glad Nan is so well, and conditionally that I may have the happiness to find you both so, I will dispense with your meeting of me no sooner than in the presence chamber, where, as in all other room, you shall undoubtedly find me your loving husband.

Yet, if Wentworth unhesitatingly prescribed his wife's goings in and comings out, he did not grudge to women—or to subjects—their 'modest liberties and sober rigts.' 'News fit and reasonable for ladies' was included in that category, and during the same progress he takes pains to send his wife a budget of gossip. Evidently the florid style of beauty we associate with Lely did not commend itself to this patron of Vandyck.

My lady of Ormond [he writes],¹⁶ is not so inclined to be fat as we thought she was in Dublin. My Lady MacCarthy to my eyo improves not in her beauty. My lady, sister to Castjehaven, if she be not the handsomest of the company, her ladyship is much mistaken; yet, be it spoken to you in private without profanation, nevertheless to her beauty my lord of Ormond's younger sister seems to me much the handsomer; only if I was of her counsel, I should desire her to beware lest she grew fat too soon. . . .

and the austere Lord Deputy ends up with the P.S. :

I beseech you pardon me, for in truth I was so blockish and amazed in good company as I am able to give you no relation of what they were or how they were dressed.

¹⁵ Lord Houghton's Coll. p. 23; *Life of Thos. Wentworth Earl of Strafford*, by E. Cooper, ii. 42-3, Wentworth to his wife, Sept. 12, 1637.

¹⁶ Lord Houghton's Coll. p. 20; Cooper, ii. 39-40, Wentworth to wife, Clonmel, 1637.

Wentworth would not have been of his age and class had he not found in building and hunting his most congenial pastimes. The Castle in Dublin afforded ample scope for improvement. Originally inconvenient, for the Deputy's own room was over the bakery, and the 'woodreek' made the gallery unbearable, it was likewise in a dilapidated condition. The household lived in chronic terror of chimneys and turrets crashing down over their heads, and

to say truth [Wentworth remarks]¹⁷ I^{do} not think there are anywhere so many Rotten Chimneys as are in this Castle, and so dangerously high and weakly set, as if they had been so done purposely for mischief. These late great winds frightened them sufficiently, but I do not think it will be now possible to keep them in their Beds when boisterous Boreas shall swell his Checks next. God bless the young Whelps, and for the old Dog there is less Matter.

Whenever, therefore, Wentworth could find time and health—for he was a constant victim to gout and stone, the two maladies which haunted men of his time—he left his insanitary castle for the hillside or the forest with ill-concealed zest.

In May, 1638,¹⁸ when Mr. Hampden's 'peevishness' and other obstacles to the policy of 'Thorough,' were becoming disagreeably conspicuous, he writes to Laud :

Whether we shall have a Government or no and to the intent that I might be the better 'in utrumque paratus' at this present I am playing at Robin Hood, and here in the Country of Mountains and Woods hunting and chacing all the outlying Deer I can light of; but to confess truly, I met with a very shrewd Rebuke the other day; For standing to get a Shoot at a Buck I was so damnably bitten with midges, as my Face is all mizzled over ever since, itches still as if it were mad; the Marks they set they will not go off again, I will awarrant you, this week. I never felt or saw such in England. Surely they are younger brothers to the Muskitoes the Indies brag on so much. I protest I could even now well find in my Heart to play the Shrew soundly, and scratch my Face in six or seven Place's!

Like all eminent administrators, Strafford had a wholesome respect for detail. Even whilst 'playing at Robin Hood' under the green-wood tree, he was quick to mark how even the wild beasts might be laid under contribution for Charles's depleted Treasury. He had promised Laud a mantle of marten skins, but found unexpected difficulty in their collection.

The truth is [he writes]¹⁹ that as the Woods decay so do the Hawks and Martins of this kingdom; But in some Woods I have, my Purpose is by all Means I can to set up a Breed of Martins, a good one of these is as much worth as a good Wether, yet neither eats so much or costs so much Attendance, but then the Pheasants must look well to themselves, for they tell me these vermin will hunt and kill them notably . . . Perchance you think now I learn nothing going up yonder amongst them into the Forests and Rocks.

¹⁷ *Letters*, vol. i. p. 251, Wentworth to Laud, Dublin, Nov. 27, 1638.

¹⁸ Vol. ii. p. 173, Coshaw, May 23, 1638.

¹⁹ Vol. ii. p. 249, Wentworth to Laud, Dublin, Nov. 27, 1638.

Lord Wentworth found it easier to remodel the land forces and to rid the Channel of corsairs than to bring the Established Church to the uniformity he ambitioned. Threats judiciously mingled with promises of a Parliament obtained in 1633 an extension of the subsidies—on the point of expiring—originally granted to Charles the First in return for the famous ‘Graces.’ Wentworth had consequently the necessary funds to accomplish the sorely needed reforms in army and coast defences. Two small frigates, which, however, were commissioned in March instead of May, under capable commanders, manned by first-rate seamen, and properly provisioned, cleared the Irish waters of pirates in six months. A regular wage, weekly drill, the strictly enforced residence of officers in their garrisons, the Deputy’s untiring vigilance and scrutiny of detail quickly brought the troops to unprecedented efficiency. Indeed, Wentworth’s success in this instance led eventually to his ruin, as a well-organised Irish force, at the sole disposal of the King, was in the eyes of jealous patriots a standing menace to English liberties.

Men’s souls are, however, less easily dragooned than their bodies, as Wentworth soon discovered. It is true that under his auspices Convocation agreed to substitute the Anglican Articles for those hitherto used in the sister Church; an unpopular change, since the latter were more in accordance with the Calvinistic tendencies of the Irish ministry. But Wentworth’s methods of dealing with recalcitrant ecclesiastics wrought mightily for conversion. Hearing that the Lower House had actually appointed a committee to deliberate on the subject, he sent for the chairman, Dean Andrews, and the proposed amendments. Having seen them :

I confess [he writes to Laud] ²⁰ I was not so much moved since I came into Ireland. I told him certainly not a Dean of Limerick, but an Ananias had sat in the Chair of that Committee; however, sure I was, Ananias had been there in spirit if not in body with all the Fraternities and Conventicles of Amsterdam !

The wayward divines were then summoned, and Wentworth told them

How unlike Clergymen, that ought canonical Obedience to their Superiors, they had proceeded; how unheard a part it was for a few petty Clerks to presume to make Articles of Faith without the Privy of their Bishops. . . . But these heady and arrogant courses they must know I was not to endure, nor, if they were disposed to be frantick in this dead and cold season of the year, would I suffer them either to be mad in the Convocation or in their Pulpits.

Henceforward they were merely to give their vote, ‘Content’ or ‘Not content,’ as the Lord Deputy would not tolerate the Articles of the Church of England being criticised. ‘Some hot spirits, sons of thunder’ were yet found desirous to petition for a free synod; but, as Went-

²⁰ Letters, vol. 1. p. 843, Wentworth to Laud, Dec. 16, 1634.

worth trenchantly remarks, 'they could not agree who should put the bell about the cat's neck,' and with one dissentient voice the canon, drafted by the Deputy's own hand, was submissively voted.

Yet, for all his boldness, Wentworth was not unmindful of the fate of Uzzah. He invokes the archbishop's 'Care and Absolution,' else he exclaims²¹ 'How I shall be able to sustain myself against the Prynnes, Pims, and Bens, with the rest of that generation of odd names and natures, the Lord knows.'

Complete as was the surrender of the clergy, it is characteristic of Wentworth that he did not rest till 'he had duly chastised the ring-leader. The revenues of the See of Ferns were inferior to those of the deanery of Limerick, and with malicious ingenuity the Deputy requested that Andrews' punishment might be administered in the guise of advancement to the bishopric. He had his will, but the jest fell a trifle flat, owing to the simplicity of Andrews, who was, or perhaps wisely feigned to be, 'desirous to take a Rochet to loss.'²² In fact, he could not conceal his exultation.

His Lordship elect [says Wentworth] gave us a Farewel Sermon this Lent, 'that had fasted sure, for a lean one it was, only he commended the Times and said: 'How long, how long have we heretofore expected Preferment and missed of it? But now, God be praised, we have it.' By my troth, they were his very words and I had much ado to forbear laughing outright, that understood how much he mistook even these times in this Point, which did not intend this Bishoprick unto him for a Preferment, but rather as a Discipline. Yet he is a good child and kisseth the Rod: so you see it was not a Correction ill-bestowed on him.

Compassion would be wasted on the bishop elect, who, it shortly appeared, had fraudulently let himself a lease in Limerick, wherewith to mitigate his prospective penury. Nor was Wentworth's determination to force such patrons, lay and clerical, to disgorge their ill-gotten goods, superfluous if the Church was to be restored to honourable estate. Roofless chapels and annual stipends of forty shillings are not calculated to attract worshippers or preachers. And Pym's accusation that though many churches had been built during Strafford's government, 'nothing of spiritual edification, nothing of the knowledge of God, by his means hath been dispersed in that kingdom,' sounds to modern ears a strange perversion of the Viceroy's functions. Nevertheless, Wentworth's treatment of Bishop Bedell certainly lends some support to the charge of lukewarmness in matters spiritual. Not only did the learned prelate receive no encouragement in his efforts to make the Bible accessible to the 'meer' Irish, but the Lord Deputy permitted the translator employed by Bedell to suffer downright persecution for his labours. As conformity was the God

²¹ *Letters*, vol. i. p. 344.

²² Vol. i. p. 380, Lord Deputy to Laud, March 10, 1634.

of their idolatry, Laud and Wentworth's systematic oppression of dissenters is in reality, given their beliefs, less discreditable than their conduct in this case.

The sturdy Ulster settlers were less malleable material than Dean Andrews. Nor, had the men faltered, would their womenkind have allowed them to yield. Bramhall soon recognised that the 'gadding prophetesses' were his worst enemies. And Bishop Lesley was so ungallant as to propose that matrons who refused to communicate²³ after the Anglican mode should be mulcted in their dowries and jointures. If this wholesome discipline were applied, 'some of our ladies,' he cynically remarked, 'would not be so stiff-kneed.'

Nothing, perhaps, more accurately marks the gulf that divides us mentally from our forefathers than their insatiable appetite for sermons. To the serious portion of the community learned and 'painful' discourse appears to have provided as keen an excitement as bull-baiting to the frivolous. Laud's disciples, however, far from fostering what our spiritual pastors would regard as a sign of grace, were greatly provoked by this inordinate devotion to pulpit oratory. They saw in it an attempt to 'mince'²⁴ the service of God, cutting and carving upon it as you please,' and substituting a 'puffe of preaching' for the Book of Common Prayer. The same Bishop Lesley reports that the Northern congregations were wont, while service was proceeding, to 'walke in the churchyard, and when prayer is ended they come rushing into the church as it were into a playhouse to hear a sermon.' 'But,' he adds menacingly, 'ere it be long I hope a course shall be taken that they who will hear no prayers shall hear no sermon.'

In 1638 the habitual unrest of the Protestants in Ulster was intensified by the successful assertion of their common tenets by the Scottish Covenanters. The relations between the Mother Country and the emigrants of County Antrim and County Down were of the closest. Not only did the traders from Scotland effectually discharge the office of our modern newspaper correspondents, but whole congregations crossed the sea at intervals to assist at the Communion services held by popular ministers on the West Coast of Scotland. Indeed, on one occasion, five hundred of the faithful sailed to Stranraer to obtain the ministrations of the eloquent Dr. Livingstone. Bishop Lesley bitterly complained that those who contemned his jurisdiction were more in number than would fill all the gaols in Ireland, that episcopal officers²⁵ were beaten, and that one of the most prominent justices of his diocese was a noted promoter of the Covenant in Scotland..

He appealed, however, to one who did not bear the sword in vain. Wentworth immediately responded with an order to send the rebellious

²³ Reid, i. 193-4.

²⁴ Lesley's Sermon (Reid), i. 244.

²⁵ Letters, vol. ii. p. 219, Bishop Lesley to Deputy, Oct. 18, 1638, and Sept. 22, 1638.

magistrate, Robert Adair by name, to justify himself before the formidable Castle Chamber, while as to the minor delinquents he writes :

In my opinion your Lordship should do very well privately to enquire the names of all others ²⁶ that have danced after the same Pipe, as also of all those that profess themselves Covenanters, and send them hither to me; in the rest of the proceedings your Lordship shall not be so much as once touched upon or heard of.

Where the bishop's sheriffs had failed, Wentworth shrewdly opined his pursuivants would quickly render the rebels subject to the ecclesiastical courts and to the jurisdiction of their ordinary.

Nor is this a business [he continues] to be slipped over, but quickly and roundly to be corrected in the first Beginnings, lest dangled over-long the Humour grow more churlish and difficult to be directed and disposed to the Peace of Church and Commonwealth, especially in a Time when the Assumptions and Liberty of this Generation of People threaten so much Distraction and Unquietness to both.

Vigorous as were Wentworth's methods, even he, however, found his resources taxed in the coercion of a population estimated at 40,000 fighting men. And three months later, writing to Laud, though confident that 'e'er it be long, if he may be believed, *and but left alone*,' he will bring the recalcitrants to reason, he already contemplates the forced deportation of the unquiet spirits 'to their fellows in Scotland, placing better subjects in their steads.'²⁷

Thus fatally do the noblest, best-intentioned autocrats arrive at the systems of the Holy Office. The process, though inevitable, is not edifying, and it is a relief to turn to Wentworth's lighter manner of dealing with serious subjects, as exemplified in his treatment of Lord Antrim.

Randall McDonnell, Earl of Antrim, the second husband of Katherine Manners, Duchess of Buckingham, was appreciated rather at Whitehall than in the mimic Court of Dublin. The precise Lord Deputy had but little patience with such windbags as Antrim. Moreover, he was aware that, shallow as was the man, the grandson of Tyrone owned powers for mischief far exceeding his mental capacities. Henrietta Maria, already the evil genius of her husband, was Antrim's staunch ally, and thanks to her influence, in 1638, Charles inclined favourably to Antrim's proposed raid on Argyll's territories in the West of Scotland. Had the plan succeeded, it would, of course, have been a valuable diversion to the Covenanters' invasion of England. Nor were its merits lessened in the penurious monarch's eyes by the fact that Antrim boastfully declared he needed no subsidy, only

²⁶ *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 219-20, Wentworth to Bishop of Down, Oct. 4, 1638.

²⁷ Vol. ii. 273, Dublin, Jan. 12, 1638-9, Wentworth to Laud.

arms, permission to raise recruits and to cut wood for his flotilla from the royal forests.

Under Wentworth's courteous but ruthless cross-examination, the futility of the scheme discloses itself, however, in almost comic guise.

In good faith [says the Lord Deputy] I was amazed to see a noble Gentleman, transported out of zeal (sure) to the service, so much to miscount himself, which gave me the Curiosity first to be informed of the Possibility of such a vast Assumption. . . . Hence it was that ~~at~~ our next meeting I told his Lordship howbeit I should crave to be excused from giving my opinion in this case, or to be so insolent as to take upon me to lead him by my counsel, not knowing anything at all of the matter, yet considering not only his Reputation but the weight of His Majesty's counsels, the lives of his subjects, and Good of his Affairs might be all deeply concerned in this Action, I shall be bold to offer a few thoughts of my own which I desired to know, what Provision of victual his Lordship had thought of, which for so great a number of men (8,000 foot and 300 horse) would require a great sum of money.

His Lordship said, he had not made any at all, in regard he conceived they should find sufficient in the enemy's country to sustain them, only his Lordship proposed to transport over with him 10,000 live cows to furnish them with Milk, which he affirmed had been his Grand-father (Tyrone's) Play.

I told his Lordship that seemed to me a great Adventure he put himself and friends upon; For, in case, as was most likely, the Earl of Argyle should draw all the Cattle and Corn into places of strength, lay the Remainder waste, how would he in so bare a country feed either his men, his horses or his Cows? And then I besought him to foresee what a Misery and Dishonour it would be for him to engage his friends where they were not to fight, but starve.

To that his Lordship replied that they would do well enough, feed their Horses with leaves of Trees and themselves with Shamrocks.

To this I craved leave to inform his Lordship I had learnt there were no Trees in the Isles, but if Trees as yet no leaves.

When pressed to explain how the 8,000 foot and 300 horse would subsist during the next two months whilst marshalling in Ireland, a friendly country which might not be looted, Antrim admitted 'that he had not considered of it.' Nor did his next suggestion of borrowing 100 sergeants for the instruction of his recruits from Wentworth's miniature army find favour with the latter. The Lord Deputy dryly replied, 'There were but four score, and those not persons to be trusted with so great a charge.'

Nothing daunted, however, this amazing person, two days later, sent a list of his requirements to Wentworth. The catalogue comprised 20,000l., twelve fieldpieces, though Wentworth could only hope—and that eventually—to acquire ten, two ships and two pinnaces—viz., one more than the entire Irish navy. Wood for his boats, 'though they should prove strange boats that are to be made of green and unseasoned wood,' and 500 long bows with twenty-four arrows and four strings to every bow, 'doubling the proverb,' articles unknown in the arsenal.

²² *Letters*, vol. ii. 300, Lord Deputy to Mr. Secretary Windbank, Dublin, March 20, 1638.

and good Courage go on the Race you have to run in all Sobriety and Truth. Be sure with an hallowed Care to have respect to all the Commandments of God, and give not yourself to neglect them in the least things, lest by degrees you forget them in the greatest; for the Heart of Man is deceitful above all things. And in all your Duties and Devotions towards God, rather perform them joyfully than pensively; for God loves a cheerful Giver. . . . And God Almighty of his infinite Goodness bless you and your children's Children, and his same Goodness bless your Sisters in like Manner, perfect you in every good work, and give you right Understandings in all Things. Amen.

WINIFRED BURGHCLERE.

NEW ZEALAND FOOTBALL

TIME was when the British athlete had no equal in the whole world. But in the last twenty-five years the men of the 'younger nations,' among whom the people of the United States must be included, have taught him many an unexpected lesson, and, except in the matter of long-distance running, he can no longer boast of his world-wide supremacy. In physique, natural aptitude for all kinds of games, and in the qualities collectively described as 'bottom spirit' by critical followers of eighteenth-century athletics (see Captain Godfrey's *Art of the Sword*, as worthy a work of art as Nyren's *Chronicle of the Old Hambleton Cricketers*) he is at least as good as any of his pupils. But it is not to be denied that some of them have brought a keener and more subtle intelligence to bear on the development of their favourite pastimes. In sprinting, jumping, and hammer-throwing, for example, American athletes are superior to ours, not only because their methods of training are more thorough and scientific, but also because they have invented new devices—for example, the curious twist of the body which enables the high-jumper to add from two to three inches to his record. Even if the American college institution of the free 'training table'—a seat at which is equivalent to a scholarship for athletics—became established at Oxford and Cambridge, our picked men would still be slightly inferior to their American rivals in these less trying contests. Again, the art of bowling has been greatly advanced by the Australian cricketers. They have taught our professionals the advantage of persistent changes, and the deadly device of 'swerving'—first practised by Mr. F. R. Spofforth—is really an Australian invention, though it has been accredited to Hirst and other English worthies. Mr. Armstrong's plan of bowling outside the leg-stump, with six or seven fielders out on that side, was the chief cricketing novelty of last season. It is justified from the scientific point of view by the fact that only balls pitching on the on-side are likely to pass through the 'blind' spot of the batsman's vision. No doubt the time will come when South African cricketers, who are rapidly improving, will have something to teach us. From Canada we have received tuition in lacrosse, and also in curling, as every Scottish practitioner of the game very well knows. But, after all, New Zealand has given us the most conclusive object-lesson in

the art and science of playing a co-operative game. It is not too much to say that the New Zealand team, now touring in this country and adding each week to their colossal tale of goals and tries, have revolutionised the theory and practice of Rugby Union football. An account of the steps by which they attained their triumphant style is an interesting study in the evolution of a really fine pastime of co-operative skill.

In the eighties, though the old-fashioned arrangement of a fifteen in the field—nine forwards, two half-backs, three three-quarters, and a full-back—was still universal, there were signs of a change in the air. In those days England was the strongest of the four nations, and the strength of the English XV. was generally derived from Lancashire and Yorkshire. The issue of many a doubtful battle between England and Scotland was determined in favour of the former by her contingent of Yorkshire forwards, speedy tireless heavy-weights whose special gifts were dribbling and tackling. It is said that a Yorkshire captain once addressed the following words to his men before the match with Lancashire, next to the final Yorkshire cup tie the most important event of the northern season. 'Now, my la-ads,' said the man, who was known as a 'gradely owd tree root' in Lancashire, 'if any of 'em just leeaks at t' ba', down 'em; down 'em proper—*fair bury 'em*.' The story does not exaggerate the lusty tackling of the typical Yorkshire forward of that period. Now it often happened that a first-rate Yorkshire XV., when playing a less formidable team, would find it had an unnecessary amount of man-power in the scrummage, and the ninth forward would be allowed to hang on the skirts of the pack—to harry the opposing halves and pick up chances of a run or a pass out. He was known as a 'wing forward,' and referees—especially Scottish or southern officials—had no compunction about pulling him up for off-side even when the poor man had committed no offence. When the first New Zealand team, which contained a number of Maori half-castes, came over in 1888 the 'wing forward' was frequently seen in the North, and the value of his surreptitious work did not escape the notice of the visitors who had come over to learn a little more about their game at the well-head of knowledge. The Maoris, as they were called, were barely equal to the better club teams, but among them were two players of undoubted genius—a half-back named Keogh (if memory does not trick me) and T. R. Ellison, an incomparable forward, who also had the inventor's mind. When the latter returned to New Zealand he took up the profession of 'wing forward,' and so adorned the post that it became an established position and the corner-stone of a new model. Presently the question was asked, Can we take another forward out of the pack? And an answer was sought in a series of experiments among the players of what had now become New Zealand's national game. About this time the Welsh style of holding the scrum only so long as was necessary to heel out in safety and of

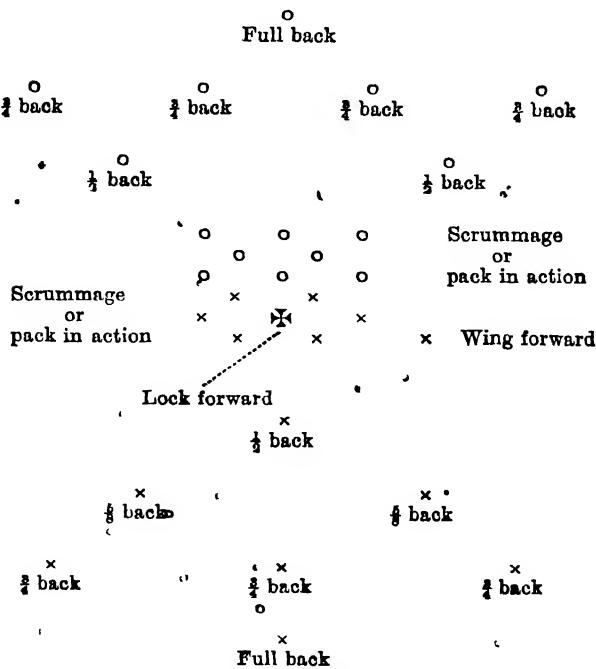
playing a fourth three-quarter was coming into fashion in the Mother Country. The final, formal, material, and efficient cause, as Aristotle would say, of this innovation was the inferiority in weight and power of the Welsh forwards, who could not quite hold their own with the men of the North, and it was a mistake on the part of the larger-limbed nations to follow Wales along this line of development. At any rate, it was a mistake to have stopped there and gone no further. .With the secession, some years later, of the Northern Union clubs into the desert of professionalism—where they and their gate-money will eventually be devoured by the company-paid Association teams—not only did the English XV. lose its pith of Yorkshire forwards, but the only area in England where the game was scientifically studied under the stress of local patriotism was subtracted from the territory of the Union. In this way was brought about the arrest of development by which the New Zealand team is now profiting. However, to return to the history of the New Zealand new model, the experiments inspired by Ellison proved successful in the end. It was found that, by carefully organising the scrummage and requiring each man to be a specialist, seven men could do the work of eight in the pack. This organisation of the pack is the keystone of the new strategy.

For the benefit of those who, like the majority of the forty thousand spectators of England v. New Zealand at the Crystal Palace, are not acquainted with the strategic disposition of forces in the Rugby Union game, the following diagram is given. The 'noughts' show the places occupied by the members of an orthodox English fifteen of 1904-5—that is to say, of last season, when the New Zealand new model and its advantages were unknown to the players of the Mother Country. The 'crosses' show the disposition of the New Zealand team in all its matches, and also of every fifteen playing in the Britain of the South Pacific, whether in an inter-provincial game or in the least important of up-country matches. A scrummage is supposed to be taking place on the half-way line.

The orthodox English game, in which the forwards go on with the ball and the backs must make their own chances, insists that the pack should consist of eight men in a 3-2-3 formation. These eight forwards are chosen for their general ability, and those among them who happen to be up first form the front rank, and so on. But each New Zealand forward is a specialist and, has his special duties, and the scrummage is so built up that seven men in a 2-3-2 formation have all the shoving power of the eight scrummagers of the old-country style. The two who are picked to form the point of the New Zealand pack are chosen for their ability in "hooking" the ball and keeping it. The second rank are men of momentum, the middle one, who is a long-armed Hercules, being the 'lock' or binding force of the little phalanx. The twain in the third rank who sometimes hold hands for the sake of greater cohesion, must be strong at shoving, quick at following up, and expert dribblers. There can be no doubt

whatever that the New Zealand scrummage, thus composed of specialists and built up on scientific principles, cannot be overrun by eight men disposed at haphazard. Thanks to this invention they have eight backs instead of seven, a fact which necessitates a scientific re-arrangement of the men behind the scrummage. One of these is the 'wing forward,' who is really a piratical half-back standing very close up and occasionally asserting his right to a true forward's immunity from the strict off-side rule by placing his hand on the shoulders of a toiler in the scrummage. His special duties include that of protecting the other half-back—whose standpoint is further off—and harrying the opponents' half. As a direct result of this device the half-back seldom or never fails to get his pass out to the two 'five-eighths' who practically act as 'three-quarters' when the attack is begun. By avoiding the use of a fourth three-quarter the average length of passes is diminished, the speed thereof increased, depth is added to the defence, and the spectacle—so often seen in our home matches—of the ball travelling from hand to hand across the field without a yard of ground gained is avoided.

ENGLISH GOAL



NEW ZEALAND GOAL

The less obvious advantages of the New Zealand disposition of forwards and backs have not yet been grasped by the strategists of the Mother Country. Thus the fact that the organisation of the scrummage results in the acquisition of a sort of corporate intelligence has been generally overlooked. The New Zealand pack never goes on shoving when the ball leaks out, but breaks up with much greater speed than the amorphous body opposed to it. The greater percentage of tries scored by the visiting forwards is a striking proof of this assertion. Furthermore, four lines of offence and defence behind the scrummage are better than three, one of which must be crowded. Behind the pack and the wing-forward—a half-back standing very close up, as I have pointed out—the New Zealand XV. plays one half-back, two five-eighths, and three three-quarters, arranged in a wedge formation, with its apex towards the scrummage. Both in the English and New Zealand game the full-back performs the same purely defensive functions, and we may leave him out of consideration, just as one cancels a symbol of quantity occurring on both sides of an algebraic equation. Now this wedge formation acts as a most effective protection to the centre three-quarter, who is the pivot of the attack. It is very difficult to get at him, and the brilliant work of G. W. Smith, who occupies that post in the best team of the visitors, is largely due to the way in which he is guarded on either flank by the half-back and one of the five-eighths from the rush and confusion of the broken scrummage. If he chooses to pass he has time to pass accurately and to the best advantage. If he chooses to run with the ball, the road of intending tacklers is often blocked by the half-back standing out and the two five-eighths, and he is into his stride before interference is possible. The device of unostentatious 'blocking' permeates the New Zealand system. It is the atmosphere in many a picture of fine passing movements which I have in my mind's eye. There can be no doubt whatever that this form of passive resistance is not in accordance with the spirit of the Rugby Union code, though it does not break the mere letter thereof. The chief tactical maxim of the New Zealanders is that which asserts that offence is the best form of defence—a maxim which has been inverted by nearly all the teams they have beaten. But when the ball hovers about well inside their twenty-five, and defensive work is necessary, then the wedge formation enables them to oppose three backs to two in every case. With four men in the three-quarter line passing movements are often nipped in the bud, the two pivotal centre three-quarters being often overwhelmed by forwards following up quickly. And it is easier to break through one than two lines of defence, especially if, as is the great fault of Mother Country fifteen, the four three-quarters do not keep position so that passing between them may be accurate and swift, the necessity of determining the recipient's position being avoided. Even at its best the Welsh model is not so scientific as that of the New Zealanders.

It cannot be said that any British fifteen—with the possible exception of one or two public school teams—have yet assimilated the New Zealand style. Yet we are gradually learning our lesson. To begin with, the foolish and ineffectual device of pulling a forward out of the pack was tried. But it was not to be expected that a simple-minded forward, used to keeping his head down and shoving lustily for one half of his playing time, would be able to fulfil the complicated duties of a wing forward—really a half-back pretending to be a forward. That crude plan was a disastrous failure, and the choice of a fifth three-quarter with permission to go where he chose has not been more successful, though Raphael adorned the impromptu position in the international match at the Crystal Palace, and Cliff Pritchard did even better for Wales at Cardiff. Scotland got the nearest approximation to the solution of an insoluble problem—insoluble, that is to say, so long as we do not organise the scrum-mage, which is the logical first step—by choosing a third half-back, and that is the reason why she so nearly won the great game at Inverleith. But even the third half-back is only a makeshift. We cannot cope with the New Zealanders until the full meaning of the lesson in strategy is understood and accepted as a counsel of present perfection. It may be that five years—a whole generation of Rugby Unionists—will have passed away before the revolution is accomplished.

Those who did not see the game may think that the victory of Wales at Cardiff by the narrowest possible margin (a try to nothing) refutes the foregoing argument. But on that occasion the New Zealand men were palpably stale and listless, and it may be that a long series of go-as-you-please victories had taken the edge off their artistry. Even then they would not have lost their last international but for the failure of their full-back on many occasions to kick a fair length or find touch, and the wonderful game played by Winfield, the Welsh full-back, whose gigantic, well-directed kicks dominated the game from first to last. Never in recent years has an international game been so obviously won by superiority of full-back play, other things being about equal. Wales has proved that the wearers of the silver fern are but mortal, and I suppose we ought to rejoice that they have saved the reputation of the old-country players in Mr. Seddon's eyes.

Meanwhile it is the height of folly to prate about the degeneracy of physique among the players of Rugby Union of the four nations at home. In this important matter there is nothing to choose between the men of the Mother Country and the men of New Zealand. Nor are we inferior in players of individual genius. England has Raphael, Scotland K. G. McLeod, and Ireland has McLear—each of whom is the equal of G. W. Smith, the best of the visiting three-quarters. It is true we have not an Ellison—whose work in open forward play

suggested that of Kipling's 'india-rubber idiot on a spree'—or a Gurdon, or a W. E. Bromet, or a Vassall to place in the pack. Half-backs of the calibre of Don Wauchope or Alan Rotherham are sadly to seek, though E. D. Simson, of Scotland, is equal to either, if different in artistry. The peer of Stoddart, the greatest attacking three-quarter we ever possessed, has not yet arrived—for Raphael is only at the top of his electric mood for a few minutes at a time and McLean is only Stoddart on the instalment system. In Winfield a full-back as unerring as Bancroft and able to kick as far as H. B. Tristram has at last appeared. No doubt we could select a fifteen of the United Kingdom which, with two or three practice games, could draw with the visitors on their merits. It is to be hoped that such a fifteen will be chosen, and the game played in London. But of all the great teams of the past which I have seen only Vassall's Oxford XV.—a team of internationals, with international reserves, which played together for a whole season—would have had a chance of beating the New Zealanders at their best. And it must be remembered that the strongest fifteen of the men who, at the time of writing, have lost only one game, were beaten by a provincial team before leaving home, and do not really represent the full strength of New Zealand, which has only one-fifth of the population of Wales.

E. B. OSBORN.

*SHOULD INDIAN MAHOMMEDANS
ENTAIL THEIR ESTATES?*

In the October number of this Review there is an article by Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., late Judge of the High Court at Calcutta, entitled 'An Indian Retrospect and some Comments,' which deserves and is sure to receive respectful attention on account of the reputation and position of the author, but which is less certain to receive that close critical examination that one at least of his proposals demands.

With much that he urges I am in full sympathy. I welcome with special satisfaction his protests against the tax on justice in the shape of court fees, against the reservation of district judgeships to the Covenanted Civil Service, against the appointment of legal Members of Council from the ranks of English lawyers having little or no knowledge of India. I am entirely with him in his plea for the larger employment of natives in the higher branches of the administration, and should sympathise with his desire for denominational universities if it were quite clearly understood that the Government would not be expected to find the money. On several other points I disagree; but my direct concern at present is only with the concluding portion of his article, commencing on p. 617.

As a member and lifelong advocate of the Mahomedan community, he complains that under British rule 'it has steadily declined in wealth, prosperity, influence, and all the elements which conduce to development and progress, and yet there is no indication of a stop in the process of declension.' (Its very marked increase in numbers does not seem to strike him as evidence of progress, and possibly he may be right.) He indicates, as a contributory cause of this alleged decline, the fact that they do not obtain what he considers to be their fair share of employment and honours under the State; but, inasmuch as he does not stop to argue this point, passing on at once to what he considers a much more serious *gravamen*, I may be excused for following his example.

The 'deeper cause' of Mahomedan decline is alleged to be, strange to say, a judicial interpretation of Mahomedan law which simply brings it into line with the Hindu law as interpreted by

our Courts; so that we have here another remarkable illustration of the proverb, 'what is one man's meat is another man's poison.'

The judgment of the Calcutta High Court in 1869, confirmed by the Privy Council in 1872, in the famous Tagore will case, laid down in effect that bequests and settlements in favour of unborn persons, not being *prima facie* in accordance with natural justice, could only be supported by some express provision of the particular system of law applicable to the case; that the English law, which expressly defines certain very narrow limits within which such bequests and settlements may be permitted, was inapplicable to the case, and that in the Hindu law, which was applicable, there was no provision at all on the subject; consequently, that of the elaborate will of the testator in question, by which he had attempted to tie up the bulk of his property in perpetual entail, the first life-interest was the only portion to which effect could be given. And by the subsequent decision in *Promotho v. Radhika* (1875) the subterfuge of giving to a line of favoured descendants the substantial enjoyment of property, under cover of making them trustees for the worship of an idol, was no less unequivocally condemned.

Substantially the same conclusion has now at last been arrived at with respect to Anglo-Mahomedan law, by virtue of certain rulings of the Privy Council, confirming some and overruling others of the decisions previously given by the several High Courts. The question turned on an alleged difference between the Hindu and Mahomedan laws on the subject of religious endowment. Apart from this, the invalidity of all gifts to unborn persons, and therefore *à fortiori* of all perpetuities, would have been even more indisputable under the latter system than under the former. But the institution of *wakf*, commonly though rather ambiguously translated 'religious endowment,' supplied a loophole of which would-be founders of families did not fail to take advantage. The word itself signifies simply 'tying up,' 'detention,' 'immobilisation'; but inasmuch as it is a part of the accepted definition that the thing '*wakf-ed*' is 'detained in the ownership of Almighty God in order that it may be employed for the benefit of mankind,' it is natural to speak of it in English as a dedication to religious or charitable uses. Only, as Mr. Ameer Ali has repeatedly and very properly pointed out, we must be careful not to fasten on the terms religion and charity the restricted meanings that our peculiar history has caused them to bear in English law. To an English lawyer a trust for religious purposes means a trust for some kind of public worship, and a charitable purpose means one covered by the spirit if not the letter of a certain Elizabethan statute; he will not admit that it can possibly cover such a purpose as that of promoting the further aggrandisement of a family already well-to-do. To the old Mahomedan lawyers, on the other hand, according to the copious

citations from their works supplied by Mr. Ameer Ali in his book and in his *Calcutta judgments*, no purpose could be more eminently religious or more indisputably charitable. 'The Mussulman law [he now tells us in this Review] declares in the most emphatic terms that charity to one's kith and kin is the highest act of merit'; and accordingly, 'family benefactions or *wakfs*, providing for the maintenance and support of the donor's descendants, either as sole beneficiaries or in conjunction with other pious objects, have existed for the last thirteen (?) centuries, and all sects and schools are unanimous in upholding their validity.'

It so happens that I have had occasion, in the course of compiling a text-book on the Mahomedan law as administered in British India, to follow pretty closely in Mr. Ameer Ali's footsteps in regard to this point; and the result has been to satisfy me that he is right and that their lordships of the Privy Council are for once wrong, except perhaps on the minor question of the antiquity of the present usage, which I suspect to be not more than nine or ten, instead of thirteen, centuries old. This doubt, as I shall show presently, is not altogether unimportant from the statesman's point of view, but it is entirely irrelevant to the soundness or unsoundness of British judicial decisions. For it has always been understood that it is no part of the duty of a British judge, under the enactments which require him to decide certain kinds of civil suits according to the law of the religion to which the parties belong, to go behind the text-books which are generally received as authoritative by the religionists in question at the present time. Inasmuch as the only motive of us Britons for paying any attention at all to the native laws is, not reverence for Mahomet or Manu, but regard for the wishes and expectations of living Mahomedans or Hindus, it would be out of place to set any opinion to which our critical studies may happen to have led us as to what was in the mind of the original lawgiver against those traditional interpretations which have moulded the living practice. So far, then, I agree with the writer of 'An Indian Retrospect' that a wrong has been done, though unintentionally, and as the result of quite excusable ignorance. But when we come to the question of redress, we have first of all to ask, what is the actual damage? Is the wrong a substantial or a merely technical one? My view is that it is a case of the right thing being done in the wrong way and by the wrong authority; and that the only remedy required is to have that right thing done over again by the proper authority, that is, by the Indian Legislature. Mr. Ameer Ali, on the contrary, considers that the wrong thing has been done in substance as well as in form; he will have it that the power of entail is the very sheet-anchor of Mahomedan salvation, and calls for legislation to restore it, by reversing the judicial rulings that have dealt it so shrewd a blow. We are thus in agreement as to the need for legislation, though diametrically opposed as to the kind of legisla-

tion needed, and the controversy is transferred from the field of law to that of public policy.

In truth, the whole question of administering Mahomedan law in British India is purely one of public policy. The Government is absolutely unhampered by anything in the nature of a pledge on the subject. The extent of recognition accorded to that law has in fact varied very greatly at different periods, and even from province to province during the same period. The guiding maxim of our best Anglo-Indian legislators has always been 'uniformity where we can have it, diversity where we must have it,' and the limits of unavoidable diversity naturally tend to contract as the interchange of ideas among Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians becomes more active, and a common education is more widely diffused. It is only natural that the last stronghold of legal diversity should be the family, both because it is in that sphere that diversity of religion makes itself most keenly felt, and because the public inconvenience of diversity is at its minimum when it relates only to such matters as marriage and inheritance among people who seldom want to marry outside their own communion. But it is otherwise when the law of the family claims to subject to the caprice of testators the fate of countless unborn generations, and when it aims at keeping great masses of unearned wealth in the hands of people who, from the very fact of its being unearned, are less likely than others to make a good use of it. Public policy must surely have something to say to laws of this sort, nor does our learned friend deny that it has. On the contrary, he has the boldness to maintain that public policy is on his side—on the side of the 'Dead Hand.'

His argument, be it observed, covers not only this subject of *wakf*, but the general policy of restricting freedom of contract and the alienability of land. Thus the recent Punjab Land Alienation Act receives his hearty benediction, and it is in that connection that his general train of thought is most clearly indicated. I quote from p. 610:—

For an alien Government, like the British, the existence of a stable propertied class whose interests are bound up with its durability and permanence is of vital importance. The necessity, therefore, of taking legislative measures for the protection of such a class from the inroads of usurers and money-lenders seems obvious. . . Under the existing system there is no stability whatever. Families rise to affluence in one generation, in the next they are paupers. In one district alone, in the course of forty years, four families have followed each other in rapid succession in the possession of the same estate. And this is not confined to Bengal. The same process of continuous destruction goes on wherever there is no restriction on the alienability of land.

Why should the substitution of presumably more efficient for less efficient landowners be described as a process of destruction? It is the process going on more or less rapidly in all the progressive nations of the world, and is either the cause or the effect of their vigour and

vitality. In the next paragraph he seems, strangely enough for a writer so well acquainted with Europe, to imagine it to be one of the peculiar conditions of India that in that country 'neither education nor intelligence is by any means uniform; the ignorant peasant is hardly able to cope on equal terms with the astute bunniah, or the ill-informed zemindar with the clever mahajun'; as though Bentham had written his immortal 'Defence of Usury' for a society in which there were no ignorant peasants, no foolish scions of nobility, no astute money-lenders and attorneys; or as though the English rule against perpetuities had been inspired by some theory of the equal business capacity of all Englishmen—English Jews included!

He does not, however, rest his case entirely on the peculiarity of Indian conditions; for in the next sentence he assures us that unrestricted freedom of contract has not been found successful even in England. No one knows better than this distinguished lawyer that absolute freedom of contract, in the sense of literally enforcing by legal process any sort of bargain that individuals may have been foolish or wicked enough to make—Shylock's pound of flesh, for instance—has never been a principle of English law. If the freedom which he supposes to have been tried and to have failed in this country is the sort of freedom that Parliament has in recent years been urged to restrict by its Factory Acts, its Agricultural Holdings Acts, and its Money-lending Acts, then I must be allowed to point out that such legislation, whether wise or unwise (and I myself suspect a good deal of it to be unwise) stands on a totally different footing from perpetual, non-barrable entails, and that no responsible statesman would dream of proposing a return to the latter, while most Liberals would like to get rid of such remains of the settlement system as still exist.

It is one thing to discountenance, or even to prohibit, labour agreements which are thought to be incompatible with the health and efficiency of the labourer; it is quite another thing to say that the man who cannot or will not turn his land to profitable use shall be prevented by law from selling it to some one who can and will; and it is yet another, and a still more indefensible, thing to say that such transfers shall be permitted or forbidden, not on any broad principle of public policy, but according to the fancy that happened to possess the brain of some long-deceased ancestor.

Parliament may or 'may not have been well advised in empowering our Courts to go into the question whether the interest charged by a money-lender is excessive; but, at all events, the spirit of such an enactment has nothing in common with the deliberate fostering of a privileged class of irresponsible rich, which would be the effect of restoring the English law of entail to what it was under the statute *De Donis* before *Talgarum's* case, and which would also be the effect, on Mr. Ameer Ali's own showing, of confirming by legislation his

interpretation of the Mahomedan law of *wakf*. What other conclusions are we to draw from the following passage (p. 618) ?

Under the law prevailing among the Mahomedans, the property of a deceased person is liable to be divided among a numerous body of heirs. An unqualified application of this rule would mean the absolute pauperisation, within a short space of time, of Mahomedan families, and prove utterly subversive of national and individual well-being. No permanent benefaction, nor the continued existence of family influence or prestige, without which progress is out of question, would be possible.

In other words, so low is the opinion entertained by this ardent champion of Islam of his coreligionists' intelligence, thrift, and capacity for self-help, that he considers unearned, passively inherited wealth the only alternative to pauperisation ! In reality the tendency of Islamic law (apart from *wakf*) to produce minute subdivision of family property is only a little more pronounced than that of French law, which is not generally considered to have subverted national and individual well-being. On the other hand, somebody must inevitably be pauperised when land, the ultimately indispensable subject-matter of all productive industry, is retained by force of law in lazy and incompetent hands.

The social conditions which render primogeniture and perpetual entails natural and, in a sense, desirable, are well known to all students of legal history. They may well have been present in Central Asia at the time when the law of *wakf* was taking shape ; they were certainly present during the decadence of the Mogul Empire and the early days of British rule ; but they are no more prevalent in modern British India (as distinguished from the Native States) than in modern England. The feudal baron has his place and his use when personal attachments are the only social ligaments of any force, and the sense of civic duty is non-existent. The aggrandisement of families then means, not the accumulation of private wealth and the aggravation of social inequalities, but the enlargement of comparatively well-protected oases in a desert of anarchy. The chief is not so much concerned about his rent-roll as about the number, the valour, and the fidelity of his retainers ; and what he aims at securing for his descendants is not a monopoly of the land considered as an instrument of production, but a claim to the quasi-political allegiance of the dwellers thereon. Under the *Pax (and Tax) Britannica*, the needed protection is afforded, and payment for the same is exacted, by a regular government operating through its own salaried agents ; consequently the possession of land has no longer a political, but a purely economic significance, and the main problem for the law-makers is to encourage the occupation of land by those most capable of increasing its productiveness, and who can therefore afford to pay the highest ground-rent to the State as supreme landlord, and thus to provide in the least burdensome manner for the necessary expenses of civilised government. It will

hardly be maintained that descent from the original acquirer affords a guarantee of industrial efficiency at all comparable to the test of the open market. Nothing could be more disastrous for the prestige of the British Government than to have it popularly supposed that its interests are bound up with those of a 'propertied class' so 'stable' as to be pestiferously stagnant, owing to our artificial damming up of the invigorating current of industrial competition.

If it is argued that the mischief of the Dead Hand is as great in those public charities, which the English and Indian laws protect as in those private perpetuities which they forbid, I am not greatly concerned to dispute the assertion. I suspect indeed that the vast amount of potential wealth locked up in ill-planned and ill-administered religious endowments, both Mussulman and Hindu, is a powerful contributory cause of that poverty of India which we all deplore. But that is an evil for which, in the present state of English and Indian opinion, there appears to be no remedy. For an alien Government, pledged to the strictest religious neutrality, and accustomed in its own country to the extremest caution and conservatism in such matters, to set about remodelling the trusts of temples and mosques, of *dharmasalas* and *khankahs* and *i'mambaras*, in accordance with its own notions of public utility, is, of course, out of the question. If we are ever to modify native prejudices in such subjects, the beginning will have to be made at home. That there is a similar sentiment in favour of private entails we have no evidence beyond our learned friend's assertion. That in his practice at the Indian Bar he may have found a strong feeling on the subject among his rich Mahomedan clients we can easily believe. The family solicitors of large English landowners would very likely tell the same tale. Had the decision rested with them there would have been no *Taltarum's* case under Edward the Fourth, no Act for the abolition of fines and recoveries under William the Fourth, and certainly no such death duties as Sir William Harcourt gave us in 1894. But we are not accustomed to look to that class for the main current of public opinion concerning our land laws, nor would it be safe to assume that the same class reflects the prevailing opinion of Indian Moslems. Presumably there are, in that as in other communities, younger sons to whom the Koranic rule of equal division would be more agreeable than primogeniture, landowners who for good as well as bad reasons would like to sell their estates, landless capitalists who would like to buy them, and creditors who prefer a good mortgage to any other security. It has moreover to be explained why the more numerous, and on the whole more prosperous, Hindu community finds no fault with judicial decisions identical in effect with those of which Mr. Ameer Ali complains. It involves no disrespect to him to decline to accept his *ipse dixit* as to the sentiments of sixty millions of his co-religionists. Mahomedans are notoriously divided upon general Indian politics,

some siding with the National Congress party and others against it. They are no less sharply divided on questions of social reform, and he would be the first to admit that those who share his advanced views on such subjects as polygamy and divorce have not as yet much to show in the way of numbers, however strong they may be in talent and character. It is therefore too much to ask of us that we should believe, on his sole authority, that Mahomedan opinion is unanimous in favour of the rule of the Dead Hand.

Nor is it by any means safe to infer such unanimity from the mere fact of the usage in question being supported by their Sacred Law according to the received methods of interpretation. If we did, we should have also to picture them as pining for the restoration of that criminal law which we once adopted but have long ago abolished : the impalement of rebels, the stoning of adulterers and adulteresses, the discretionary retaliation in murder cases, the acquittal of the murderer who kills A by mistake when he meant to kill B, the bastinado for moderate as well as immoderate wine-drinkers, &c. Again, the current interpretation of the Sacred Law is still more unquestionably in favour of the legality of polygamy than of family *wakfs*, yet, Mr. Ameer Ali would fain persuade us that quite an appreciable number of his fellow-Moslems agree in condemning it.

The only safe plan, if a Government really wants to know the wishes of any section of its subjects, is to ask them. A Government which could spend a lakh or so of the unfortunate taxpayers' rupees in anthropological and anthropometric research, taking measurements of the facial angles of some 6,000 natives in order to arrive at such profound truths as that 'in Eastern India a man's social status is in inverse ratio to the width of his nose,'¹ might surely afford a Commission of Inquiry on so vital a matter as the actual state of native opinion concerning what we take credit for administering to them as native law.

The question that really wants answering, not by conjecture but by properly sifted evidence, may be stated as follows : such-and-such being the rules on a given topic which an enlightened Government would embody in a general code for India, were it free to follow the dictates of its own reason and conscience, what modifications thereof are rendered necessary, for this or that particular section of the population, by an adverse sentiment so strong that it would be impolitic to over-ride it ?

The Punjab Alienation Bill purported to be based on such a Commission, which went from village to village in the selected districts, encouraging the villagers on the one hand and the money-lenders on the other to express their views freely on the points at issue. The precedent is so far to be commended, whatever we may think of the

¹ See *Trades and Castes of Bengal*, compiled by Mr. H. H. Risley, of the Bengal Civil Service, and published in 1891 by the Government of India.

use made of the information so obtained. But of course the inquiry needed for our purpose would be vastly more extended and systematic.

In inquiries like these, conducted with a view to legislation, the Islamic law-sources will be approached in a different spirit from that imposed on the High Court judges and the Privy Council. The question whether a given doctrine is actually part of the original revelation of Mahomet or a comparatively modern accretion, which in forensic argument is rightly brushed aside as irrelevant, will be differently regarded when a body of believers is called upon to decide by their votes whether it is so certainly a divine command that no considerations of human policy can be weighed in the balance against it. Thus the antiquarian arguments of learned Hindus in favour of widow-marriage, going behind the current text-books, behind even the Shastras, and right back to the Vedas, could not properly have been listened to by any judge administering Hindu law, but had quite an appreciable influence in the way of mitigating popular opposition to the abrogation of the restrictive rule by an alien legislature. And similarly, if it could be demonstrated to the satisfaction of scholarly Mahomedans, as I suspect that it could, that the contemporary followers of Mahomet were about the most unlikely people in the world to have troubled him with questions concerning the legality of entails, this would, in no small degree help to clear the way for the unbiassed consideration of the economic evils connected with the traditional practice.²

Such study as I have given to Indian affairs during the last quarter of a century has impressed upon me strongly two convictions. One is that the time is more than ripe for a thorough legislative overhauling of those anomalous portions of our Indian Corpus Juris which are sometimes conveniently described as Anglo-Hindu and Anglo-Mahomedan Law. The other is that such a task can only be successfully

² Since the above was in type I have come across an extract from Khalis Eshref's commentary on the Ottoman Land Code, as translated in Ongley's *Vaqf Land Laws*, p. 2, which seems to indicate the very period and occasion of the commencement of the usage in question.

' Before the foundation of the Ottoman Empire in the seventh century after the Hejra there were comparatively few VEQFS in Moslem territory, so that before the eighth century in the books of the Sacred Law there were no details about VEQFS, and in some of them there was not even any discussion about VEQFS. The great increase of VEQFS arose from the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire, who were above the sovereigns of former Moslem States, and especially in wishing to make pious and charitable establishments, having made innumerable lands VEQF for their maintenance, and also by reason of the Viziers and other great persons of the State, with the good intention of gaining God's approval, following the example of the Sultans. But a considerable number of existing VEQFS were made with a view to personal benefit, such as, to provide a source of income for children and successors not liable to be confiscated, on account of the punishment of confiscation of property being in force in the early times of the Empire, and these being added to the VEQFS made from pious intentions, the number of VEQFS in the Empire reached the existing extent.'

carried out in the spirit of Home Rule, in close co-operation with trusted representatives of all sections of the communities concerned. I have little expectation of seeing anything of the kind attempted until our political relations with India have been radically altered. But in the meantime *vis inertiae* may have its use in blocking retrogression as well as progress, and as against such retrograde legislation as that proposed in 'An Indian Retrospect' the old Conservative motto, *Stare decisis*, is good enough for me. •

ROLAND K. WILSON.
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THE TRAGEDY OF KESA GOZEN

THE beautiful tragedy of *Kesa Gozen* has been familiar to me since the days of my early youth, when hand in hand I walked the school garden with Fumiko, my friend, and listened with the ardour of a romance-loving nature to the many stories of old Japan, and more especially of its heroines of antiquity, with which she loved to make me familiar.

Fumiko was the daughter of a naval officer, well versed in the literature of her own land, and a good English scholar. I had only just come to Japan, an Anglo-Japanese girl who had been brought up in England, knowing nothing of my fatherland. 'Friendships are discovered, not made,' says a philosopher, and in our case this was true. In her delightful and sympathetic companionship I began to forget the heart-aching homesickness for my motherland, and to learn to accustom myself to the strange country to which fate and my father had brought me. There is nothing more pitiful than the abysmal loneliness and utter hopelessness of the young, cut off from those they love, and planted in antipodal surroundings; they have no experience to tell them that misery, like joy, is but a condition of time, and that both pass and alternate. Who can say what drew us together? Yet never was I happier than when she put her hand into mine and made me her confidante, and great was my sorrow when she married and left me to pace the garden alone and to the memory of all the stories she had told me. To her I owe my awakening to the beauty of Japanese romance and the love of those old tragedies.

Many years have passed since then, but the other day, when I was told that Danjiro was acting the drama of *Kesa Gozen* at the Kabukiza Theatre, my mind flashed back to those convent-like days when Fumiko and I

Leaned all the wistful limit of the world,
Dreamed of the glow and glory of the distance,

and stirred to life stories of love and duty, old as the dawn which first broke upon the island empire, yet ever new and living while hearts throb to the music of the ideal.

But I am long in coming to the story of Kesa Gozen. This beautiful and touching story of the Japanese ideal of woman's character is told in the drama called *Nachi-no-Taki Chikai no Mongaku*, 'The Priest Mongaku at the Waterfall of Nachi' (it is characteristic of the Japanese that they have ignored the heroine in the title of the drama), which was acted by Danjiro Ichikawa, the star of the Japanese stage, at the Kabukiza Theatre during the month of October 1902. The heights of romance and tragedy are scaled, and the pathos of a woman's unflinching and voluntary sacrifice of life rends the heart. The heroine is not a *Francesca da Rimini*, caught up by the whirlwind of passion and blown whithersoever it listeth, but a woman who finds herself confronted by a vehement and determined passion out of the toils of which she sees no escape, and, so, in the prime of youth and beauty, to save her husband's name, her mother's life, and her own virtue, she calmly arranges by stratagem to die by the hand of her impetuous and would-be lover.

These tragic events took place in the year 1160, and a full account of them may be found in the *Gempai Seisuki*, a record of the rise and fall of the two great rival clans, the Taira and the Minamoto, whose struggles for supremacy disturbed Japan for many years, and find a parallel in the conflicts of the White and Red Roses in England.

What is known historically of the story is this. Kesa, the heroine, was the only child of a widowed mother called Koromogawa, after the place of her residence during her married life. The word 'Koromo' means the vestments of a priest, and her daughter was consequently called 'Kesa,' which means the 'stole,' her real name being Atoma. Both her father and grandfather were knights. The mother and daughter led a secluded life, always bordering on poverty, and sometimes menaced by actual want.

Koromogawa took charge of an orphaned nephew, a boy, a few years older than Kesa, and the two young cousins grew up together, with the old-fashioned result that the lad fell in love with the lass. At the age of sixteen, Yendo Morito, called away probably on business connected with his clan, had to leave Kesa, just then budding into exquisite beauty. Before leaving he entreated his aunt to promise him Kesa in marriage. Koromogawa complied. Yendo did not return for five years, and in the meantime Watanabe Wataru, a wealthy and handsome young warrior, proposed for the hand of Kesa. The mother, probably in consideration of the advantages of the match from a worldly point of view, neglected her promise to Yendo, and married Kesa to Wataru, who also was the girl's cousin. After they have been married two years Yendo Morito returns and sees his lovely young cousin by accident. His boy's love, cherished fondly during long years of absence, flames into a man's overwhelming passion at sight of her. He learns, to his despair, that she is married to another, and in his wrath determines to kill his aunt who, by her faithless-

ness to her promise, has made his life a misery. He rushes out and, entering his aunt's house, draws his sword upon her. She, to gain time, promises that he shall see Kesa ere long. Yendo, fain to be content with the hope of seeing Kesa, retires, and Koromogawa summons her daughter.

When Kesa arrives she finds that her mother has made all arrangements to kill herself, and on learning the circumstances, she undertakes to see her cousin, and quiets her distressed parent. Then she interviews Morito, and tells him that she has always loved him, but before she can be his he must first put her husband out of the way. To this he willingly consents. She bids him come that night to the house, where she will make her husband wash his hair and drink wine so that he may sleep soundly. Yendo is to steal in at midnight and, by feeling for the damp hair, find and slay his rival. Kesa returns home, washes her own hair, and sleeps in the room she has pointed out to Yendo, having carefully put her husband to sleep in an inner room.

This is an interesting psychological point, and is perhaps obscure to the Western reader. The ethical training of a Japanese woman teaches her that in any great crisis she is the one to be sacrificed. Kesa, rather than be the cause of a quarrel which would involve her husband and her mother in a blood feud with Yendo, puts herself out of the way, and by doing so not only saves the lives of all concerned, but preaches a silent and moving sermon to her kinsman, whose ungoverned conduct is contrary to the teaching of all Japanese moralists.

The mad and reckless lover comes, but when he thinks to gaze with triumph on the severed head of his hated rival, he is stricken with horror to find that he has murdered the woman he loved so passionately. He confesses his crime to the husband, and they both become monks. Years after, from the obscurity of the monastery, there rises into the prominence of political life a monk called Mongaku, who is the friend and councillor of the great Shogun, Yoritomo, the head of the Minamoto clan. Mongaku the monk is the knight Yendo Morito.

It is the opinion of some that Kesa really loved Yendo,¹ but her filial obedience obliged her to marry the man whom her mother chose for her. Then, when she found how great her cousin's love for her was, knowing that in her heart she returned his love, and knowing too that she could not be his without sin, she went gladly to her death, rejoicing perhaps that it was by the sword of her beloved she should perish.

This version is the more beautiful and tragic, for we have a woman triumphant in the face of the strongest temptation that can ever

¹ This is the interpretation that the writer and her friend put upon the heroine's conduct.

beat against a human heart. The invincible yearning of the flesh must have been there, but the soul battled bravely and won. The power of beauty, the joy of conquest in love, these are hers; but Kesa, remaining faithful to duty, by her death places the honour of the family beyond all danger of blemish through her.

The present drama does not recognise this latter version, but is founded on the former. The tragedy is epic from beginning to end, and 'is lifted from the outset into the high region of things predestined.' Fate, like some dread spider, weaves her fatal web of love and doom, and Kesa is caught in the meshes. The grand simplicity of the play and the purity of purpose of the heroine recall the Greek drama. Kesa allows herself no dalliance with admiration; vanity lures her not from the narrow path of right. She sees that nothing will swerve Yendo from his irresistible passion, and she resolves to die. 'Fear in the face of danger dies,' and having quickly made up her mind she never vacillates or looks back, but moves forward with the dignity of sublime reserve to her self-calculated and self-imposed death.

ACT I.—The play begins with a scene in the open air. A new bridge has been built near the town of Osaka, which can be seen, with the hills and pine-trees, in the distance. Numbers of Buddhist priests appear in gorgeous robes, and offer prayers for the safety of the new bridge.

Some village officials, a retainer of Yendo Morito who is superintendent of the works, and Watanabe Kaoru, a brother-in-law to Kesa the heroine, appear, and the young knight tells those present that he has accompanied his brother's wife Kesa, who comes to see the opening of the new bridge.

In a few minutes Kesa, the picture of youth and grace, in lovely crêpe robes, her face hidden by a gossamer gown held over her head with both hands (an ancient custom resembling the Turkish yashmak), comes fluttering over the bridge like some radiant moth, followed by two attendants, Tamakoto and Otose. Before saluting her brother-in-law Kaoru, she removes the gauze veil and reveals to all a face of surpassing loveliness—gracefully oval in shape, a complexion white as the lily, lips crimson as the bud of the peach blossom, and long almond eyes, surmounted by eyebrows like the crescent of the new moon. She speaks to her brother-in-law, who tells her that he is going to see her cousin, Yendo Morito, the superintendent of the new bridge. Kesa then prepares to retire, and, donning the gauze-robe yashmak, her attendants helping, she turns to go home. As she moves away, Yendo Morito off horseback crosses the bridge, and, catching sight of the beautiful woman, watches her disappear into the distance. The priests and officials bow in polite salutation, but he is oblivious to everything near him, for his gaze is riveted on the retreating figure of Kesa. He thrills with rapturous emotion

at the sight, and happy memories of their childhood and early youth rush over him.

The tragedy begins here. Yendo Morito, after several years' absence, sees his cousin for the first time, and, shaken with a mighty love, he learns that she, who was promised to him in his boyhood, is already the wife of another—of his kinsman, Watanabe Wataru.

ACT II.—The curtain is pulled 'aside upon the maternal home of Kesa, a small thatched cottage in the country near Kyoto. The whole aspect of the 'little home denotes genteel poverty, tranquil retirement, and spotless cleanliness. The two ladies who accompanied Kesa in the first Act, Tamakoto and Otose, are discovered in the little sitting-room discoursing. Koromogawa, an old lady with flowing grey hair, comes out from an inner room and receives her two visitors, and in the course of conversation they ask her to tell them the reason why she has lived so long in such a remote place as the province of Mutsu. In compliance with their request, Koromogawa says :

'I am the daughter of a knight who held the province in tenure for his services to his feudal lord. My husband was a retainer of the Governor of Mutsu, and so when we were married we went and lived at Koromogawa. My daughter Kesa was born to me there, and soon after my husband died, and I went back with my child to my old home, and have since lived a quiet and humble life. On my return people here called me after the place, Koromogawa, where my married life had been spent, and my daughter was called Kesa, though her real name is Atoma. She grew up here and married Watanabe Wataru.'

At this point an official, named Gorokuro, who seems to be on intimate terms with the old lady, comes in and sits by the charcoal hearth and makes a cup of tea for everyone present. The hearth is square, sunk in the floor, and the kettle hangs, gipsy fashion, over the fire, as is the way in the houses of the poorer classes. While serving tea Gorokuro complains of the behaviour of Yendo Morito during the building of the bridge. This young and impetuous knight treated the workmen in such a rigorous manner that insubordination resulted, and he, Gorokuro, had great trouble in controlling them. This incident gives the key to the young knight's character. Koromogawa apologises to Gorokuro for the trouble her nephew Yendo has given him.

While this conversation proceeds, Kesa, accompanied by one of her husband's retainers, Kisoda by name, arrives. Having dropped her sandals on the stepping-stone to the verandah, she removes her veiling robe, enters the house, greets the old lady with low bows, and says that she has come to inquire after her mother on her way home from visiting a temple with her husband. In a little while the two

ladies, Tamakoto and Otose, take their leave, and Kesa and her mother retire to an inner room.

Yendo Morito is now seen approaching the house along the 'hana-michi,' and announces himself at the gate. Koromogawa, in answer to the call, comes out to receive him, and asks his business. He replies that his business is private, and that he must speak with her in secret. Koromogawa then ushers her nephew into a back room, and the passing of the daylight is marked by the lighting of a candle. As he enters the house he starts at the sight of a woman's sandals on the steps, and evidently guesses that Kesa is near at hand. Little dreaming of the storm that is brewing, the old lady asks her nephew to be seated. He ominously remains standing, with his hand upon his sword. Suddenly the young knight's eyes flash, he snatches the sword from its sheath and, seizing his astonished aunt, his pent-up sense of injury and the misery of his thwarted hopes find vent in these words :

' Prepare to die at once ! You are my enemy, and I am of the Watanabe clan who never allow their enemies to live, even for a day ! '

' What wrong have I done you that you should wish to kill me ? ' exclaims the terrified woman. •

' Five years ago, before I went away, you promised to give me Kesa in marriage. I come back, and at the opening of the Watanabe bridge I see her, but only as the wife of another. I have always loved Kesa, and now I am bitterly disappointed and sick—sick with disappointment and despair. It is true, no correspondence has passed between us, but that has nothing to do with your promise. Ever since I last saw Kesa I have been ill, and I cannot live without her. This is all your fault. You are my enemy, and you shall die ! '

' Wait a moment ! ' shrieks the terrified mother. ' I did not mean to break my promise, but Wataru compelled me to give her to him. If you really love her still, I will get her back somehow or other ! Only calm yourself, and listen to reason ! '

But the young knight is reckless to madness; the old woman's pleading is lost upon him, and, perhaps guessing that Kesa is in the next room, he determines to appeal to her filial piety so as to make her appear. He raises his sword and seizes his aunt again, but he has no time to strike: the sliding of a screen, the rustle of a woman's silken garments, and between Yendo and the victim of his vengeance there darts the lovely Kesa—his arm is stayed by her small hand, and a voice he has longed to hear says :

' Spare my poor old mother ! '

Her mother throws herself between Kesa and Yendo, crying :

' I am ready to die ! You must not sacrifice your virtue to save me ! '

Kesa again intervenes between her lover and her mother; again the mother throws herself between them; but at last Kesa persuades

the old woman to retire and to leave all to her discretion. Koromogawa then goes into the next room. The knight fixes his gaze upon his beautiful cousin, and the resolve to possess her strengthens within his storm-tossed soul. She belongs to him by prior right. He had asked for her, and she had been promised to him before Wataru thought of her; what right had her mother to give her away from him? Anger sweeps away all remembrance of the past and of what he owes his aunt. Jealousy and desire, and hatred of the one who he thinks has wronged him, alone remain. In vain Kesa gently pleads and expostulates. As if impatient of the delay of his vengeance, Yendo once more seizes his sword and rushes towards the inner room. Then Kesa wheels round upon him, and with her cheek close to his, her crape draperies touching him and her hand upon his arm, she whispers in his ear:

‘I have always loved you, Yendo. If you really love me as you say, you must first put my husband out of the way, and I am yours.’

‘How can I kill him?’ whispers the determined man.

‘Come to-morrow night and steal into the bedroom of my husband. I shall make him drunk with wine. You can identify him by touching his hair, for I shall induce him to wash it before retiring, and you will find the locks wet.’

As Kesa whispers her plan, the tense figure of the desperate knight relaxes from its stern purpose of murder. Thrilling with hope and passion, he turns to her, and in her attitude of abandonment he sees the vision of their united happiness. Little does his wild and lawless nature dream of the escape which the noble woman will force out of the toils fast closing round her. The picture as the two stand together is intensely dramatic, and thrills with the portent of a mighty crisis.

ACT III. opens upon the fine residence of Watanabe Wataru, the husband of Kesa. The gleaming cream wood of the verandah and the posts, the fineness of the matting, the dainty white and gold of the walls and screens are all part of the exquisite refinements of a wealthy Japanese home. Kesa and her husband are discovered sitting side by side in a room opening on the garden. A large slab of granite forms the stepping-stone from the verandah, and a line of irregular slabs makes a pathway to the bamboo gate which shuts off the outer garden. The whole arrangement and the atmosphere are realistic of a Japanese home.

The young couple, both magnificently robed, have only just retired to their sitting-room, for they have been entertaining guests at a banquet. The only furniture in the room is a sword-stand on which the knight places his long weapon, the insignia of *samurai* honour. Before them is a small low table (*sambo*) of white wood, on which stands a white wine-jar and her husband’s drinking-cup. Kesa, dismisses the two servants in attendance, and then proceeds to pour out some

wine for her husband. Wataru little dreams that it is the last cup his wife will ever drink with him, though to her, knowing her premeditated and self-arranged doom, the little ceremony has not only a sacrificial symbolism, but the appalling pathos and pitilessness of a last love rite.

Wataru drains the wine-cup and, handing it to Kesa, pours the wine out for her. Kesa drinks, and then, overcome at last by a sadness which her husband does not understand, she turns away and weeps. She explains that her tears spring from the thought of the unchangeable love between husband and wife, which would last even after death. He replies that the knowledge of their mutual faithfulness should be a joy, and not a grief. While thus conversing in the hush of night, the deep mellow tone of a temple bell announces the hour of midnight. Kesa persuades her husband to retire to her own bedroom this night. On her knees she pushes aside the screens leading to an inner room, and as he passes in she bows with her head to the floor, and then closes them after him. Never will she see her husband again, yet her self-control is so great that she gives no sign of the emotion which must have surged over her at that moment. She knows that it is an eternal farewell, yet she allows Wataru to pass from her sight with only the usual greeting.

For a little time she stands like one dazed ; then, recollecting herself, she disappears for a few minutes and returns along the verandah. Now, for the first time, those that do not know the story divine the tragic end. Her long black hair streams, wet and heavy, over her shoulders, and she feels it as she moves along to make sure that it is quite wet. On her arm she carries one of her husband's 'kimono' and his ceremonial cap, all necessary for the deception of Yendo. Her aspect expresses hopeless grief and resignation. Twice in her slow progress to the outer room she stops and weeps. She looks out upon the still garden, and the cool fragrant air of night must seem to mock her woe. At the second outburst of grief it seems for a moment as if her resolution had failed her. She lays her cheek, in a passion of yearning and tenderness, on the robe she carries, and her tears fall fast at the thought of her happy wedded life, so soon to be cut short by the lawless desire of another man. There will be no one to pray for her old mother when she dies—it should be a daughter's duty to offer the daily incense to a mother's departed spirit ; she can never know the pride of bearing a son to preserve the name of her husband's family. Oh ! the pity of it—the pity of it ! These, and more than these, must have been her sad thoughts. That she was loth to leave the world we learn by the poem, written in these moments of anguish, which she left with her farewell letter to her mother. She raises her head at last, and comes forward. Her husband's honour, her mother's life, and her own purity are at stake ; the weakness of sorrow vanishes —there is no other way than this. Her beauty is the sin, for it has

roused Yendo's passion : her beauty must pay the penalty—her life is the sacrifice.

To-night—as she planned when she rushed in upon the tumultuous scene between her mother and Yendo—she will sleep in her husband's room; and when Yendo her cousin comes, instead of killing her husband, his sword will cut off her own head. She lifts the bamboo curtain which hangs before the room at the end of the verandah, and passes to her doom.

The stage is darkened and empty. An impressive interval of silence and inaction follows. The audience throbs with the sustained sense of impending catastrophe and fatality hanging over the house. The awful pregnancy of the situation is intensely realistic, and its contrasts are strikingly dramatic. In the inner room—his wife's room—lies the husband, wrapt in peaceful sleep, pitifully unconscious of the tragedy which is being enacted within a few feet of him. In the outer room the young wife lies waiting in the lonely dark for the sword of her lover. Who can realise the tension of those last minutes, stretched to eternity by the agony of suspense ? If by any chance her plan fails, her husband or her cousin will be killed, or both. What if Wataru, roused by some slight noise, come out to find Yendo approaching the room where she has arranged to sleep ; what construction must he put upon these circumstances. And then, her senses sharpened by suffering and by the unutterable loneliness of the awful situation, she thinks that she catches the first faint sound of Yendo's stealthy footsteps. She counts them as they draw near, and as the bamboo curtain is raised and the swish of the sword falls upon her in the dark, she smiles to think that the struggle is over, and that she has triumphed, and thus she faces death with the magnificent courage with which she had planned it.

Yendo Morito arrives. His long sleeves are looped back, ready for his dreadful work, and in his hand he carries a drawn sword. Swiftly and noiselessly he moves along the verandah ; pauses for a few moments outside the room where lies asleep, as he imagines, the only obstacle between him and the woman he loves—loves so passionately that he is willing to use the murder of his kinsman as a stepping-stone to reach her. He enters.

The stage revolves. The courtyard of a temple is the next scene, surrounded by a wall with stone steps leading up to the outer court. The murderer is seen coming out upon the top of the steps into the moonlight : he carries something covered under his arm. Turning towards the flood of moonlight with a fierce and unholy joy at the thought of gazing on his rival's head, he uncovers what he carries. To his unspeakable horror and amazement, the moonlight reveals the head of Kesa—his love—not that of Wataru whom it was his purpose to kill. Unable to believe his eyes, he raises the head by the wet hair once more into the full light of the moon. There is no mis-

take. As the truth forces itself upon his unwilling mind, all his strength goes from him, and he falls upon the steps overcome with anguish and remorse. In that awful moment he sees the hideousness of his crime and the wickedness of his heart in its true light. The cloud of darkness, as the Japanese say, rolls back from his soul, and he is smitten to earth with the sense of his guilt and misery.

The fourth scene of this Act represents the front gate of Wataru's house. It is the morning following the last scene. Outside stand numerous tradesmen—the rice-man, the fishmonger, and some *samurai*—all unable to effect an entrance, for, though late in the morning, the house is still closed. After repeated knocking, Kisoda and Otose appear and tell them that, on account of an unfortunate event which has occurred in the house, they must be asked to withdraw for the day. The tradesmen then go grumbling away.

The next scene represents the familiar chamber where Wataru and Kesa sat together the evening before. In the middle of the room lies an ominous pile of quilts covering the remains of Kesa. Before the corpse of his young wife sits the husband, the picture of mute and stoic grief. Opposite him is Koromogawa. Behind her again are Tamakoto and Otose. Wataru tells them that last night he slept in his wife's room in compliance with her wish, while she retired to his room. That in the morning he found her killed and her head carried away, and that no clue or trace of the murderer can be discovered. He says he can hardly speak for grief at the loss of Kesa and the disgrace his knighthood has suffered.

An attendant here rushes in and says that Yendo insists on seeing Wataru. Wataru sends a message to say that he cannot receive him now. The servant returns to say that Yendo is forcing his way into the house, and that it is impossible to check him. Yendo rushes in like a whirlwind and seats himself outside the room, on the verandah. He lays the head down before them all and confesses his crime, with all the circumstances relating to it. Then comes the most heart-rending part of the tragedy. The old mother tenderly unwraps the head and, folding it to her bosom, gives way to a loud and long paroxysm of grief. Wail after wail bursts from her. She rocks herself in wild abandonment to poignant sorrow. The *samurai* stoicism of the husband avails him not in this hour of bitter trial. He wipes his slow tears furtively away. Tamakoto brings out a letter of Kesa's found in the room where she was killed. Yendo snatches up the letter, spreads it out before him, and reads it aloud. It is addressed to her mother, and may be rendered into English as follows:

I have always heard [this is a humble form of expression which women are supposed to use—they must never assert a fact] that woman is a sinful creature [because of her beauty, which lures men to sin]. I fear that many people [meaning her mother, husband, and admirer] are in danger of their lives because of me. Mother, I know that you will sorrow much if I die, and I am

sorrowful thinking of the grief which I must cause you. I intend to expiate my sin [meaning the sin of being beautiful, which has caused Yendo to love her] by death. Weep not for me, and though it should be my place to pray for you, I beseech you to pray for the rest of my soul when I have departed on the journey of death. I can understand your sorrow, and this is the only anxiety I feel at this moment.

Morito now presents his sword to Wataru, and requests him to take life for life, and to behead him in order to avenge his wife's death. Wataru replies that he has no wish to kill him, since he has confessed and repented of his crime. 'Let us forsake this worldly life and become followers of Buddha, and spend the rest of our lives in praying for Kesa.'

There and there the two knights, first, Wataru and then Yendo, take their swords and cut off their queues of hair. Tamakoto brings in a low table, and on this Koromogawa places the head of Kesa. A tray with an incense-burner is now placed before the ghastly presence. The stricken mother, having set the incense burning, takes her rosary and bows her head in prayér. Wataru now moves towards the extempore shrine, and prays with his face hidden.

In the presence of transcendent virtue and sublimely unselfish heroism, the sinner is forgotten. The silent scene of woe and desolation is too much for the penitent Yendo; he rises, and with one last look he turns to go into his life-long expiation. Thus the stupendous tragedy, 'from the pitch of distraction and calamity, is brought beautifully, classically, to a quiet and reconciling close.'

YEI THEODORA OZAKI.

Tokyo, Japan.

LAFCADIO HEARN

Already thinkers—summarising the experience of the two great colonising nations—thinkers not to be ignored, both French and English, have predicted that the earth will never be fully dominated by the races of the West, and that the future belongs to the Orient. Such, too, are the convictions of many who have learned by long sojourn in the East to see beneath the surface of that strange humanity, so utterly removed from us in thought, to comprehend the depth and force of its tides of life, to understand its immeasurable capacities of assimilation. . . . In the judgment of such observers nothing less than the extermination of a race comprising more than one-third of the world's population could now assure us even of the future of our own civilisation. . . . We have exterminated feebler races by merely *over-living* them, by monopolising and absorbing, almost without conscious effort, everything necessary to their happiness, so may we ourselves be exterminated at last by races capable of *under-living* us, of monopolising all our necessities. Races more patient, more self-denying, more fertile, and much less expensive for Nature to support.

THESE words—a quotation from Lafcadio Hearn's now celebrated essay on Jiu-jitsu—were written at Tokyo, over a decade before his death in September last, written also before the Chinese-Japanese war.

A few years later, when Port Arthur had been taken from Japan and given to Russia, an eminent statesman remarked on the other side of the world, with that prescience that distinguished him, in dealing with the affairs of foreign peoples, that they had deprived her of the fruits of her victory, but that the Japanese were possessed of remarkable patience and fortitude. They would need six, perhaps eight, years to prepare, then they would go to war with Russia, and retake Port Arthur. 'When that is accomplished,' he adds, 'half the East will be theirs to do what they like with.'

Then it was that he conceived the master-stroke of policy that fitly completed his illustrious career, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Nowadays the daily Press and the libraries are flooded with more or less inaccurate accounts of Japan and her people. The *Times* military correspondent contributes to that paper an article which he calls 'The Soul of a Nation.' The article is extremely well written, and is now being sold in hundreds in pamphlet form; but it shows the superficial way in which people stopping in the country for a few

months judge her religion and psychology. It would be as accurate to declare that the religious thought of the England of our time had been shaped by the Puseyism of Oxford fifty years ago, as to declare that 'Bushido' is the power that sways popular opinion in Japan. 'Bushido' is but the code of honour of the ancient Bushi or Samurai, the aristocracy of Old Japan, numbering at the outside a million, whereas the Japanese nation numbers forty-five or forty-six millions strong.

In his last book, *Japan, an Interpretation*, Lafcadio Hearn tells us most explicitly that, though the ancient Bushi or Samurai spirit still lives on in some of the more conservative portions of Japan, the laws framing its code have been obsolete for a generation, and, in his chapter headed 'The Religion of Loyalty,' he affirms that the splendid courage and unconquered heroism of the Japanese are not the outcome of any ancient code of honour, but of the living, ever-powerful, ever-present influence of the supreme cult, Shintoism, or Ancestor Worship. In its hour of greatest danger, at the time of the Revolution, the national instinct, and the instinct of Japan's rulers, turned back to the moral experience on which it could best rely, the experience embodied in the religion of the dead.

This it is that animates these heroes who have appeared in the great drama now being enacted in the Far East—men whose patriotism and chivalry make us believe that youth still lingers in some corner of the heart of this ancient world—gallant-hearted gentlemen, who, when called upon to surrender their ships or die within the hour, have died to a man—heroes like Takeo Hirose, who have walked calmly and unflinchingly to certain destruction, expecting no personal reward, looking upon death as naught, on their individual desires as of no account, when weighed in the balance against their duty to their dead ancestors, and to the influencing of other lives, yet unborn, that will come after them.

From the thousands of young men now being summoned to the war, one hears no expression of hope [Hearn tells us] to return to their homes with glory, the common wish uttered is only to win remembrance at the Shokonsha—that Spirit-invoking Temple where the souls of all who die for the Emperor and the Fatherland are believed to gather.

In his *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* he gives us the following account of the ancient Shinto faith :

The best of our scholars have never been able to tell us *what* Shinto is. To some it appears to be merely Ancestor Worship, to others Ancestor Worship combined with Nature Worship, to others again it seems to be no religion at all; to the missionaries of the more ignorant class it is the worst form of heathenism. Doubtless the difficulty of explaining Shinto has been due simply to the fact that the synthetists have sought for the sources of it in books, in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongo* which are its *histories*; in the *Norito* which are its prayers; in the commentaries of Motowori and Hirata, who were its greatest scholars. But the reality of Shinto lives not in books, nor in rites, nor in

commandments, but in the national heart, of which it is the highest emotional religious expression, immortal and ever young. Far underlying all the surface-crop of quaint superstition and artless myth and fantastic magic, there thrills a mighty spiritual force, the whole soul of a race, with its impulses and powers and intuitions. He who would know what Shinto is must learn to know that mysterious soul in which the sense of beauty and power of art, and the fire of heroism and magnetism of loyalty, and the emotion of faith, have become inherent, immanent, unconscious, instinctive.

Trusting to know something of the Oriental soul in whose joyous love of nature and of life even the unlearned may discern a strange likeness to the soul of the old Greek race, I trust also that I may presume some day to speak of the great living power of that faith now called Shinto, but more anciently 'Kami-no-michi' or 'The Way of the Gods.'

In his essay entitled *After the War*, he describes the return of the soldiers to Tokyo at the end of the Chinese-Japanese War, sunburnt and grim, the dark-blue winter uniforms frayed and torn, the shoes worn into shapelessness, the features showing neither joy nor pride, the quick-searching eyes hardly glancing at the welcoming flags. He turned and said to his Japanese servant, 'This evening they will be in Asaka and Nagoya. They will hear the bugles calling; and they will think of comrades who never can return.'

The old man answered with simple earnestness: 'Perhaps by Western people it is thought that the dead never can return. But we cannot so think. There are no Japanese dead who do not return. There are none who do not know the way. From China and from Chosen and out of the bitter sea all our dead have come back, all! They are with us now. In every dusk they gather to hear the bugles that call them home, and they will hear them also in that day when the armies of the Son of Heaven shall be summoned against Russia.'

One might almost count on the fingers of two hands the Englishmen and Americans who have really taken up their abode amongst the Japanese, and penetrated behind the reserve which they show to foreigners of whatever nationality. Satow, Basil Chamberlain, Bertie Mitford, Percival Lowell, Wigmore, Simmons, and, above all, 'the one alien who is the true adopted child of the Japanese mysteries,' Lafcadio Hearn. This arises partly from the incredible difficulties of the language and the intricacies of the people's religion and mode of thought. Hearn himself declares that no book describing Japan historically, psychologically, and ethically can be written for at least another fifty years. So vast the subject that the united labour of a generation of scholars could not exhaust it, and so difficult the language that the number of scholars willing to devote their time to it must always be small.

Could you learn all the words in a Japanese dictionary [he says], your acquisition would not help you in the least to make yourself understood in speech, unless you had learned also to think like a Japanese, that is to say, to think backwards, to think upside down and inside out, to think in directions totally foreign to Aryan habit.

He himself never acquired an exact knowledge of the language, and laments his 'clumsy Japanese.' But his position as professor of English at the Imperial College of Tokyo, and in earlier days as teacher at Izumo, enabled him, through his own tongue, to get behind the barrier of his pupils' reserve, and he interprets for our benefit some of their ideas and moods.

Not only this, but he was gifted with a power of writing English prose given to few—a prose instinct with sensation, colour, and melody. With surprising deftness he seized the character of the landscape, realising and conveying to our consciousness the warmth, the sunshine, and the sentiment of what he beheld. He visited portions of the interior of Japan that were considered inaccessible, prayed her prayers, understood with her understanding, felt with her heart.

It is natural that a comparison should instinctively occur between the impressionist artist, who has given us pictures of Japanese scenery, Pierre Loti, and Lafcadio Hearn. They possess in common the power of delicate suggestion and magical vagueness, a single word, a line gives atmosphere and colour, while detail is blurred and effaced in the finished whole. It is in the deeper appreciation of the stronger, subtler inner-consciousness of Japan that Lafcadio Hearn infinitely surpasses the Frenchman; the one deals with the picturesque externals of the surface of life, the other catches the spirit of the country, the essence of the soul of this ancient East. The dreams of the peasants in their straw rain-coats, the feelings of the young student just entering upon his college career, of the Geisha who sacrifices all to her love, of the itinerant vendor of bamboo poles and baskets, of the blind shampooer blowing his melancholy whistle. He always manages, whether the subject be love or religion or politics, to open up hitherto undiscovered vistas, to give you the idea of vague possibilities. He of all others has interpreted the elusive quality of Oriental life through Western speech, giving at the same time a sense of restraint, of after-suggestion. There is a Japanese term 'Itakiri,' meaning 'all gone,' or 'entirely vanished,' which is applied contemptuously to verse that tells all, and trusts nothing to the reader's imagination. Their praise they reserve for compositions that leave in the mind the thrill of something unsaid.

The term 'Itakiri' might be applied to his description of the view from the summit of Fuji-No-Yama. No laboured description is attempted, but you realise the sun-washed spaces, you hear the pilgrims saluting the rising of their Deity with soft clapping of hands, the 'gnat of the soul of you' flutters away into infinite space with his.

But the view—for a hundred leagues!—with the light of the far, faint, dreamy world and the fairy vapours of morning, and the marvellous wreathing of clouds. . . . All this, and only this, consoles me for the labour and the pain . . . Other pilgrims, early climbers, poised upon the highest crag, with faces

turned to the tremendous East, are clapping their hands in Shinto prayer, saluting the day. . . . The immense poetry of the moment enters into me with a thrill. I know that the colossal vision before me has already become a memory ineffable—a memory of which no luminous detail can fade, till the hour when thought itself must fade, and the dust of these eyes be mingled with the dust of the myriad million eyes that also have looked, in ages forgotten before my birth, from the summit supreme of Fuji.

In his *Book of Pity and of Death*, Loti has written nothing more poignantly and fantastically pathetic than *A Street Singer*. That only it were possible to give it in its entirety!

A woman carrying a samisen—came to my house to sing. She was ugly, and her natural ugliness had been increased by a cruel attack of smallpox. . . . She sat down on my doorstep, tuned her samisen, played a bar of accompaniment, a spell descended upon the people, and they stared at each other in smiling amazement. For out of those ugly, disfigured lips there gushed and rippled a miracle of a voice—young, deep, unutterably touching in its penetrating sweetness. . . . She sang as only a peasant can sing—with vocal rhythms, learned perhaps, from the cicadæ, and the wild nightingales—and with fractions and semi-fractions and demi-semi-fractions of tones never written down in the musical language of the West. . . . I did not distinguish the words, but I felt the sorrow and the sweetness and the patience of the life of Japan pass with her voice into my heart. . . . A tenderness invisible seemed to gather and quiver about us, and sensations of places, and of times forgotten came softly back mingled with feelings ghostlier—feelings not of any place or time in living memory.

Then I saw that the singer was blind.

I bought a copy of the ballad, which was about a recent double suicide: 'The sorrowful ditty of Tamayoné and Takejiro—composed by Takenaka Yone of Number Fourteen of the Fourth Ward of Nippon-bashi in the South District of the City of Asaka.'

Then he gives a translation—a boy and a girl who commit suicide because she being a Geisha could not buy her liberty.

In short, there was nothing at all remarkable in the verse, all the wonder of the performance had been in the voice of the woman. Long after the singer had gone that voice seemed still to stay, making within me a sense of sweetness and of sadness so strange that I could not but try to explain to myself the secret of those magical tones.

And I thought that which is hereafter set down:

All song, all melody, all music, means only some evolution of the primitive natural utterance of feeling—of the untaught speech of sorrow, joy, or passion whose words are tones. Even as other tongues vary, so varies this language of tone combinations. Wherefore the melodies which move us deeply have no significance to Japanese ears, and melodies which touch us not at all make powerful appeal to the emotion of a race whose soul-life differs from our own as blue differs from yellow. . . . Still, what is the reason of the deeper feeling evolved in me—an alien—by this Oriental chant that I could never even learn—by this common song of a blind woman of the people? Surely that in the voice of the singer there were qualities able to make appeal to something larger than the sum of experience of one race—to something wide as human life and ancient as the knowledge of good and evil.

One summer evening, twenty-five years ago, in a London park, I heard a girl say 'Good-night' to somebody passing by. Nothing but those two little words, Good-night. Who she was I do not know; I never even saw her face; and I never heard her voice again. But still after the passing of one hundred seasons the memory of her 'Good-night' brings a double thrill incomprehensible of pleasure and pain, pain and pleasure, doubtless, not of me, not of my own existence, but of pre-existence and dead suns. For that which makes the charm of a voice thus heard but once cannot be of this life. . . . And so the chant of the blind woman in this city of the Far East may revive in even a Western mind emotion deeper than individual being—vague dumb pathos of forgotten sorrows—dim, loving impulses of generations unremembered. The dead die never utterly. They sleep in the darkest cells of tired hearts and busy brains, to be startled at rarest moments only by the echo of some voice that recalls their past.

The biographical details known about Lafcadio Hearn are few. Like all true genius, his work is the mirror of his life and thought. His baby eyes first looked upon the Greek sky, arched above the temple of Apollo and the 'Rock of Woe,' whence Sappho was said, in legendary lore, to have flung herself. His father was Irish, his mother Greek. Leucadia, which in modern Greek is pronounced Lefcadia, was the name of the Ionian island on which he was born. The Hearns came from the King's County, in the very centre of the Bog of Allen. Many a time have I passed the quaint, whitewashed house where his grandmother lived, and where some of Lafcadio's childhood was spent.

When a surgeon-major in the English Army, Charles Hearn was stationed with his regiment in the Ionian Islands during the English occupation. Some American magazine, I am told, relates a romantic story of Major Hearn being attacked by the Greek lady's brothers, not perhaps without just provocation. The lady was supposed to have succoured her lover, hidden him from his assailants in a cave, and nursed him back to health, and married him. Romance was an inheritance of the Hearns.

He indicates the mixture of Greek and Irish blood in his veins by a fanciful dream. The vision of a temple court, tinted by a faint sun, came to him, and he saw 'a woman, neither young nor old, seated at the base of a great grey pedestal that supported, I know not what, for I could look only at the woman's face. . . . In a voice that seemed to come there through distance of years, she began a soft wailing chant, and, as I listened, vague memories came to me of a Celtic lullaby.

'As she sang she loosed with her hand her long black hair till it fell coiling upon the stones, in blue, sinuous ripples. Then the woman vanished, and there was only the sea. . . . Wakening, I heard in the night the muttering of the real sea, the vast, husky speech of the Hotoke-Umi, "the tide" of the returning ghosts.'

'On both sides Lafcadio came of an artistic race. Richard Hearn, his uncle, was well known at Barbizon amongst the French and American artists. In later years he degenerated into what was known 'in the circle' as a 'snoozer'—a worker who contented himself with

sketches and never completed a picture. No one, however, was more popular than 'Monsieur Richard.'

An American writer makes a statement to the effect that Lafcadio Hearn was 'grotesquely ugly.' In *The Library of the World's Best Literature*, edited in New York by Charles Dudley Warner, there is a portrait of him which distinctly belies this statement, and recalls his uncle Dick in a remarkable manner. The same deep-set eyes and arched eyebrows, the same oval face, drooping moustache, and dreamy Irish expression.

Mr. Osman Edwards tells us that he was tall, thin, untidy-looking, and very short-sighted. When in conversation, however, he became excited in defence of a theory, a people, or a principle, the eyeglass would fall, and the whole face light up with interest and enthusiasm. An unlucky accident at Ushaw had augmented the weakness in the eyes from which he suffered. In the game known as the 'Giant Stride' he was accidentally struck by the end of a flying rope, released from the hand of another boy; the force of the blow was so great as to practically destroy the sight of one eye, and to leave a malformation that continued for the rest of his life.

Shortly after his birth his father's regiment was sent to the West Indies, and we imagine, by a shadowy allusion in his *Dream of a Summer Day*, that his mother must have died there.

I have memory of a place and a magical time, in which the sun and the moon were larger and brighter than now. Whether it was of this life or of some life before, I cannot tell, but I know the sky was very much more blue, and nearer to the world—almost as it seems to become above the masts of a steamer steaming into equatorial summer. . . . Each day there were new wonders and new pleasures for me, and all that country and time were softly ruled by One, who thought only of ways to make me happy. . . . When day was done, and there fell the great hush of the light before moonrise, she would tell me stories that made me tingle from head to foot with pleasure. I have never heard any other stories half so beautiful. And when the pleasure became too great, she would sing a weird little song which always brought sleep. At last there came a parting day; and she wept and told me of a charm she had given that I must never, never lose, because it would keep me young, and give me power to return. But I never returned. And the years went; and one day I knew that I had lost the charm, and had become ridiculously old.

In 1865 Lafcadio's name appears amongst the students at Ushaw Roman Catholic College, Durham. Some of his American biographers make the statement that he was comparatively uneducated, but no lad who had gone through the course at Ushaw Roman Catholic College, under the presidency of Monsignor Robert Tate, could well remain uneducated.

A schoolfellow tells us that Lafcadio was an eccentric sort of lad, fond of the quaint and eerie, gifted with considerable humour. He was even then noted for his classical lore and good English composition.

At nineteen he went to America. Mercifully there was no

'snoozing' possible for him ; he was glad to begin as a type-setter in a printer's establishment in Cincinnati, 'tenpence a day to live upon, and not even the money to pay for a drink.' But nightly, when the day's work was done, the gods supped with him in his meagre garret. *Strange Leaves from Strange Literature*, translations from the Buddhist Bodhis, were done at this time.

One holiday found him in New Orleans. The climate suited him, and he remained in the Southern city, doing journalistic work for *The New Orleans Times Democrat*. The editor sent him to the West Indies, and the account of the two years he spent there was his first original work. The style is of the 'Cockatoo and Orchid' description, the colours gaudy and laid on thickly, apparently to suit his New Orleans readers.

After his return from the West Indies he seems to have wandered on the face of the earth, we conclude, following his journalistic career ; but of these years we have no detail, neither do we know when he married the American wife who subsequently divorced him. In his fortieth year he went as correspondent for an American newspaper to Japan.

'From the foot of the mountain many are the paths ascending in shadow, but from the cloud-swept summit all who climb behold the selfsame moon,' says the Buddhist poem. He had climbed the mountain in shadow, the clouds had cleared, and he entered into his inheritance, that inheritance that always awaits genius if it only has faith and self-reliance. What mattered it that the American editor who sent him out repudiated his contract, declaring that he was idle ; in that fairyland, as it then appeared to him, he got bread and work and love, all that symbolised his wants. To the nethermost Pit with newspaper editors who expected work, paid for by the word or the paragraph ! The continuous stream that poured from his pen these years belies unequivocally the statement that he was idle. In 1894 he published *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* ; 1895, *Out of the East* ; 1896, *Kokoro, Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life* ; 1897, *Gleanings in Buddha Fields* ; 1898, *Exotics and Retrospectives* ; 1899, *In Ghostly Japan* ; 1900, *Shadowings* ; 1901, *A Japanese Miscellany* ; 1902, *Kotto, being Japanese Curios with Sundry Cobwebs* ; 1903, *Japanese Fairy Tales and Kwaidan*.

Of his life separate from his work in Japan we know little, except that he married a Japanese lady, daughter of a doctor. He was adopted into his wife's family, and became nationalised under the name of Yakumo Koizumi. Koizumi is a common family name in Japan, but his personal name, Yakumo, signifying 'Eight Clouds,' was taken from a line in one of the oldest of Japanese poems. He did not court notoriety of any kind, either literary or social. Gushing American ladies arriving in Japan, determined among other sights to 'do' the author of *Kokoro*, never succeeded in their object, unless

armed with letters of reference from very intimate friends in America. He deplored his own dislike of publicity and excused himself on the plea of ill-health. 'I never go out, pay no visits, hardly even speak to my colleagues in the University. Frankly, I look upon acquaintances as waste of time, and friends are out of the question in official life in Japan.'

We only infer that he had children by the beginning of the 'Exotic,' *Moon Desire*:

He was two years old when—as ordained in the law of perpetual recurrence—he asked for the moon.

Unwisely I protested.

'The moon I cannot give you because it is too high up; I cannot reach it.'

He answered: 'By taking a very long bamboo, you probably could reach it and knock it down.'

I said: 'There is no bamboo long enough.'

And the fantastic ending of one of his sketches, where he imagines himself after death on the summit of an Izumo hill, guarded by stone lions and shadowed by a holy grove:

Mothers would bring their children to my threshold and teach them to revere me, saying, 'Bow down before the great bright God; make homage to the Daimyojin.' Then I should hear the fresh, soft clapping of little hands, and remember I, the Ghost and God, had been a father.

The ethical charm; the kindness and joyousness of the existence, the relations of the people to each other, the gentleness characterising family existence, delighted him by its apparent altruism, its ideal of duty, its artistic beauty; but gradually, as the awful coercion, the regulating of the will of each individual by the will of the rest, the entire absence of personal freedom by which this result had been accomplished, were realised, the glamour of his first impression wore off.

For no little time these fairy folk can give you all the softness of sleep. But sooner or later, if you dwell long with them, your contentment will prove to have much in common with the happiness of dreams. You will never forget the dream—never; but it will lift at last, like those vapours of spring which lend preternatural loveliness to a Japanese landscape in the forenoon of radiant days. Really you are happy because you have entered bodily into Fairyland, into a world that is not, and never could be your own. You have been transported out of your own century, over spaces enormous of perished time, into an era forgotten, into a vanished age, back to something ancient as Egypt or Nineveh. That is the secret of the strangeness and beauty of things, the secret of the thrill they give, the secret of the elfish charm of the people and their ways. Fortunate mortal; the tide of Time has turned for you! But remember that here all is enchantment, that you have fallen under the spell of the dead, that the lights and the colours and the voices must fade away at last into emptiness and silence.

The one thing in Japan which never suffered disillusionment in his eyes was the Japanese woman. We infer, therefore, that he must have been happy in his married life. He is not the only Englishman

or American who, after having resided in Japan, thinks a kimono more graceful than a Parisian gown, and little 'tea-cup ladies,' running about on clogs and turning in their toes, more alluring than their emancipated sisters of the West.

It has been well said that the most wonderful aesthetic products of Japan are not its ivories, nor its bronzes, nor its porcelains, nor any of its marvels in metal or lacquer, . . . but its women. . . . Before this ethical creation criticism should hold its breath. . . . How frequently has it been asserted that, as a moral being, the Japanese woman does not seem to belong to the same race as the Japanese man ! . . . Perhaps no such type of woman will appear again in this world for a hundred thousand years; the conditions of industrial civilisation will not admit of her existence. . . . Only a society under extraordinary regulations and regimentation, a society in which all self-assertion was repressed and self-sacrifice made a universal obligation; a society in which personality was clipped like a hedge, permitted to bud and bloom from within, never from without; in short, only a society founded upon Ancestor Worship could have reproduced it.

If Lafcadio Hearn had never done anything more for Japan than dissipate the slanders disseminated by Occidental travellers about her code of morality and the Japanese treatment of women, he would have done much to help us to a fairer criticism of the country. We have been told that there is no equivalent for the word 'chastity.' He shows us that the imagined omission arises from our total want of comprehension of the Japanese language, as many of its dramas and poems turn on the tragedy of a husband killing his wife after proved infidelity.

He gives us an analysis of a conversation between his pupils at the College of Tokyo and himself, showing that for them our novels, turning upon love and marriage, seem strange, if not improper. To the young Japanese, marriage appears a natural, simple duty, and is generally arranged by a matrimonial broker. They draw a broad line between the infatuation that we dignify by the name of love and the domestic affection that leads to the establishment of family relations.

All the poetry of Japan, most of her proverbs, dramas, and street songs turn upon the subject of the loves and sorrows of the Japanese Geisha, a product common to the Occident as to the Orient, made in answer to foolish human desire; for the illusion of love, mixed with youth and grace, but without regrets and responsibilities, indeed, is as ancient an institution as the world itself.

On no subject does the difference between Pierre Loti's and Lafcadio Hearn's view of Japanese sociology stand out in a more pronounced manner than in their analysis of the difficult and elusive characteristics of the Japanese Geisha. Hearn had the greatest admiration for Pierre Loti's literary style. He mentions him somewhere as one of the greatest prose writers of the day; but we hardly can help thinking that the Frenchman must have been in his mind when he alludes to

'those extraordinary persons who make their short residence in tea-houses, and establishments of a much worse kind, and then go home and write books about the women of Japan.'

As well compare the true Japanese Geisha to the girl whom Loti buys in one of the lowest haunts in 'The Quarter' and then treats like a plaything, to be cast aside without any impulse of moral feeling or remorse, as compare a girl from a Portsmouth slum to a professional beauty. . . .

'Professional Beauty,' indeed, exactly expresses the rôle of the Geisha in Japan. Charm and fascination is made a profession from earliest childhood. She is taught how to talk, she is grounded in all the songs and literature of the day, to learn the art of their slow dancing alone means years of hard work and drilling. Hardly any Occidental ever sees a really famous Geisha.

In theory the superior Geisha is supposed to be the minister of purely intellectual intercourse, but the freedom of her life permits a considerable amount of laxity in her intercourse with her male admirers. The lower class of these 'daughters of joy' who voluntarily sell themselves to a life of shame for the sake of their families, or to escape starvation in times of uttermost distress, do not in Japan—except perhaps in those open ports where European vice has become a demoralising influence—ever reach that depth of degradation to which their Western sisters descend. . . .

The same mixture of greatness and sordidness, of self-sacrifice and vice, distinguishes 'The Quarter' in Tokyo as in any other great city. The Salvation Army has not accomplished a whit more in the streets of London than it has accomplished in the streets of Japan, nor is likely to accomplish as long as human nature and social conventions remain what they are. . . .

'For the eternal law is, that people may play with impunity at any game except three,' says Lafcadio Hearn, 'which are called Life, Love, and Death.' These the gods have reserved for themselves, because nobody else can learn to play them without doing mischief. Then he gives us the story of Kimiko, the Geisha, pathetic in her passion, her sorrow, and her self-abnegation. . . .

'To wish to be forgotten by the beloved is a soul-task far more hard than trying not to forget,' is a translation of the Buddhist proverb placed at the beginning—a key to the story. These translations scattered through Lafcadio Hearn's works are delightful.

I am accused [he complains] of trying to make Buddhist texts more beautiful than they are, but I have really only tried to get the essence of the mind of the most cultured people upon earth and put it in a comprehensible form.

'All things change, in this world of change and sorrow; but love's way never changes of promising never to change.'

Or this one—expressing the Buddhist idea of pre-existence :
 ' Even the knot of the rope tying our boats together, was knotted long ago by some love in a former birth.'

The problem of the origin of the Japanese has never been satisfactorily solved, but everywhere in its social life does an extraordinary mixture of qualities indicate a mixture of nationalities. Allied with the mildness of the Mongol is the fierceness of the Malay. Soft as the floss silk they spin into their lovely stuffs, and hard and supple as the steel they forge into sword blades, they exhibit the extraordinary instance of a people uniting an almost over-delicate appreciation of beauty with a courage which puts them into the first ranks of the fighting men of this or any country. We hear of Admiral Togo, for instance, writing home from the seat of war, regretting that he could not be at Tokyo to see the cherry trees in bloom, and begging for some to be sent to him in pots. Picture Lord Charles Beresford, his decks cleared for action, a row of cherry shrubs in full bloom decorating his main cabin !

The writing of poems is recommended as a moral duty rather than as a literary art.

Are you angry? [says the teacher], do not say anything unkind, but compose a poem. Is your most beloved dead? Do not yield to useless grief, but try to calm your mind by making a poem. . . . Whatever injustice or misfortune disturbs you, put aside your resentment or your sorrow as soon as possible, and write a few lines of sober and elegant verse for a moral exercise.

After the last declaration of war, we are told, ministers repaired to a well-known 'scenery' and sat down and indited poems to the beauties of Nature.

The simplicity and amazing cheapness of the pleasures enjoyed by men and women might well be copied by wealthy millionaires in England and America.

Instead of Bridge parties, where hundreds are lost and won, or dinners and concerts, where thousands are lavished on the music and the food, the Japanese give a cherry blossom or a plum blossom party, where the sole entertainment consists in the contemplation of a cherry or plum tree in full bloom. The Mikado, one of the most warlike and capable sovereigns on earth, who summarises in his own person all the military power of the empire, gives two of these 'Beholdings' a year; one in the spring, the other to celebrate the glory of the chrysanthemum in autumn. He himself sits with his guests, sipping tea, lost in contemplation of the blooms.

From the very beginning of his residence in Japan, Lafcadio Hearn developed a strong leaning towards the tenets of the Higher Buddhism. In his last book he defends these tenets eloquently against the charge of atheism. 'It is a religion,' he says, 'for thinkers and scholars, not for the lower portion of the population. Because a man disbelieves in a personal God, or in a continuation of personality

after death, it does not follow that we are justified in declaring him to be an atheist, especially if he happen to be an Oriental.'

After his naturalisation as a citizen of the empire, he openly professed his faith, and was buried according to the rites of the Buddhist religion.

Twenty-four hundred years ago, out of solitary meditation upon the pain and mystery of being, the mind of an Indian pilgrim brought forth the highest truth ever taught to men [he tells us in *Footprints of the Buddha*], and, in an era barren of science, anticipated the uttermost knowledge of our present evolutionary philosophy regarding the secret unity of life, the endless illusions of matter and of mind, and the birth and death of universes. He, by pure reason—and he alone before our time—found answers of worth to the questions of the Whence, the Whither, and the Why. And he made with these answers another and a nobler faith than the creed of his fathers. He spoke and returned to the dust; and the people worshipped the prints of his dead feet because of the love that he had taught them. Thereafter waxed and waned the name of Alexander, and the power of Rome, and the might of Islam; nations arose and vanished; cities grew and were not; the children of another civilisation, vaster than Rome's, begirdled the earth with conquests, and founded far-off empires, and came at last to rule in the land of that pilgrim's birth, and these, rich in the wisdom of four-and-twenty centuries, wondered at the beauty of his message, and caused all that he had said and done to be written down anew in languages unborn at the time he lived and taught. Still burn his footsteps in the East; and still the great West, marvelling, follows their gleam to seek the Supreme Enlightenment.

The silence of centuries seems to descend upon your soul, you feel the thrill of something above and beyond the commonplace of this every-day world, even here, amidst the turmoil, the rush, the struggle of this monster city of the West, if you take up his *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, and turn to his description of his first visit to a Buddhist temple. Marvellous is his power of imparting the mystery of that strange land, of hidden meanings and allegories, of mists and legends. The bygone spirit of the race, the very essence of the heart of the people, that has lain sleeping in the temple gloom, in the shadows of the temple shrines, awakes and whispers in your ears. You feel the soft, cushioned matting beneath your feet, you smell the faint odour of the incense, you hear the shuffling of pilgrim feet, the priest sliding back screen after screen, pouring in light upon the gilded bronzes and inscriptions; and you look for the image of the Deity, of the presiding Spirit, between the altar groups of convoluted candelabra. And you see:

Only a mirror, a round, pale disc of polished metal, and my own face therein, and behind this mockery of me a phantom of the far sea.

Only a mirror! Symbolising what? Illusion? Or that the Universe exists for us solely as the reflection of our own souls? Or the old Chinese teaching that we must seek the Buddha only in our own hearts? Perhaps some day I shall be able to find out.

The last two years of his life, it was said, were embittered by his enforced retirement from the position of lecturer in the Imperial

University of Tokyo. This statement, I think, can hardly be reconciled with probability. The Japanese method with regard to all official appointments, especially in educational circles, is one of continual change and impermanency. He himself, in his last book, breaking through the reticence that usually characterised him with regard to his personal affairs—a reticence he was bound in honour to observe concerning his adopted country¹—mentions the corruption which of late years had been rife in Japan, and alludes to official scandals, intrigues, and shams, but without any bitterness or personal acrimony. We need not go further to seek a reason for his retirement than his own health, which, always delicate, had now begun seriously to fail, and he probably felt no longer capable of doing justice to his appointment as well as of writing the book which he declared he was determined to do before he died—a comprehensive history of Japan, socially and religiously; a gathering together, in fact, of all the threads of knowledge that he had accumulated during his fourteen years' residence in the country, and weaving them into a consistent whole.

So far as we are concerned, it was an inestimable boon that he was enabled to devote his time undisturbed to this noble work.

Some people have deemed it a fault that his views of the Island Empire are too rose-coloured.

'He is more Japanese than the Japanese,' says Herr Brandt.

'He is but a sentimentalist!' says an English critic.

Readers of his last book, *Japan, an Attempted Interpretation*, with its unswerving impartiality, its deep and thoughtful criticism of all that is just and all that is unjust, of all that is charming and all that is terrible in Japanese manners and Japanese coercive legislation, will recognise that this is the work of no sentimentalist.

Personality or individuality, he acknowledges, could not develop in a communistic organisation where competition is not tolerated. It was the best system possible in those ages of isolation when there was no such thing as want, and when the population, for yet undetermined causes, appears to have remained always below the numerical level at which serious pressure begins; but this communal restraint upon free competition as it exists in Japan entirely cuts her off from the industrial conditions of other countries, and he recognises that the altruistic spirit that prevented the stronger from ousting the weaker must pass away when brought into contact with modern industry and modern scientific civilisation.

He draws a parallel between the ancient Greek republic and the Oriental empire, and speculates as to the outcome if its mode of thought had suddenly been confronted with minds of our scientific epoch with which they had no kinship of thought, no sympathy, and

¹ Professor Chamberlain's life could not have been guaranteed, he tells us, for twelve hours, if what he had written about Japan had been reproduced in Japanese.

no community of sentiment. They would without doubt have done what modern Japan has done—reconstructed their patriarchal society to meet the changed conditions ; they would have created an army and a highly efficient navy ; they would have sent some of their young aristocrats abroad to study foreign customs and modes of thought ; 'they would have established a new system of education, and obliged all their children to study many new things ; but towards the higher emotional and intellectual life of that alien civilisation they would naturally exhibit indifference ; its best literature, its philosophy, its broader forms of tolerant religion, could make no profound appeal to their moral and social experience.'

Lafcadio Hearn's regret for the ancient Japan, that is so quickly passing away, is expressed in every page of this last book—that joy in the daily beauty of the world, the content, the trust in the ancient tenets of her faith, the simplicity of old customs, the amiability of manner, the strange power of presenting outwardly, under any circumstances, only the best and brightest aspects of character.

Industrial conditions have brought in their train a social misery hitherto unknown ; the extraordinary increase of the population accounts for some of this, and the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a minority. Some idea of the misery may be obtained from the fact that the number of poor people in Tokyo unable to pay their resident-tax is upwards of fifty thousand, yet the amount of the tax is only about twenty sen or five pence English money.

Yes,

The domestic future appears dark. Born of that darkness, an evil dream comes oftentimes to those who love Japan : the fear that all her efforts are being directed, with desperate heroism, only to prepare Japan for the sojourn of peoples older by centuries in commercial experience ; that her thousands of miles of railroads and telegraphs, her mines and forges, her arsenals and factories, her docks and fleets, are being put in order for the use of foreign capital ; that her admirable army and her heroic navy may be doomed to make the last sacrifice in hopeless contest against some combination of greedy States, provoked or encouraged to aggression by circumstances beyond the power of Government to control. . . . But the statesmanship that has already guided Japan through so many storms should prove able to cope with this gathering peril.

From the beginning to the end, this last book of Lafcadio Hearn's, unswayed by sentiment, impartial in judgment, lucid and thoughtful, bears the hall-mark of authentic information. He sees all the faults, the many defects of her political and religious systems, but he also sees her many great qualities, her heroic power of self-sacrifice, her patience, her discipline. All Occidental prejudice is put aside ; he sees from within, from a Japanese point of view. The conciseness, the power of analysis are surprising, while the dignified clearness of the style is without reproach.

From a poet he had become a philosopher, and not only a

philosopher—for there is something of the poet in all philosophers—but he had also become a scientist.

The word 'Finis' had hardly been written on the last page when he was called upon to join 'that ghostly company' that cares 'nothing for the fashions and the changes and the disintegrations of *Meiji*.'

Only fifty-four! How many more volumes like this might he not still have written, how many wise and poetic things might he not have told us!

• NINA H. KENNARD.

• *THE CHANCELLOR'S ROBE—*
A BYGONE INCIDENT •

THE *Court Circular* of the 11th of December announced that on that day the present Chancellor of the Exchequer received the seals of office and kissed hands on his appointment. To the 'plain man' this may have appeared as completing the function of inaugurating a Finance Minister, and that no further steps are necessary to establish him in his chair in Downing Street. It may perhaps be of interest to some to hear that there are other formalities to be gone through, and amongst them a sartorial detail which half a century ago gave rise to something like a personal quarrel between two mighty protagonists—Disraeli and Gladstone.

Most people are aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer comes next after the First Lord, and is named second in the patent which appoints Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain and Ireland; he also receives two other patents—one a parchment to which an impression of the Great Seal in yellow wax is attached, appointing him Chancellor of the Exchequer for Great Britain; the other, a similar document sealed with green wax, appoints him Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. In former days he was a Judge of the Court of Exchequer, and although by the Judicature Act of 1873 the Court of Exchequer was merged in the High Court of Justice, it still retains some of its old prerogatives. Once a year, on the morrow of St. Martin, the Chancellor takes his seat in that Court, where he presides as a Judge at the ceremony of nominating persons to serve as sheriffs, and on these occasions he wears a robe of black silk with gold embroidery, a robe which his predecessors wore as judges of the Court of Exchequer, a robe distinctive of office, such as no other Cabinet Minister, except the Lord Chancellor, so far as I know, wears, and it was this very garment which was the occasion, though probably not the cause, of unfriendly words between two of the greatest rivals in political history.

Looking through a bundle of old political correspondence some time ago a long strip of faded paper caught my eye; the shape was unusual and aroused curiosity. Further examination heightened my interest, for this strip proved to be a collection of separate slips

of paper gummed to each other, on each of which an outgoing Chancellor of the Exchequer had given to his successor a receipt in full for the value of the robe. On one Mr. Gladstone gives in firm, clear handwriting (and in 1855 his handwriting seemed very firm and clear) a receipt to Sir George Cornwall Lewis : 'Received from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, April 2/55, one hundred and fifteen pounds 13s. W. E. Gladstone.' On another Sir George returns the compliment in July 1859. Again in 1869 Mr. Gladstone lets Mr. Lowe have the gown, and in 1873 'Robert Lowe' (not yet Lord Sherbrooke) sells it back at the usual terms [which appeared to be 10 per cent. less than the outgoing Chancellor paid on accession 'to office']. Sir Stafford Northcote follows, and so on down to 1885.

Here was a curious little chain of links with the past, and I reread the slips with increasing interest. But what struck me as most curious was the absence of Disraeli's receipt. If this robe passed from one Chancellor to another, why did not his signature appear? I put the little bundle away and thought no more about it till two years ago, when Mr. Morley's biography appeared, and the reason was not far to seek.

The change of Government which took place in the last month of 1852 occurred after one of the most exciting and heated debates the House of Commons has ever seen. The encounter between Disraeli and Gladstone on that occasion was marked by a vehemence probably never exceeded. Disraeli's speech was in Gladstone's words 'disgraced by shameless personalities,' and in his own reply he was unsparing in his denunciation of his opponent's behaviour.

The state of the political world in that December resembles in a remarkable degree the condition of affairs to-day. Then, as now, no one could find out all through the summer and autumn (of 1852) what was the official fiscal policy. The Liberals in opposition had tried hard to pin the Government down to some definition. Disraeli, like Mr. Balfour, would only say that he saw something 'looming in the future'; his followers, as at the present moment, spoke with two voices—those who represented cities shrank from the re-imposition of a bread tax, while the county members were still hopeful of being able to do something for their agricultural supporters. The Government did not dare to say Protection; like the late Prime Minister, they declared the Protection they sought was only Free Trade under peculiar circumstances.

It became necessary to bring in a Budget in the Autumn Session, and when it was brought in both the 'whole-hoggers' and 'free-fooders' of that day were alike disgusted. Mr. Herbert Paul has, in his recent *History*, given us in a few graphic words an account of that extraordinary debate.

The debate was long and acrimonious. At length, late on the right of the 16th Mr. Disraeli rose to reply. He soon left the uncongenial fields of finance

and turned upon his assailants with marvellous energy. He called Mr. Goulburn a weird Sibyl. He assured Sir Charles Wood that petulance was not sarcasm and that insolence was not invective. He told Sir James Graham that he regarded him but did not respect him. He flung his missiles right and left without much heeding where they fell. When he sat down the committee was to divide. But suddenly Mr. Gladstone rose at two in the morning with the emphatic remark that such a speech must be answered and on the spot. This was the beginning of the long duel, which lasted with some intermission while Mr. Disraeli remained in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone protested in sentences constantly interrupted by tumultuous cheering and countercheering, that the characters of men who had been long in the public service were entitled to esteem, and that offences against good taste became infinitely graver when committed by the leader of the House of Commons.

The impression produced by this unprepared speech was extraordinary.

A violent thunderstorm raged through the debate [says Mr. Morley], but the excited senators neither noticed the flashes of lightning nor heard a tremendous shock of thunder. A little before four o'clock in the morning (December 17th) the division was taken, and Ministers were beaten by nineteen (805 to 286).

The result of the debate was due in a large measure to the speech of Gladstone, and its effect was to create an immediate change of Ministry. Disraeli, smarting under defeat, had at once to evacuate 11 Downing Street, and to hand it and its contents over to his victorious antagonist. The pill must have been a peculiarly bitter one under the circumstances, and a painful correspondence appears, according to Mr. Morley, to have taken place between them on such mundane and comparatively trumpery affairs as the value of the chairs and tables and the price to be put on the Chancellor's robe !

On February 5th [says Mr. Morley] he (Mr. Gladstone) moved into the house of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in that best-known of all streets which is not a street, where he was destined to pass some two-and-twenty of the forty-one years of the public life that lay before him. He had a correspondence with Mr. Disraeli, his predecessor, on the valuation of the furniture in the official house. There was a question also of the robe, that passes down under some law of exchange from one Chancellor to another on an apparently unsettled footing. The tone on this high concern was not wholly amicable. Mr. Gladstone notes especially in his diary that he wrote a draft of one of his letters on a Sunday, as being, I suppose, the day most favourable to self-control; while Mr. Disraeli at last suggests that Mr. Gladstone should really consult Sir Charles Wood, 'who is at least a man of the world.' Such are the angers of celestial minds.

As I read these words my mind reverted to the little bundle of receipts ; here, then, was the clue to the puzzle, the reason of the absence of Disraeli's signature. It was pathetically simple ; they quarrelled about the price of the robe and the deal was off ! Mr. Gladstone purchased a new robe, and it was handed down from one Liberal Chancellor to another for the next thirty years, while the

Conservative leader's mantle was not allowed to fall on any shoulder outside the party.

Whatever bitterness, however, existed between Disraeli and Gladstone, there was none between Gladstone and Northcote, who were subsequently pitted against each other; the latter took over, no doubt willingly, the Liberal robe from his old chief in 1874, and as readily handed it back to him in 1880. What the later history of the two robes was I do not know: whether that of Disraeli was ever used by any one else, and whether that of Gladstone has become a kind of heirloom of the Treasury. Let us hope, at any rate, that Mr. Asquith's accession to office has been marred by no such embarrassments as those which occurred in 1852.

SPENCER CHILDERS.

'TABERNACLE' 'VERSUS' NATION

IT is hardly to be denied that our English system of governing by party has been passing through a crisis. Ever since the celebrated 'Tabernacle' speech there has been anxiety on the part of many lest our political differences should degenerate into a mere personal or tribal controversy. In the events of the last two years there has been not a little which has gone far to justify such a feeling. Political tactics, as they are called, have been far too much *en évidence*, and controversies in which the future of the nation is vitally concerned have been relegated to the background. It has even seemed at times as though personal feelings were allowed to dominate where patriotism alone ought to have been supreme. Possibly critics who have very little of party feeling and yet hold strong political views have somewhat exaggerated these indications; but certainly there has been not a little, especially in the closing scenes of recent Parliamentary conflict, to justify their apprehensions.

It is all the more fitting that incidents of an opposite kind should receive a due share of attention. In connection with the formation of the new Ministry there have been one or two circumstances which have presented the system in a more favourable light. That Lord Rosebery, certainly a politician of most brilliant gifts and a distinguished record, should have no place in a new Liberal Ministry must be not only to intelligent Liberals, but to all who desire that the government of the country should be in the hands of its most capable men, a matter at once of extreme surprise and of great regret. It is possible to explain it, but the explanation hardly reconciles any but extremists to so serious a loss. To this point I shall return afterwards. In the meantime it may be said that his speech as President of the Liberal League, a speech at once of a broad-minded statesman and a generous critic, has done much to repair any mischief that might otherwise have been caused by a supposed want of unity among Liberal leaders. There is no more subtle danger to our politics than the introduction of these personal considerations into our controversies. The persistent and almost malignant attacks upon Lord Rosebery by a certain section of the Liberal party can have only one effect. They must weaken the party itself. His lordship has done much to neutralise their evil

influence by the magnanimity with which he has treated the whole subject. His advice is, indeed, only the counsel of common sense, but under the circumstances it required considerable generosity to give it. 'It is our duty,' he said, 'to maintain in every way, and by every effort we can summon, the unity of the Free Trade party. Our duty is not merely to maintain that unity, but to strain every nerve that an overwhelming majority of the constituencies should be returned in favour of and in support of the present Government.' This is simply an appeal for party 'unity in order to secure a national purpose. The whole story, however, of the relation between Lord Rosebery and his colleagues affords a striking illustration of the strength of the cross-currents which disturb our party struggle. It is simply impossible to exclude personal feelings, and yet these must largely interfere with the exercise of a calm judgment. The commanding personality of an independent statesman is a perpetual trouble to the men who believe in the most extreme form of the doctrine of the 'Tabernacle,' and would excommunicate all who cannot pronounce every shibboleth and even applaud every word of its chief. But a party exists for the good of the nation, and every other aim and purpose is to be kept in strict subordination. Happily on this point also the constitution of the new Cabinet gives us another reassuring symptom. The selection of Mr. John Burns for Cabinet office is an event of more than personal significance. That we have reached a point in this country where a man can pass from the workman's bench to a seat in the Cabinet is a remarkable sign of the growth of a practical Liberalism, and is, further, an acknowledgment that a Liberal Ministry ought to include men of all shades of Liberal opinion who are willing to act on broad lines of sober-minded practical progress.

The plain fact is that in a nation in which the whole atmosphere of thought and discussion is favourable to freedom, and in an age where, to say the least, speculation is sufficiently audacious, there are sure to be innumerable shades of opinion. Politicians may be divided into two camps; but in each there must be many separate divisions. Probably an independent thinker would say that the best type of politician would be one who should unite Liberal opinions with a Conservative temperament, and who, while bold and fearless in his policy, should be wise and temperate in its advocacy. Men of this type, however, while they commend themselves to a thoughtful section of the community, must have rare genius if they are to secure the plaudits of popular assemblies. Politicians who sit on the fence are never popular. But, in truth, this cant phrase does not describe the character I mean. What I mean is an independent thinker, strong in principle and bold in speech, who does not destroy his chances of success by building brick walls that he and his friends may run their heads against them. Thirty years ago, at a time when Nonconformists were strongly dis-

satisfied with the policy of the Liberal Government, some friends came to consult me as to the course they should take in a particular election. The candidate was a member of the Ministry who was specially obnoxious to them because he had declared in favour of an Education Bill to which they and I were equally opposed. I answered them as I should answer now. I am a Liberal, and prefer a man whose Liberalism may be imperfect to one who is simply and decidedly Conservative. This is the only basis on which the party system can work. If its policy be not broad and comprehensive, it is certainly destined to failure.

Party government, it must ever be remembered, is not a part of our Constitution ; it has simply been developed out of the necessities of popular government. It has, indeed, had an eventful and not unhonoured history ; but it is always to be remembered that in its palmy days the nation was divided on great principles, and understood that the issues involved were of tremendous importance. Cavalier and Roundhead, Puritan and Royalist, Hanoverian and Tory were not mere names. They expressed fundamental differences that were held with great tenacity and maintained with dauntless courage. We have fallen on more peaceful times, and perhaps our present danger is a failure to appreciate the far-reaching influence of the issues at stake. The great issue raised by Mr. Chamberlain, and which, it must be said, he has done his best to keep before the eyes of his country, is one of vital importance to the prosperity of the nation. Remembering, as I do with some vividness, the condition of the Lancashire working people in the early 'forties, I tremble at the possibility of the country being plunged back into all the miseries of that period. Before my mind rises a vision of those distant days—a procession of gaunt, hungry men, with terribly grim, earnest faces, whose one cry was for work and for bread ; and with that in my memory it requires something, more than the confident assertions of a brilliant orator to satisfy me that the path to prosperity lies in a return to the system which had brought about that melancholy state of things. If there is argument for this, by all means let it be shown ; but if it be attempted to secure a triumph simply by the use of party machinery constructed for an entirely different purpose, then that system itself must become the subject of severe and searching criticism. The same argument applies with no less force to the great Liberal difficulty in its Irish policy. Free Trade, our relations to the Colonies, Home Rule policy, our foreign relations, involve great national issues. To settle any of them by merely party votes I believe is impossible ; but if it were possible, it would certainly be a sin against our country.

It would be alike unjust and ungrateful to ignore the benefits which we have reaped from the party system. The real anxiety should be to preserve still what is useful, and to preserve it from

degenerating into an instrument of person or of faction. At all events, it is fairly entitled to the credit of that 'freedom broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent' which is the glorious heritage of the English people. It will not be denied, however, that it has its manifest disadvantages, and these have been only too apparent in recent discussions. Gentlemen who have to fight under it can hardly fail at times to fret under some of the uncongenial duties it imposes upon them. They know the higher qualities of their opponents, and, in truth, are on the best terms with them as gentlemen and friends; and yet they have to talk to them *de haut en bas*, as though they were their inferiors either in intelligence or character. The hard necessities of party warfare compel them thus to crucify some of their best instincts. The curious fact is that all the world knows that these personal criticisms are not real fighting. At heart many of the speakers have, for the most part, a profound respect for each other's abilities, perhaps even a wholesome dread of them, and would be the very first to admit that, if any call was made upon their patriotism, they would be as prompt to meet it as any man in the nation. When Little Englanders are assailed on the one side and Jingoes on the other, the attack is on their creed, not on them. But the conditions of party warfare are supposed to demand fiery onslaught upon the advocates, and this has really been more marked in our recent controversies. The circumstances of the case seem to have engendered more feeling, or, at all events, to have led to more fierce and violent expression.

Some reasons for this development it is not difficult to discover. So long as the dividing line was broad and clear, the intensity of feeling was only proportioned to the gravity of the issues. These were clearly marked, and the spirit on both sides was often intolerant and bitter. But as one controversy after another has been ended, and the line of separation has been accordingly narrowed, there has been unconsciously a change of atmosphere which I venture to think would have been much more marked but for the counteracting influence of party spirit. A *rapprochement*, daily becoming more pronounced between Churchmen and Dissenters, has been very perceptibly checked by that educational policy which has been the result of party manœuvre. Church and Dissent undoubtedly stand for two opposite conceptions, and the forces on the two sides are so equally balanced that neither the one nor the other has a right to claim absolute predominance. A truly broad-minded statesmanship would have sought a 'settlement calculated to promote the best interests of the nation without inflicting injury or humiliation on either party. The man who fancies that he can by means of the day-school educate little Churchmen into Dissenters, or little Dissenters into Churchmen, is simply dreaming a dream, and places himself outside the region of practical politics. But at the same time he is doing a

very substantial injury to the children who need the education, and to the cause of Christian unity and fair play.

Of course, if there were some high national interests at stake the risk of the bitterness that might be engendered in the controversy must be faced. But this cannot be said in relation to many of our discussions. Men equally honest in their pursuit of truth, equally sincere in their patriotism, without any object of sect or party to serve on either side, arrive at the most opposite conclusions, and hold them with the same tenacity. It is a folly which irritates the best among his auditors for a speaker to charge his opponent either with incompetence or insincerity, and, instead of strengthening, detracts from the force of his argument. No doubt there are certain audiences which love nothing better than these despicable attacks—attacks not upon the principles of the man or of the reasoning by which he supports them, but upon the style of his advocacy or the purity of his motives. There is, no doubt, in certain natures a pleasure in lowering men who have any quality which elevates them above their fellows; but it is a low playing to the gallery indeed which seeks to avail itself of a sentiment so unworthy. Abuse of the plaintiff's attorney may provoke laughter or cheers, but it never advances the argument.

The change in the *personnel* has also affected the spirit of the struggle. The withdrawal first of Mr. Gladstone and then of Lord Salisbury from political life has had results which could not have been fully foreseen at the time. They were, both of them, men of singular elevation of thought. I seldom, if ever, agreed with Lord Salisbury; but I should hope that there are, even among the most bitter opponents of Mr. Gladstone, men as capable of appreciating his loftiness of tone as I hope I am of recognising the sincere (though, in my view, often mistaken) patriotism of the Marquis of Salisbury. More and more, however, as the years roll on, do I feel how unique a figure was William Ewart Gladstone. Some of the political memoirs which have been published recently give us glimpses of the internal life of the man which enable us better to understand through how thorny a path he had to pursue his simple policy of honest fidelity to what he regarded as the true interests of the nation. Of course, he was not, what flatterers too often make their idols, absolutely impeccable and infallible. He made his mistakes, he may have had faults of temperament, but, to use a phrase of the day, he was one of the richest assets this nation ever possessed. One scene which enlightened the gloom of this somewhat dark winter was that memorable gathering at the unveiling of his statue. If party considerations compelled the absence of the members of the late Government, all that can be said is, 'Alas, for party!' But a very high point of elevation was reached in the manly and noble speech delivered by the Duke of Devonshire. It was an incident in political life which would hardly have occurred in any country but our own, and it reflected

equal honour on the speaker and on his hero. The removal of a man like Mr. Gladstone from the public arena could not fail to have widespread and even lasting effects. His relations to our party system were peculiar, not to say unique. He was born and cradled in the very purple of Conservatism. He lived to work out some of the great practical aims of democracy, and yet he could not be called a democrat. He availed himself of party agency, but there was in him nothing of the mahager. It was the inspiration of genius and of lofty principle which gave him his power. The loss of such a man must for a time be very serious, if not irreparable.

But the events preceding his removal have made that loss more serious. He died in the midst of the reaction which was the result of his own independence so conspicuous in his Home Rule proposals. It is necessary to read recent political memoirs to understand what a terrible upheaval they caused in the entire Liberal party. It is easy to blame Mr. Gladstone; but, as these records show, he was not the only man who had his scheme for the redress of Irish grievances. Mr. Chamberlain, indeed, was a conspicuous rival, and, had he been in Mr. Gladstone's position, might possibly have taken action quite as decided. The reading of the whole story as presented in Lord Granville's *Memoirs* has impressed me very strongly with the manifest disadvantages of political organisation. The circumstances were highly exceptional, and yet they were such as might easily occur when a dominating personality was at the head of a somewhat independent party. The 'Tabernacle' itself was divided, and for some time its members could not understand the policy of their chief, and were disposed to suspect that of each other. In such circumstances what was the unhappy party to do? Of course, the ultimate appeal must be to it, but to it only in its capacity as a section of the electorate which included also, and with co-ordinate power, another element distinctly opposed to its principles and aims. The dilemma was grave and serious, and the result has been manifest in our political history from that time down to the present.

After all, the point which should be kept constantly in mind by politicians is that party is only an instrument by which to work. To forget that would be to make it a curse rather than a blessing. Indeed, if it be possible that better results could be obtained by working on other lines, it would be condemned. There was an interesting discussion which occurred a few weeks ago, and which at the time attracted some little notice, though hardly as much as it deserved, which was curiously suggestive. Lord Rosebery, in his 'foreword' to Mr. Alfred Stead's book on Japan, directed attention to that extraordinary quality of the Japanese people which he designated as 'efficiency.' His idea is that their position has been won mainly by a clear perception of the end at which they aimed, and then of a scientific estimate of the means by which to secure it. The idea, as

is well known, is a favourite one of his; and even if its suggestions may be deemed somewhat utopian, they must surely be regarded with kindly feeling. But from one of his former colleagues they called forth only a defence of the party system. In such a controversy there is certainly no desire to take any part here. Both the disputants may be right. If the party system does not make for national efficiency, it stands self-condemned. If, on the other hand, even its manifest faults and weaknesses do not prevent it from being a potent instrument for good, Lord Rosebery himself would take advantage of its facilities until some better method is devised, and in the meantime seek to remedy such faults as are universally admitted. To be forewarned is to be forearmed; and if it once be recognised that party spirit is apt to extinguish chivalry, to become narrow in view and bigoted in feeling, to create wide and even dangerous breaches in society, and to foster a spirit of intrigue, let us by all means seek to correct such serious faults.

Unfortunately, we are very slow to learn that true progress must to a certain extent be on scientific lines. Confronted with the results of our own serious though possibly fortuitous mistakes, we are too apt to try to correct them without due inquiry, and probably commit others of an equally serious kind. As an efficient corrective nothing surely could be better than a study of the past. By a happy coincidence the publication of an important work in English political biography, to which allusion has been made above, occurs in the very midst of our political crisis. Lord Granville was a Liberal statesman of the highest order—patriotic, gracious in spirit, broad in political view—in the very heart and centre of official life. He numbered amongst his friends and intimates the most eminent politicians of the time; and there were few, if any, of them whose confidence he did not win by his imperturbable good temper and his perfect fairness. The correspondence of such a man, who lived through so critical a period and played so important a part in all its leading crises, ought to be of unspeakable value; and Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice deserves a debt of gratitude for enabling us to learn the secret history of the crucial events which it records. Perhaps the first lesson which a wise reader would gather from it would be an utter distrust for the statements which are current in the Press as to what is passing in *la haute politique*. But my purpose is not to discuss the literary or historic memoirs of the book, but to pick up any crumbs of wisdom which it may give us as to the incidents of the present time.

The year 1868, when Mr. Gladstone formed his first and great Ministry, was a notable crisis in our national progress. Here is a picture of the state of things then, which may surely be studied with advantage to-day. It is from the pen of Lord Shaftesbury:

I am much obliged [Lord Shaftesbury wrote to Lord Granville on the 28th of December] by your wishes for a happy New Year. I wish the same to you.

But what a tempestuous ocean you have embarked upon! What shoals and quicksands! I have no trust in Gladstone and Bright; but I have a special distrust in Derby and Disraeli. Your seas and your waves are roaring. May God be at the helm! For be assured, my dear friend, that no merely human skill will save the British Empire from utter shipwreck.

Happily the dangers of shipwreck have been averted for the period of thirty-seven years which have since elapsed. Looking back at that time, the cool observer wonders what were the perils which so alarmed the heart of this excellent man. At all events, we have passed through far worse dangers since then, and the good ship has apparently sustained no injury. Still, the perils which menace all attempts at Reform always bulk largely in the view of those for whom the present state of things is so convenient that they desire no change. Unfortunately, the facts of the case present themselves in a very different light to those who are familiar with the stern realities of life. It is not easy to read the newspapers of any day without being impressed by the conviction that there is crying need for progress in various directions. Fifty years ago—and, still more, three-quarters of a century ago—men were living in a state of comparative content, grateful for any improvements in their condition, and accepting them as boons at the hands of their superiors rather than as rights due to them as citizens. That state of things has passed away, and the fact is one which needs to be carefully weighed in the balances by men of both parties, and especially by that which prides itself on being Conservative.

It is by the Liberals, however, that the brunt of the change has to be chiefly borne. An illustration of this is supplied by the heading of a paragraph in an ecclesiastical journal in the height of the crisis: 'Exit the Ministry of All the Talents, and Enter the Ministry of All the Cranks.' Such a style of controversy makes one almost hopeless. But, at least, it suggests the difficulty which besets Liberal leaders in particular. Undoubtedly they have to do with the cranks who, being intent on change whether wise or unwise, naturally group themselves under the banner of the Progressives. It is quite possible they may not have any broad sympathies or courageous outlook, but in one way or another have been impressed by some particular evil, and are bent on remediying that, without any special qualification for suggesting what the true remedy is. There is, however, a cant about cranks of which we need to beware. At one point or another most of our great Reformers have been regarded as cranks; and the fact is one which a 'Liberal leader will be wise not to forget. He has under his standard men who desire to make progress in different directions, some of which offer tempting opportunities, while others are effectively barred against any advance for the present. The man e.g. who would propose the immediate Disestablishment of the English Church and insist that that shall be a cardinal article of the new Liberal programme would show himself destitute of the first elements

of political wisdom. He has simply to take his place in the ranks of the army of progress; and the more entire his faith in his principles, the more patiently can he wait until their quiet advocacy at last secures its due reward. I have chosen this particular reform because it is that in which I am most deeply interested. But it is only an illustration of what applies in other cases. The misfortune for the Liberal party, and the difficulty for its leaders, is that each of its separate sections desires to have its own favourite reform inserted in the programme. A more serious tactical blunder it would not be easy to commit. But it is the inevitable consequence of that programme-spinning which from the days of the Newcastle Conference has been the weakness of the party. It may be traced still further back to the introduction of the Caucus—an American invention which may be suited to the country of its origin, but which many earnest men are beginning to regard as the source of serious evil to our own.

There is another condition which has to be taken into consideration here. The Liberals have themselves introduced it, and they cannot complain of its application to their own action. Urgent stress has been laid—in my opinion, not more than was demanded—on the absence of any mandate from the country for the Education Acts or the Licensing Bill. The doctrine needs to be applied with judgment. There are emergencies which have to be dealt with by the Ministry of the day in measures of which not a hint may be traceable in their electioneering addresses. But for Ministers to deal with important principles or institutions in a way of which they have not given a solitary premonition, and on which the mind of the country has never been pronounced, is certainly not constitutional politics. But in laying down such a restriction Liberals must see that they themselves are bound rigidly to abide by it. In the great reforms which lie before them they have an *embarras de richesse*, amid the competing claims of which it may be very hard for them to make their decision. Under such conditions it would be the very height of folly for their leaders to give the impression that they are about to enter on a crusade against all the remnants of feudal distinction and privilege which fetter the action of an old country like our own. Surely it is not presumptuous to say that a wise Liberal leader will seek to include all who are intent on the political progress of the nation under his standard. Even if they will only advance with him one mile on his journey, it is better for him to have their help on that first mile, probably the most difficult, than to leave them to swell the ranks of his opponents, already sufficiently numerous. It would seem almost vain to hope that the clearest of all facts would be recognised in our party counsels. We have amongst us all-round men, and men who are intent simply on one reform. But surely the fact that a man does not agree with us, say, as to the true policy with regard to Chinese labour should not prevent us from welcoming his help in other reforms, say the

Education or Temperance Question, on which we are at one. It may be that this would lead up to the idea that every great constitutional reform should be treated as *pur et simple*, and the party which has accomplished it dissolve into its original elements, to be reformed for some fresh enterprise in new fields. It is an extreme suggestion, and yet there is some truth underlying it, and a truth to which leaders of the party should give heed. Some of its friends are too prone to become excited by encouraging signs in by-elections or otherwise, and to talk very lightly in relation to those who will not dot all their *i*'s and cross all their *t*'s in the fashion prescribed by a Caucus. They may be perfectly certain that, whether in the present conflict or in any in the immediate future, there will be a considerable body of thinking men who refuse to take any part in these mere party manœuvres, but who have a sincere desire for efficiency. The leader who can win the votes of this class—a class which is manifestly growing in numbers—is the man who will render the best service to his country and his party.

No true man can ever allow mere party interests to be the determining consideration in his policy. The ablest leader may in the heat of controversy, and under the influence of circumstances which tend to confuse issues, form a mistaken conception of what the real interests of his country demand. He is surrounded by an enthusiastic band of admirers, against the seductive influence of whose plaudits he has to watch. The conditions are eminently unfavourable to the exercise of dispassionate judgment, and there is no little danger lest he should end in regarding the triumph of his party as essential to the good of his country. The error is a serious one all round, but it is one into which an eager party leader may readily be betrayed. Such a mistake, however, is very different from that of the man who is so intent on the triumph of his party that he loses sight of the wider issues of true patriotism.

Politics are something more than a mere game. So much seems to hang on the immediate results of party speech and manœuvres that the unthinking are apt to regard them as the main business of public life. Hence the contempt with which some are disposed to regard all politics. They will not stoop to so low a level as that of the ordinary partisan, and of course their withdrawal only leaves the latter free to act without restraint, and makes the state of things even worse than before. The discussions about political tactics which have been so rife during recent months have been dreary reading, especially for those who hold that there are few nobler works that a man can undertake than that of serving his country faithfully in the fear of God. But in order to its fulfilment the great questions of public life must be regarded in truer perspective.

It is hardly possible indeed to read recent history without seeing how little the real course of events is affected by those tactical battles

on which so much of thought and feeling is expended. As we turn over pages which bring to our recollection the half-forgotten scenes of our own early days, the contrast between the relative importance of different events as we see them now with that which they had for us at the moment is very suggestive. The tactical discussion which to-day seems of such enormous importance will very soon be regarded as belonging to the infinitely little. Men and events present a very different aspect when seen in the cold grey light of history from that which they assume in the discussions of the club-room or the articles of the omniscient editor. A Press which could hold the balance with firmness in these times of excitement might do inestimable service. Unfortunately journals with this spirit do not become more numerous, and in the strong devotion to the mere trifles of the hour which is daily more characteristic of the Press we have one of the evils of the day.

It is certainly somewhat reassuring to note the ease with which any difficulties in the formation of the new Cabinet have been cleared away. The one conspicuous blot in its constitution is the absence of the name of Lord Rosebery. A more striking illustration of the evils of our present methods could hardly be furnished. A party must surely be rich in able men which can afford to dispense with one of such distinguished abilities and wide experience as the former Liberal Premier, whose administration of the Foreign Office was so notably a success. The Irish question is apparently the only hindrance to his presence in the Cabinet. Whether he has exaggerated his difference from the Prime Minister is itself a point on which men will differ. Personally I can see no reasonable ground for dissenting from his view.

My fear [he says] was not, if I may speak epigrammatically, of an Irish Parliament in Dublin, but an Irish Parliament in London; a British Parliament mortgaged to Irish business; of a British Parliament under the dominion of the Irish party; of a British Parliament with an Irish Parliament in it always some eighty-six strong, which could rise every day and every moment of the Session and call upon the Prime Minister to redeem the pledges of Stirling.

At the kernel of this lies a great political maxim. The Liberal party will not be in power if it has not a majority independent of the Irish Nationalists. But with the unity which is manifestly characteristic of the party, with the inspiration which has come from the singularly rapid change of political atmosphere, with the utter failure of the attempt to frighten the country by Tory bogeys, and with the clear determination on the part of a large section of the electors, there is every reason to anticipate the most satisfactory result from an appeal to the country. In a word, the 'Tabernacle' has only to make the nation feel it has the real interests of the Empire at heart, and it will have the people at its back. On the contrary the miserable wrangle of faction and the jealousies of individuals must weaken any party, and render it absolutely useless to the nation.

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

THE NEW⁴ GOVERNMENT

STRONG as party feeling is in England, it is not so strong as the love of fair play. A new Administration can always reckon upon a friendly welcome just because it is new. And in this case there are other reasons. Everybody now feels, whatever on a platform he may say, that the Liberals have been jockeyed. Mr. Balfour has acted with the hope, or at least in the belief, that he would embarrass his successors on the eve of a General Election. That is the sort of conduct which we are accustomed, perhaps with a too insular sense of conscious superiority, to call un-English. Mr. Balfour would be ashamed to tee his ball in a bunker. But then politics are a game, and golf is a serious pursuit. The Liberals, however, have disappointed him. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, with that shrewd, sound judgment of his, has avoided the two errors which would have wrecked the ship before she was out of sight from land. He did not hesitate for one moment to take office, and he has refused to leave the House of Commons. If his political opponents could have said that after demanding a dissolution since the month of May 1903, he shrank from assuming the power to dissolve, they would have had an unanswerable case. If he had allowed himself to be extinguished under a peerage, the spirits of the party would have been profoundly depressed at the moment when they most needed to be raised. The *Times*, which was daily, and hourly, supplied with accurate information throughout the process of making a Cabinet, naturally urged Sir Henry to become a Peer. That powerful journal supports the policy of Mr. Chamberlain, and therefore desires the defeat of Liberalism at the polls. *Qui veut la fin veut les moyens.* Its invitations were most alluring. The Prime Minister should consider that he was no longer young; that the task of leading the House was most laborious; that the other House also required to be led, and he was just the man to lead it; that the Peers would all welcome him as a personage of great distinction; that he would have, as Lord Salisbury said when he offered a coronet to a sleepless colleague, abundant opportunity for repose. Delilah, I have no doubt, used equally cogent arguments to Samson, whose hair notoriously wanted cutting. By yielding to her blandishments he avoided the fate which

subsequently befell Absalom. Nevertheless his strength, as we know, departed from him when he submitted his head to the shears. The Prime Minister was not born yesterday. In his long life he has seen many arts used and many nets woven. He has few illusions, and he was not to be taken in. Some very keen observers say that if he had left the House of Commons on the brink of a General Election his Government would have been defeated at the polls. It is not necessary to go so far as that. That, many thousands of votes would have been lost, and many active Liberals disheartened, I for one regard as absolutely certain.

Let us consider for a moment what the situation would have been. Almost every Liberal is committed to the doctrine that the Prime Minister should be a direct representative of the people. It is no doubt pedantic to say that a man excluded from the House of Commons by the accident of birth should be also by the same accident disqualified as First Minister of the Crown. When Lord Rosebery became Premier in 1894, it was the general opinion of his colleagues that he could hold a rickety Government together as no one else could, and the result justified the choice of the Queen. But that is a totally different thing from the voluntary acceptance of a peerage as a condition precedent to becoming Prime Minister. No sensible man can shut his eyes to the fact that if there should be a Liberal majority in the next House of Commons, a collision between the two Houses is more than probable. Cynical Peers must have smiled audibly at the notion that a Liberal leader could not form a Ministry without seeking refuge on their threatened benches. They would have drawn a not unnatural, and a not illogical, inference if they had concluded that an assembly essential to the existence of a Liberal Ministry might do as it liked with Liberal measures. The precedent of Lord Beaconsfield, like the precedent of Lord Rosebery, is wholly beside the point. Mr. Disraeli was a Conservative; and, moreover, when he took an earldom in 1876, he wished to resign. Queen Victoria pressed him to remain in office, and addressed to his patriotism an appeal which he could not resist. Lord Rosebery's resignation in 1895 is equally irrelevant as a precedent for Mr. Balfour's resignation in 1905. Lord Rosebery's Government had been defeated in the House of Commons, and had no majority left. In my humble opinion he would even under those conditions have done better to dissolve. But a Minister against whose policy the House of Commons has voted may always choose between dissolution and resignation. It is quite a novel theory that he may resign when Parliament is not sitting because he thinks that he can steal an advantage from the other side. If the Prime Minister should at some future date find his work too heavy, and desire to be released from part of it, the King would no doubt be gracious and sympathetic. At present the Prime Minister remains in the House where he has sat continuously since 1868 as

Member for the Stirling Burghs. It is said that Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour, which has become the proper order of the names, look forward with pleasure to 'baiting that old man,' who must be as old as Mr. Chamberlain himself. The 'old man' has two qualities, one positive, the other negative, on which Mr. Chamberlain would do well to reflect. He never loses his temper, and he has a quite remarkable facility for making angry people look ridiculous. He can also reckon upon the constant assistance of Mr. Asquith, who has so often been the hatchet of Mr. Chamberlain's rhetoric, and has no superior in debate. After his Budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a comparatively idle man, and though it is wonderful how much Parliamentary work Mr. Asquith combined with his practice at the Bar, he will naturally be able to do a good deal more when his time is his own. Mr. Chamberlain's perpetual sneers at lawyers can hardly be palatable to the numerous gentlemen of the long robe who support his fiscal policy. But Mr. Chamberlain is beginning to hit rather wild. 'A Government of Little Englanders' may be a phrase of brilliant wit and dazzling originality. It must have amused the new Colonial Secretary, Lord Elgin, who was governing three hundred millions of Asiatics while Mr. Chamberlain was absorbed in parochial politics at home.

Three of the most important places in the Cabinet are the Foreign Office, the War Office, and the Irish Office. No one can say that they are not well filled. Sir Edward Grey is the first Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons since Lord Stanley, the late Lord Derby, who resigned in 1868. But he is young and strong, besides being extremely able, resolute, and clear-sighted. Everyone is satisfied with his appointment, except the directors and shareholders of the North-Eastern Railway. It is certainly a remarkable fact that Sir Edward Grey, with no regular training for business, should have shown himself in a few months an almost ideal chairman of a singularly prosperous corporation. It is more significant, though less surprising, that Sir Edward Grey's name should have been most warmly received by our French allies as a guarantee for the thoroughness and stability of our mutual understanding with France. Mr. Haldane at the War Office suggests to the least classical mind an image of Hercules in the Augean stable. In that unfortunate department any Secretary of State who could listen attentively and speak intelligibly would be welcome. If Mr. Haldane can steer between the Scylla of Mr. St. John Brodrick and the Charybdis of Mr. Arnold Forster, he will escape the rocks. If he can re-create the Army, he will prove himself a statesman indeed. Fuller scope for great abilities the heart of man could scarcely desire than Mr. Haldane has now. Why the nomination of Mr. Bryce as Chief Secretary for Ireland should be supposed to imply a revival of Home Rule it would be hard to say. Mr. Bryce, like Mr. Asquith and Sir Henry Fowler, has been responsible in Cabinet for one Home Rule Bill. Lord Rosebery, like

Mr. Morley, now Secretary for India, has been responsible for two. It is true that Lord Rosebery has recanted, while Mr. Bryce and Mr. Morley have not. Lord Rosebery's Irish policy quite explains his unfortunate absence from the Cabinet, if any other explanation were required than his own repeated disclaimers. But I cannot help doubting whether it was altogether wise for the Conservatives to stick up the bogey of Home Rule. The union of Free Traders, necessitated by Mr. Chamberlain's enterprise, has made it impossible to include Home Rule as understood by the Governments of 1886 and 1892 in the Liberal programme. The idea of the next Parliament passing a Home Rule Bill in that sense, a Bill establishing an Irish legislature, is perceived by all sensible men to be absurd. But the whole story of Mr. Wyndham's dealings with Home Rule, for all of which Mr. Balfour was directly and personally responsible, will now have to be investigated and exposed. There would have been no harm in them if they had been open and above board. On the contrary, it is not improbable that Mr. Bryce will take up the work which Mr. Wyndham dropped, and succeed where Mr. Wyndham failed. But when Mr. Balfour has the assurance to come forward as a champion of the Union, against the disintegration of the Empire which he attributes to his Majesty's present Ministers, it will be necessary to prove by chapter and verse, in black and white, that, if he means what he says, he is a disintegrator of the Empire himself. He thought that he could 'find salvation' by the sacrifice of a friend. Nobody cares in this connection about Mr. Wyndham. It is Mr. Balfour, who gave his authority to the scheme of Devolution which he now attacks, and to the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell for the express purpose of carrying it out. It is true that he calls himself, in all sincerity, a Unionist. But so, with equal sincerity, did Mr. Gladstone. The late Government, as Archbishop Temple once told them, were 'not very brave.' They were usually afraid of something, and they perished for fear of Mr. Chamberlain. Before that they were afraid of the Ulster vote, and Mr. Moore was appeased by the expulsion of Mr. Wyndham. It was then that Mr. Balfour ought to have resigned, for he was as guilty as his Chief Secretary, if guilt there were. Lord Dudley has promised further information upon this subject, and he is now free to fulfil his undertaking. Mr. Bryce must by this time be in possession of full details, and they will be infinitely more entertaining to the public than the stale rhetoric of 1886 or 1893. A good thick tarring with the Home Rule brush is no more than Mr. Balfour's due, and it will prepare him better than anything else for the assaults which he contemplates upon his successors in Downing Street. He might have avoided it. But that unlucky tongue of his ran away with him, and it is too late now. I wonder if he remembers an old story about his godfather the Duke of Wellington and Lord Brougham. They met in the robing-room of the House of Lords. 'I had always thou ght,

said the Duke with unwonted flippancy, 'that your lordship would be known in history as a great legal and social reformer, but I find that you will be famous for having given your name to a mighty inconvenient sort of carriage.' 'I had been under the impression,' replied Brougham, 'that your Grace would go down to posterity as the hero of a hundred fights. But I fear that your name will be familiar in connection with a particularly uncomfortable sort of boot.' 'Oh, damn the boots ! I forgot the boots. You have the best of it.' Mr. Balfour has forgotten the boots. One or two other things his recent speech at Leeds shows that he has forgotten, or does not know. He is ignorant or oblivious of the fact that Free Trade means a tariff for revenue only, and has never meant anything else. He has omitted to observe that nations do not trade with each other, and therefore that the analogy from diplomacy is false. He fails to realise that if Devolution means Home Rule, he is a Home Ruler ; and that if Home Rule means disintegration of the Empire, he is a disintegrator of the Empire himself.

The remainder of the Cabinet scarcely calls for detailed notice, and beyond it the name of Mr. Churchill, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, is the only one out of the ordinary line. Nobody, not even Mr. Asquith or Lord Hugh Cecil, has put more clearly and forcibly than Mr. Churchill the economic case for Free Trade. The new order issued by the King gives the Prime Minister for the first time precedence over all his colleagues in the Cabinet, even the President of the Council, except the Lord Chancellor. Sir Robert Reid's friends, whose name is legion, will all be delighted to see him where they have so long expected him to be. As for the precedence, I am old-fashioned enough to regret the peculiar distinction of having none enjoyed by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and Erastian enough humbly to conceive that, if he comes anywhere, he ought to come before the archbishops. But these are mysteries into which the red and roving eye of imagination, as Mr. Robert Montgomery called it, should not pry. The least important thing about a Prime Minister, except perhaps his school and college, is when he goes out of a room. The most important, even more important than being in the House of Commons, is a clean past. In office or out of office, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has stuck to his principles and acted on his opinions, whether the political atmosphere was fair or foul. To Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour such a career seems inexplicably insipid. To the people of England and Scotland it is a ground of confidence and trust. If, instead of their ' baiting that old man,' that old man beats them, the applause will not all come from the Liberal party. Mr. Chamberlain says that nothing but more taxes can save the country from ruin. Between Mr. Chamberlain's ruin and Mr. Chamberlain's taxes the country must this month decide. The register is new, and the numbers voting will almost certainly be the greatest ever known. For the first time the working classes have one of them-

·selves in the Cabinet. Mr. Burns is known chiefly in London, where his work on the County Council and his speeches in the House of Commons have made his high and just reputation. But throughout the country his appointment will be regarded as a proof that there is no longer a social qualification for a Liberal Cabinet, as there used to be a property qualification for knights of the shire in the House of Commons. Literature is well represented in a Cabinet which contains Mr. Morley, Mr. Bryce, and Mr. Birrell. Mr. Birrell knows something of the difficulties and divergencies which surround and perplex the educational problem. But the whole Cabinet will have to deal with them before the meeting of the new Parliament, and even the most exasperated ecclesiastic cannot always resist a combination of geniality with humour.

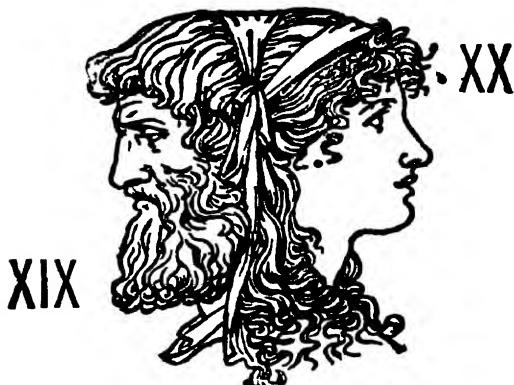
One name will be missed, even by the strongest opponents, from the new Administration. No Liberal Government has been formed since 1868 without Lord Spencer. In that year he first went to Ireland, where he afterwards achieved a signal reputation for firmness, courage, and skill. He will be most missed in the House which he would have led. But the Liberal party throughout England, and not the Liberal party alone, will regret the absence from Cabinet and Senate of an unflinching friend to truth and freedom. It is another serious misfortune that weak health, 'the bridle of Theages,' should so long have excluded Mr. Acland from public life. But, if he cannot preside over a department, or fight an election, he may find other means of assisting political progress and social reform. Large as the Cabinet is—too large, the critics may say, for unity—it contains the smallest possible number of Peers. It is emphatically a House of Commons Cabinet, though wealthy Radicals show themselves as anxious as ever to become members of the institution they have so often denounced. The first duty of the new Minister, however, is to take the opinion of the country upon Mr. Chamberlain's policy and their own. Mr. Balfour has no policy. There is no half-way house between a tariff for public revenue and a tariff for private interest. Retaliation is one form of Protection, and Preference is another. But they are very imperfect forms; and if farmers are to be legally protected from competition, it is Colonial competition from which they will want it most. Imperialists, however, need not be afraid. The new Government do not mean to break up the Empire, or to abandon the system under which it has grown and flourished. Mr. Balfour scarcely asks for a majority, except in East Manchester. He has surrendered partly to Mr. Chamberlain, who is with him, and partly to the Prime Minister, who is against him. To have the carriage of an election, as lawyers would say, does not mean here what it means in France. Mayors, Sheriffs and other Returning Officers in this country are altogether independent of the Executive. But even a British statesman cannot say, with any face, to his fellow-subjects, 'I am unable to carry on the government because my party

are at loggerheads, and cannot agree whether they want more taxes or no. I have cleared out, bag and baggage, from the public offices, leaving them to my political opponents. Be good enough to turn them out at once, that we may come back again, and squabble afresh.' As the French commissary said of the name Robert Louis Stevenson, *cela ne s'écrit pas*. The country would do well in the circumstances to heed the warning of Lord Rosebery. Do not let us have an Irish Parliament at Westminster. In other words, let the constituencies give the Government a clear majority over all possible combinations in the House of Commons. It was that for which Mr. Gladstone asked in 1885 ; and if he had obtained it the history of the last twenty years would be quite different from what it is. The Irish Nationalists are perfectly frank and straightforward. They have no British policy. They look at everything from the Irish point of view. They voted with Lord Salisbury against Mr. Gladstone in 1885. They voted with Mr. Gladstone against Lord Salisbury in 1886. It is their interest now that the Liberal majority which everyone expects shall be as small as possible. One great mistake in tactics they have made. At the bidding of their priests they supported Mr. Balfour's Education Act, which does not apply to Ireland, and thereby alienated thousands of Nonconformists who had voted for Home Rule. Not being an Irishman, or a Nonconformist, I think I can give an impartial opinion upon that point. In the election now at hand neither Government nor Opposition can reckon upon the Irish vote in Great Britain. Devolution, though the Liberals may take it up, originated with a Conservative Lord-Lieutenant and a Conservative Chief Secretary. Lord Dudley agrees with his successor, Lord Aberdeen, that Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas. It will be infinitely better for the highest interests of the United Kingdom that any Government which deals with the Irish question, as after Mr. Balfour's benevolent failure any Government must deal with it, should be independent of Mr. Redmond and his followers. Lord Rosebery's speech at the Liberal League bore a curious resemblance to Mr. Gladstone's appeal of twenty years ago. May it meet with a more favourable response ! The personal strength of the new Ministry is admitted, as indeed it is undeniable. But personal strength is not enough without numerical strength. Philosophers may think that arithmetic is too prominent in politics. Abstract opinions, however, do not alter facts. All really important debates in the House of Commons end with the counting of heads—or, rather, of hats—and for numerical purposes one hat, like one head, is as good as another. At the polls every vote for the Government will be a vote against the dependence of Great Britain upon Ireland.

HERBERT PAUL.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
to return unaccepted MSS.*

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THE FLOOD

MR. CHAMBERLAIN at Highbury, like Noah in his ark, looks out upon a waste of waters, from which himself and nine other souls have been miraculously, that is wonderfully, preserved. While justly proud of the personal confidence which his services to the City of Birmingham have inspired in his fellow-townsmen, he cannot but feel some regret for the ruin he has brought upon his political friends. Mr. Jesse Collings is an excellent man, and it seems silly to laugh at the mention of his name. Among amateur photographers Sir Benjamin Stone ranks high. But even if they were intellectually equivalent to the Duke of Devonshire, to Lord Goschen, to Lord St. Aldwyn, to Lord Avebury, and to Lord James, they could not also compensate for the defeat of every member of the late Cabinet who sat in the House of Commons except Mr. Akers-Douglas, Mr. Arnold-Forster, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain. Even Mr. Arnold-Forster, who had excised from his useful manual, the *Citizen Reader*, every paragraph that illustrated or denounced the folly of Protection, would not now sit for Croydon if the Free Traders of the borough had not been divided among themselves. Mr. Balfour was swept out of Manchester by the wave that swept Mr. Churchill in. Mr. Lyttelton

has gone, and Mr. Brodrick, and Mr. Gerald Balfour, and, outside the Cabinet, Mr. Bonar Law, the ablest spokesman of Tariff Reform except Mr. Chamberlain himself. The Goliath of Protection, Mr. Chaplin, has fallen in his own county among those who were once his tenants. Mr. Boscowen has followed him into private life. There remain only, to give glory to their leader, Sir Howard Vincent, who is not the clever man of the family, and Mr. David McIver, for whom Liverpool cherishes the same sort of grateful tenderness that good men who recollect that they were children feel for their maiden aunts.

Except Birmingham and the City of London, Great Britain is solid for Free Trade. In town and country, in urban districts and agricultural districts, it is all the same. With monotonous but emphatic regularity the people of England and the people of Scotland have proclaimed their allegiance to Peel and Cobden. The vote of Birmingham was personal. It would have been exactly the same if Mr. Chamberlain had recalled and repeated the conclusive arguments and the incisive language with which twenty and five-and-twenty years ago he slaughtered the Fair Traders of those days. It was no more a vote for Tariff Reform than it was a vote for the improved cultivation of orchids. The City of London consists politically of caretakers and plural voters. The great bankers and merchants who believe in Free Trade as they believe in the rule of three are swamped by a crowd of stockbrokers who live by speculation, and regard 'corners' as 'good biz.' To greedy speculators and to needy landlords Protection is undoubtedly attractive. It might really do them good. The working classes perceive that they stand to lose by it, and they will not touch it with one of their fingers. Nor do they stand alone. Nothing has been more remarkable in this great election than the way in which employers and employed have worked and voted together. So far from setting class against class, it has united them as they have not been united for many generations against a policy which would have involved them in common disaster. The most valuable collection of facts and figures for candidates, except the Board of Trade Returns, was the pamphlet issued by Mr. Macara, President of the Cotton-spinners' Federation in Lancashire. The President of the Operatives' Society, Mr. Ashton, supported him in every particular. Mr. Balfour had to maintain, before some of the hardest-headed men in England, that the system which alone enables Lancashire to compete successfully with the whole world required to be taken to pieces and reconstructed. He could not do it. He displayed a tact and temper which we must all admire, and should do well to imitate. But a defence of philosophic doubt does not appeal to practical men. The cotton-trade of Lancashire gives employment to five millions of people. It is worked upon a very narrow margin of profit. It depends upon free imports. It is the most splendid example of 'bald Cobden-

ism,' taking care of the imports and letting the exports take care of themselves, that has ever been seen in the history of mankind. Once, and only once, has it suffered interruption. The occasion was the rebellion of the Southern States in North America, which produced exactly the same consequences as would follow Protection. The result was the Lancashire cotton-famine. Manufacturers and wage-earners in this country sometimes differ, always to the disadvantage of both. They agree in saying to the Tariff Reformer 'Hands off.' It is free imports that enable this northern island to retain a commercial supremacy over every other nation in the world, including Germany and the United States. Ever since Mr. Chamberlain began to shriek that our industries were one by one going down before the blighting influence of poor old Cobden's obsolete ideas they have, one by one, been going up, and those branches of business have expanded with the greatest rapidity which he had specially marked out for imminent destruction. It is, of course, an egregious fallacy to assume that an increase in the prosperity of foreigners implies a diminution of our own. The direct contrary is the case. Trade is not war. The richer our neighbours grow, the more business they can do with us. That was why Cobden wanted other Governments to imitate our financial policy. It is a mere delusion of the Tariff Reformers that those Governments considered the expediency of doing so, and deliberately decided in the negative. The military Powers of the Continent, with conscription and no 'silver streak,' imposed their high tariffs not for protection but for revenue. It was in order to buy off formidable opposition that they exempted their own manufacturers, and thus built up a wall against themselves which they lack the strength to pull down. In the region of prophecy Cobden was as fallible as the rest of us. As an economic reasoner and a practical negotiator he has never been surpassed. But if his predictions had all been fulfilled, and the whole of the civilised world had adopted Free Trade, it would have been a doubtful benefit to us. An Englishman may be hampered by American tariffs in dealing with an American, or by German tariffs in dealing with a German. But if he competes with a German in America, or with an American in Germany, the freedom of his raw material from duty gives him an advantage over the foreigner. It is 'unfair competition,' if you like. But the 'unfairness' is against the Protectionist, and in favour of the Free Trader. These are elementary truths, which can be expounded without much difficulty to a popular audience. But what knocked the stuffing out of Tariff Reform was the statistical volume issued by the Board of Trade for 1905. 1904 had been a bumper year; 1905 surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine Cobdenite. Free Trade cantered gently past the winning-post while Protection was plunging and pasting hundreds of yards behind. That is the worst of political economy. Just as the enemies of the 'dismal science' are belabouring it with all their

might, or contemptuously dismissing it as 'mere theory' from the arena of practical discussion, the theory is justified by the logic of events, and then it is not the political economists who look foolish.

The idea that Tariff Reform did not mean Protection was very easy to explode. Etymologically, of course, it need not. But *qui hæret in litera hæret in cortice*. A free breakfast table would be in one sense a reform of the tariff, just as the unrestricted importation of Chinese coolies into South Africa would be in one sense Free Trade. But only intellectual children play with words. In the language of sane and rational men Free Trade means a tariff for revenue only, and Tariff Reform means favouring specified industries at the public expense, or in one word Protection. The first thing to be protected in England would be corn, and here comes in the little-loaf, to which Mr. Chamberlain formerly appealed as an illustration, though he now denounces it as an imposture. There is no imposture. It is as certain as anything in physical science that indirect taxes are paid by the consumer, and that there cannot be two prices of the same article in the same market. A corn tax would therefore raise the price of bread, whether Canadian corn were exempted from it or not. The exemption of Canadian corn would be a loss to the revenue. It would be no gain to the purchaser. It would certainly not satisfy those farmers who clamour for agricultural protection, not perceiving that their rents would be raised as soon as it began to work. They dislike Colonial competition quite as much as foreign, and Canadian competition hits them the hardest. The Canadian corn-grower would gain by 'Preference.' Everybody at home, including the farmer, would lose, and the working classes in Canada itself would derive no advantage. We give the Colonies far more than they give us by supplying them with an open and unrestricted market. Far better for them than the 'preference' they offer to British goods, carefully regulated as it is by their own commercial interests, would be their adherence to the example of the Mother Country by the adoption of Free Trade, a tariff for revenue. The most prosperous of the Australasian Colonies, New South Wales, adopted Free Trade from the first. Since New South Wales became a state of the Australian Commonwealth, and as such subject to a Protective tariff, prices and the cost of living have largely increased. Well might John Bright say that Mill's *obiter dictum* in favour of Protection for young communities had done more harm than the rest of his economic writings had done good.

A small duty on corn, two shillings a quarter, would be felt only by the poorest of the poor. That is the special cruelty of it. It would oppress the same class that now feels the burden of the Sugar Convention, at which the wealthy Tariff Reformer scoffs and jeers. But it would not have satisfied the farmer, and it would soon have been raised to five shillings, ten shillings, twenty shillings, until it began to affect the comfortable classes, when even the Tariff Reform League

would have called a halt. *Obsta principiis*, says Persius. That is just what the people of England and Scotland have done. Instead of discussing how much Protection for the rich they could stand, they have said, plainly and bluntly, that they would have none at all. They know very well that times have changed since 1846, and that what meant privation then would mean starvation now.

Mr. Chamberlain has said, with truth and point, that the issue between Free Trade and Protection was never before submitted to the working classes of Great Britain. The last election which turned upon it was held in 1852, when the Parliamentary franchise did not go below the middle class. But Mr. Chamberlain would be the first to admit that the question has been laid before the working classes now, and that they have returned their verdict. It was thoroughly and exhaustively thrashed out in almost every constituency from John-o'-Groat's to Land's End. Mr. Chamberlain has done a real and a great service by enabling workmen to see clearly the enormous blessing which Free Trade has been to them. They had hitherto taken it for granted. Now they see that it is at once as scientifically demonstrable as a proposition of Euclid, and as palpably beneficent as the light of the sun, against which, by the way, the Protectionist candle-makers in Bastiat petitioned their Legislature. For that achievement, if for no other, Mr. Chamberlain deserves a statue. All Mr. Balfour's dialectics were thrown away upon Manchester because he started without a definition. He played verbal tricks with the expression 'Free Trade.' But an election, as he discovered to his cost, is not a word-game. The shrewd audiences he sought to bamboozle knew that Free Trade is a term of art, and means a tariff for revenue. It is mere nonsense to talk about a 'one-sided' tariff for revenue, or an 'unfair' tariff for revenue. Free Trade, as Sir Robert Peel saw even more clearly than Mr. Cobden, is a British policy, adopted by British statesmen for the exclusive benefit of their own country, without regard to the tariffs of other nations, which they could not alter or control. The best way of fighting hostile tariffs, said Peel, is by free imports, and so it has proved. The one serious danger to the commercial supremacy of Great Britain would be the adoption of Free Trade by Germany and the United States. Happily there are powerful interests in both countries who cling to Protection for their pockets' sakes, and, as Senator Lodge said the other day, once you begin to reform a Protective tariff, the whole structure falls to the ground. Mr. Chamberlain has not been successful with his courageous and somewhat unexpected proposal to revise the Sermon on the Mount. The Founder of Christianity said, and what He said is true for all time, 'Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.' Mr. Chamberlain says, 'Do to others as you see them do to you.' That the people have not taken Mr. Chamberlain's advice must be matter for rejoicing to all who desire to see England remain a Christian

country. Of course his policy would be as materially disastrous as it would be ethically indefensible. But I have never heard that one ought not to do what is right because the consequences are advantageous to oneself. Retaliation is a weapon with a blunt point and a sharp handle. We abstain from retaliating because if we did retaliate we should injure ourselves. No foreign Government would care how much we taxed manufactures. The Merchandise Marks Act of 1887 is the best gratuitous advertisement the German manufacturer ever had in England. We could annoy the Southern States of the American Union by taxing their cotton. But as the whole population of Lancashire which had no realised property would go to the workhouse, I do not think it likely that we shall try. The fact is that the English people do not want new taxes at all. They would rather narrow the area of taxation by repealing some of the old. The only new tax I have heard suggested which obtained any degree of popular favour was to fine the Tariff Reform League 5,000*l.* a fallacy. For the mischievous absurdity that we can 'tax the foreigner' a million sterling would hardly be too much. As for the idea that work can be found for the unemployed by restricting trade, it is perhaps the greatest affront ever offered by a public man to the intelligence of his fellow-countrymen.

The Education Act has played a secondary, though an important, part in the recent campaign. It has revived the power of political Nonconformity, which after long torpor had been destroyed by the South African war. Most Nonconformists would have voted in any case for Liberalism and Free Trade. But the Act made them work as they never worked before, and on this occasion the ministers of the Free Churches have rivalled in strenuous activity the ministers of the Establishment. A few months ago, if you wanted in a London club or a London dining-room to see a grin on a fool's face, you had only to mention Passive Resistance. They are laughing on the other side of their faces now. Passive Resistance got rid of Church rates, and it has virtually repealed the Education Act, which gave almost as much offence to Liberal Churchmen as to Dissenters, because it confounded the Church with the clergy, and Churchmanship with Toryism. When Parliament was dissolved, the Passive Resisters turned into active antagonists, and almost every Liberal candidate in England has felt the value of their services. The policy of identifying the Established Church with one party in the State is lamentably imprudent and essentially irreligious. Archbishop Temple warned the clergy not to accept rates for their schools, because rates would make them the schools of the people. The warning was unheeded, and Dr. Temple himself afterwards forgot it. The consequences must now follow, even if the principle of popular control has to be asserted in a more illustrious place than a National School.

Wiseacres who anticipated from the appeal to the country a very

different result argued, before the returns came in, that a Liberal majority would be a majority for Home Rule. If they were right, it would be the first duty of the new Parliament to set up an Irish legislature in Dublin. But they were wrong. They raised a false issue, and the woman who threw a red herring at Mr. Balfour, which happily did not hit him, was a practical humorist. As a convinced Home Ruler of twenty years' standing, who believes that if Gladstone had carried his Bill in 1886 Ireland would now be peaceful, prosperous, loyal, and contented, perhaps I may be allowed to say that it would, in my opinion, be dishonourable and disgraceful to treat the decision of the country as a decision in favour of Home Rule. Thousands of Unionists voted for Liberal candidates because they believed that Free Trade was the issue, and Home Rule was not. I am sure that the Prime Minister, against whom Mr. Balfour has made an unfounded charge, would as soon think of picking a pocket as of deceiving the Unionists who trusted him. And Mr. Balfour is sure of it, too, or he would have persevered with his Redistribution Bill. Even if the Cabinet were a gang of sharpers, they would be insane to pick a quarrel with the House of Lords in which the Lords would have the right on their side. 'Every man,' said Tennyson, 'imputes himself.' Mr. Balfour must have been thinking of his 'khaki majority,' and the use to which he perverted it in passing his Education Bill. The kind of administrative reform, reform of Dublin Castle, in which he and Mr. Wyndham were engaged when the Ulster Tories took alarm and frightened them, will probably be adopted and carried out, with the assistance of Sir Antony Mac-Donnell, by Mr. Bryce and Lord Aberdeen. But to that extent Mr. Balfour is a Home Ruler himself, and to govern Ireland in accordance with Irish ideas was the avowed object of his Viceroy, Lord Dudley. Mr. Long took a different view, and the people of Bristol have said what they thought of Mr. Long. Although patriotic Unionists did all they could to make the Government dependent upon the Irish vote, their public-spirited efforts have happily failed.

One bogey down, another bogey up. Home Rule having failed to frighten a child, the nerves of old women are being tortured with Socialism. The Socialists polled their full strength at the elections, and the Social Democratic Federation has not returned a single member to Parliament. Their leader, Mr. Hyndman, was at the bottom of the poll in Burnley, a working-man of great intelligence and high character, Mr. Maddison, being at the top. Mr. Hyndman openly advised his followers to do the Liberal party all the harm they could. They did as he told them, and in one or two cases they succeeded by procuring the election of a Tory. They were the best friends Mr. Chamberlain had, though they professed themselves Free Traders; and in Northampton, where there were six candidates for two seats, the Conservatives were absolutely confident, not without

reason, that the split on the other side would seat them both, as it very nearly did. The Socialists themselves never had the ghost of a chance, because they made proposals which it was known that no conceivable House of Commons would look at. The most Socialistic member of the new House, Mr. Keir Hardie, was also a member of the old. For myself, I think it a misfortune that a party which can poll many thousand votes in the country should have no representative at Westminster. It is an argument for Hare's scheme. But the idea that Government will adopt a platform on which many have stood, and on which none have got in, savours of Bedlam. Continental Socialism, the Socialism of Karl Marx, has not much hold upon the working classes here. But there is another kind of Socialism, and by a curious coincidence two of its most respected champions, Mr. Barnett and Mr. Scott Holland, are canons of the Church of England. The aim of these excellent persons is to put social reform before political change, and to legislate for the benefit of the most numerous class in the community. They are not statesmen, and their plans may sometimes be vague. But unless the present Government take up in a serious spirit the work of social reform, even their vast majority will melt away. The battle of Free Trade has been fought and won. Not in our time will Protection show its ugly head again, disguised as Tariff Reform or under any other *alias*. 'Dumping,' the importation of foreign goods below cost price, is only a casual occurrence. Even a wicked foreigner will not reduce himself to absolute beggary for the malignant pleasure of flooding British markets with cheap things. But the possibility of such an event is the one risk of which 'rings' and 'corners' stand in wholesome and godly fear. If they could have built up a 'scientific tariff' against it, they might have gambled in the food of the people, or in cotton, or in iron, and realised vast fortunes at the public expense. That is the true explanation of the frantic and furious energy with which dumping has been denounced. Now that the Tariff Reformers, beaten even in Rochester, have leisure to study the success of Protection in Russia or the failure of Free Trade in Japan, there is some chance of finding a real solution for the problem of the unemployed. To send the quack about his business is an essential condition of getting sound advice from a competent practitioner. The quack has gone, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is the responsible physician. When he was Secretary for War he introduced, against the advice of his permanent staff, the eight hours' day in the arsenals and factories of the War Office. The experiment was completely successful. To shorten the hours of labour by bringing them within reasonable limits, and that without coercion, or legislating against public opinion, should not be outside the resources of Liberal statesmanship. A workman's leisure is as important to his mind as it is to his body, and matters as much to him as it matters to a lawyer, a doctor, or a member of

Parliament. The Unemployed Act of last year is a much smaller measure than the Bill which the Tory Government brought in, and was rescued from the entire destruction which threatened it by the sagacity of Mr. Crooks, the member for Woolwich. It is a Charity Organisation Act, which can easily be extended into an Act for the permanent provision of useful and profitable employment. Recognition of an abstract 'right to work' is futile. But if the gross extravagance which the late Government encouraged were adequately checked, works of national importance could be carried out for the benefit of the whole country. That Englishmen who want employment cannot get it is due to three main causes, with none of which have foreign tariffs anything whatever to do. One cause is that feather in Mr. Chamberlain's cap, which plunged half England into mourning, the South African war. Another is public waste, which during the last five years reached an unexampled pitch of profusion. The third is the introduction of labour-saving machinery. For the third there is no immediate remedy, and in the long run no one benefits more by machinery than the working classes. But if men are overworked their premature decrepitude is an injury to the State as well as to themselves. In every public department the first duty of the time is thrift. The Tariff Reformers made the fatal mistake of attacking the impregnable fortress of our foreign trade, which was never so strong as it is to-day. They neglected altogether the home trade, which has been grievously depressed, and is only now beginning to revive. Nowhere has this depression been more severely felt than in the building trade; and we do not import houses from abroad. At such a time as this the presence of forty or fifty 'Labour members' in the House of Commons is a great public advantage. From the constitutional and representative point of view almost every member of Parliament is a Labour member. Still, it is desirable that there should be spokesmen of every class at Westminster, and the most numerous class has hitherto been most insufficiently represented. The first who found his way there, Mr. Burt, of Morpeth, has just been returned again by an enormous majority, and perhaps no man is so universally respected in the House. The Labour party could not have a better leader, unless it were Mr. Wilson, of Durham, whose experience is almost as long; or Mr. Fenwick, of Northumberland, whose majority is even larger. These men belong to the older school of Trade Unionists, and do not differ in opinion from any other Radical. They constitute about half of the 'Labour members' returned. The other half, the candidates of the Labour Representation Committee, are pledged, like the Irish Nationalists, to vote as the majority of their own number decide. They are not reckless revolutionaries, but shrewd, keen, practical, businesslike artisans. Most of them owe their return to Liberal votes, and they certainly owe nothing to the present Opposition, who threw out the Trade Disputes Bill, or to

the Irish Nationalists, who voted for clericalism in schools. The leader of the English Socialists was beaten by a 'Labour member,' and Trade Unionists were quite satisfied with their legal position until the House of Lords destroyed it in the Taff Vale case. They have neither sympathy nor affinity with Continental Socialism. But they will be invaluable coadjutors in social reform. When the reins dropped from Mr. Balfour's nerveless hands, they were taken up by a statesman whose guiding principle in life has always been commonsense. Of that quality there never was anywhere more need than there is in the United Kingdom to-day.

HERBERT PAUL.

• THE CENTENARY OF PITT

ON the 23rd of January, 1806, died William Pitt, the last but one in the procession of great Ministers who flourished between the Revolution of 1688 and the Reform Bill of 1832. His claims to our homage have been variously estimated. But with the large majority of Englishmen who think about him at all, he is still 'the Pilot who weathered the storm'; and to rightly estimate his hold upon the English people one must have conversed with men who grew up to manhood during the French Revolution, and remembered the all but universal sorrow and the feeling akin almost to despair which pervaded two-thirds of the nation at the news of his death. In this we must look for the secret of that enduring fame which is as fresh to-day as it was a hundred years ago, and shows no sign of ever losing one ray of its brightness. He filled a space in the public mind and heart which no other statesman has ever filled. He bore a burden of responsibility which no other statesman has ever borne. He was the one man under the shadow of whose greatness the whole nation reposed in security during times of terrible and prolonged danger. Whatever his diplomatic errors, however mistaken may have been his military expeditions, his moral grandeur towers above that of all who preceded him, of all who followed him, and of all who stood around him. He is an imperishable example of the resistless force of character combined with genius, a union not too often met with, and perhaps never in such perfection as in William Pitt. To all reverses and disasters he opposed an undaunted front which inspired the whole nation with confidence, and taught them for ten long years to stand fast until the tide turned. He knew after Trafalgar that 'England had saved herself by her exertions,' and that in spite of Austerlitz 'she would save Europe by her example.'

But it is rather to Pitt's domestic policy that I wish to call attention in this article. The two great achievements of his life, apart from foreign affairs, were the carriage of the Act of Union and the restoration of party efficiency. Both of them possess a very deep interest for us at the present moment. The first is openly threatened and the second is very much needed; and between the position of these two questions during the lifetime of Pitt and during the twenty years

which have elapsed since 1886, there are both resemblances and differences such as to some readers of this Review may perhaps seem worth consideration.

When Pitt first became convinced that the Roman Catholic claims must be conceded, he saw also that they could not be conceded with safety while an Irish Parliament still existed. His first step therefore was to get rid of the latter, and the next, when the ground was cleared, to satisfy the former. Whether he might have met with more success had he approached the question in a different fashion—had he represented to the King that the Union with Ireland and the relief of the Roman Catholics were only two halves of one great measure which must stand or fall together—it is impossible to say. As it was he found in George the Third a determined opponent of the ecclesiastic change which he contemplated. Lord Stanhope thinks, and probably with perfect justice, that Pitt could have carried it through both Houses of Parliament in spite of the most vigorous opposition of the Protestant party. Men's minds were not so inflamed upon the subject as they were twenty years afterwards: the strife had not been embittered by the long and passionate recriminations which agitated the whole nation during the Regency and the reign of George the Fourth. If the Duke of Wellington notwithstanding was able to carry Emancipation in 1829, there can be little doubt but that Pitt could have carried it in 1801. Now the King, knowing that Pitt had practically the Parliament on his side, was able by his mere *ipse dixit* to overrule the Minister, and veto a policy which one of the wisest, most honest and most powerful statesmen which the country had ever known assured him was indispensable, and which Parliament would have supported him in passing.

The resemblance between the Roman Catholic question in 1801 and 1804 and the Home Rule question in 1886 and 1892 has something more than a merely academic interest. In each case we have a Minister with a Parliamentary majority pressing on a reluctant Sovereign a measure of reform to which the English people in general are known to be hostile. Mr. Gladstone has said that the Crown now operates by influence rather than by power,¹ and that the known aversion of the Sovereign to any particular measure will often prevent its introduction. At the present day, however, this can be true only of secondary legislation. It was true in Pitt's time of measures of the highest importance, and the veto placed on Roman Catholic Emancipation is a standing example of it. But 'the known aversion' of George the Fourth did not prevent the Duke of Wellington from introducing Roman Catholic Emancipation; and the known aversion of Queen Victoria did not prevent Mr. Gladstone himself from proposing the repeal of the Union. Supposing, for the sake of argument, a Government sufficiently powerful to carry through both Houses a measure

¹ *Gleanings*, vol. i. p. 88.

to which the majority of the English people were hostile—and such cases have occurred, as the Liberals would be the first to allow—could the influence of the Sovereign prevent its introduction? And would it not be better if it could? Should we not prefer the arrest of such a policy by the means which George the Third employed—the influence, namely, to which Mr. Gladstone refers—to the rejection of it after a heated conflict between the two parliamentary parties, and the final defeat of the Lower House by the Upper, a triumph which, however desirable at the moment, is always bought dear; since every such contest involves a shock to the Constitution, and a strain on that 'triple cord' which Burke said 'no man can break,' but which he did not say nothing can wear out.

The conclusion, however, seems to be that there is now no way of preventing such questions from being fought out. And if any one thinks that George the Third's way of doing it was a remedy worse than the disease, he may be quite right. Yet it seems a pity that questions of this magnitude should be at the mercy of a popular vote given by the constituencies very likely with an eye to something totally different, yet capable of being used for a purpose which had it been the sole issue before them they would certainly have repudiated.

In 1829 Emancipation was decidedly carried against the wishes of the English people, who, as Mr. Gladstone points out, continued equally hostile to it for many years after. It will be seen that I am not considering either the Roman Catholic question or the Home Rule question on its merits, but simply comparing the means by which it was possible at one period to prevent a great and unpopular change from being forced through Parliament with the only means available for the same purpose at another. What the Sovereign could do by influence, the House of Lords must do by power; and the former method seems to me to be decidedly preferable. Of course this is presupposing that no change has come over the mind of the English people since the question of Home Rule was last before them. If in the meantime the predominant partner has been converted, there is an end of the matter; here we are only concerned with certain points of resemblance between the two situations without speculating on the measures by which they are respectively illustrated. In 1829 the predominant partner had not been converted, and yet the Bill was passed. Suppose it had been something to which the Liberals were as much opposed as the Tories were to Roman Catholic Emancipation. Would they not have thanked any Sovereign who had used his influence to prevent the question from being raised?

Few—or rather, perhaps, no—analogies move on all fours; but the two questions above mentioned have certain features in common which should be interesting to political students, and are, at all events, suggestive if nothing more. As much, perhaps, may be said for another political parallel offered by the beginning of Pitt's career as

the former is supplied by the end of it. It was Pitt who destroyed government by 'connection'—a term, erroneously as I think, applied to party government in general. I know that herein I am presumptuous enough to differ from Lord Beaconsfield, who often seemed to use the two words—'connection,' namely, and 'party'—as convertible terms. But what Lord Chatham and Lord Shelburne meant when they denounced the system of 'connection' was Government by rival groups of great families, each bent on securing for itself a monopoly of political power. There was the Pelham Connection, and the Bedford Connection, and the Rockingham Connection. These were not parties in the modern sense of the word. But in the public eye they stood for party, and their factious and selfish intrigues during the first ten years of George the Third's reign made any permanent Government impossible and the very name of party abominated. These 'connections' refused to intermingle with each other, or to combine for the purpose of forming a really strong Government. And for attempting to break down this system, the King has been accused of unconstitutional conduct. Towards the end of his life Chatham, who had once been a champion of connection, had come to see its evil; and it was his last dream to supersede it. But it was then too late, and further experience of the mischief was yet to be encountered before the pear was really ripe.

Chatham, however, aided by the quarrels and jealousies of the families themselves, had so far discredited the system that Lord North was able for a time to secure a Parliamentary majority in spite of it, and it was perhaps only the unfortunate termination of the American war which gave the families another chance; but any way they got it, and then came 'the last charge.' Fox and North played a bold game, for they could not stand up against Pitt, who came upon the scene like a young Buonaparte, and after a desperate struggle routed the veterans and put an end for ever to 'Government by connection.'

By the operation of wholly different causes, and under widely different conditions, we seem to see something like a revival of the system which was only strangled by so resolute a Sovereign as George the Third and so great a political genius as William Pitt. In the Pelhams, the Rockinghams, the Bedfords, and the Grenvilles, we now have Free Traders and Fiscal Reformers, the Labour Party and the Church Party, the Protestants and the party of Disestablishment, the secular education party, the Imperialist and the Little England party. And though at first sight it may seem ridiculous to compare these various sections with the groups of great Whig families who composed the 'connections,' the question is whether in the long run the effect of them may not be somewhat similar, tending to perpetual changes of Government, and to the growth of that silent public dissatisfaction with the whole Parliamentary system which some not altogether incompetent judges have thought might prove

fatal to it. In writing to Lord Randolph Churchill in the spring of 1886, just before the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, Lord Salisbury said :

I see no hopes of good Parliamentary government in England unless the right wing of the Liberals can be fused with the Tories on some basis which shall represent the average opinions of the whole mass. But I see little hopes of it. The tendency to grouping caused mainly by the exigencies of various cliques of supporters is becoming irresistible.

In his speech on the Welsh Church Suspensory Bill in 1893 Lord Randolph recurred to the subject :

One day (he said) the Government is at the mercy of the Irish Party; another day it is at the mercy of the Welsh Party; and on a third day yet to come it will be in the power of the Scotch Party. The Government is absolutely in the power of any one of these three sections of the majority.

So it will be again : and of all the numerous cliques which the new Parliament will contain I suppose there is not one who would hesitate to sacrifice the Government in revenge for disappointed hopes such as no Government can always, or even often, satisfy. A Government which relies on the united support of these various brigades is always liable to be endangered by the defection of any one of them, just as it was possible for any one of the 'connections,' by withdrawing their support, to embarrass or overthrow George the Third's Ministries. They go to work in different ways, no doubt. It was the game of the oligarchs to make a bargain, if they could, with every new Administration in turn; and then those who were disappointed threw every obstacle they could find in the way of the successful 'group' who were charged with the formation of a Government—looking forward to the speedy dissolution of a weak one as a matter of course, when they would have another chance.

In their origin, composition, objects, and methods our modern groups or sections are, of course, wide asunder as the poles from the 'connections' with which George the Third contended. And it may be thought absurd, perhaps, even to name them in the same breath. Nevertheless in the political insecurity and mutability of which they are necessarily the cause, and the consequent discontent which they may breed in the public mind, I certainly seem to discern some not remote affinity with the patrician clans who, a hundred and fifty years ago, owned no loyalty to any but their own chief, and were ready to desert the banner which they had joined at a moment's notice if his wishes or their own were disregarded. I draw no comparison between the motives and principles of these last and the motives and principles of those with whom I have compared them. In all alike we may recognise honest conviction and unselfish devotion if we choose, or, if we like it better, the reverse. If our modern sections ride their hobbies to death, they profess to see in them, at all events,

some useful remedy for some real or fancied wrong. Their motives no doubt are of a mixed character, and, beyond the cause which they especially claim to advocate, they have very frequently ulterior purposes to serve. But it would be unjust, perhaps, to compare them on the whole with the 'connections' which confronted Pitt. Be this as it may, however, our political parties seem to be fast approximating to similar conditions, however different the human element may be. By his determined struggle to replace the system on a healthier footing the King rendered a great service to the country; and has been censured only by those who did not see what really was at stake. He found a wise and able counsellor in William Pitt, who inherited his father's principles and had probably learned something from Lord Shelburne, who was Chatham's pupil.

Among the many histories and biographies which illustrate the 'corruption of party' one of the most instructive is Sir William Anson's *Life of the Duke of Grafton*. Then, as now, 'the exigencies of various cliques' were the disturbing element in the party system, making Parliamentary government contemptible in the eyes of the people, and paving the way, as Lord Beaconsfield thought, for a bloodless revolution. Events, however, took a different course. The Conservative Whigs joined the Tories to resist communism and socialism, and such a basis as Lord Salisbury describes was then effected, though the need for it was much less urgent then than it is at present.

The preservation of the Union formed a similar 'basis.' But it is very unlikely that Free Trade will do as much for Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who is more likely to find himself in the predicament described by Lord Randolph in the passage we have already quoted. Parties which are not held together by some great principle, to which all are ready to subordinate minor considerations, are in reality a sham and sure sooner or later to fly asunder. The preservation of the dynasty was such a principle in the eighteenth century, and kept the Whigs together as long as any chance of a counter-revolution lingered. The fear of that event vanished, and the Whig party fell to pieces. First of all the French war, and secondly the maintenance of the existing Constitution in Church and State, were the two bonds which kept the Tory party united under Pitt and his successors. With the disappearance of these the Tory party in turn fell to pieces. In the absence of any one such principle after 1832, parties were unable to retain their hold on office for many years together. Whigs and Tories, Liberals and Conservatives, were always changing places. And though, till the system of 'grouping' was developed, the progress of legislation was not much retarded, our foreign and colonial policy had no continuity, and we lost the confidence of one old ally after another. The time came when the necessity of maintaining the Union with Ireland supplied another

great principle, which had the exact effect described by Lord Salisbury, and bound together a great party for twenty years. Are their successors united by any one bond strong enough to resist for long the insidious operation of the grouping system, which seems likely to be much more prominent in the new Parliament than it was even in the old? Have we any man of sufficiently commanding genius and personal ascendancy to arrest it: or rather to neutralise its effects by forming a public opinion which shall compel the people's representatives to subordinate sectional interests to the stability of the National Government? We might almost say with Prince Henry to Falstaff, 'None but a Colossus could do thee that service.' Then what is the outlook? A study of Pitt's early struggles suggests the parallel we have drawn, but unhappily supplies no answer to the question we have asked.

It was Mr. Bright, I think, who pointed out years ago that if six men try to push their arms through an opening which is only big enough for three, each one striving to grasp his own particular object, the chances are that no one of them will get anything. But the lesson was thrown away upon the groups, and a detached observer will watch with a curious eye how Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman will deal with them. In his speech at Halesowen, on the 22nd of January, Mr. Chamberlain said of the victorious Liberals:

They had seen each section which made up their vast majority hoping that its own special object would be accomplished and would be the first to receive the attention of the new Parliament. He wanted it to be noted how, as the election had gone on and the larger the majority appeared to be, the more indefinite had become the policy of the Government, the more anxious they had been to prepare their followers for a great disappointment.

During the first ten years of George the Third's reign every Prime Minister in turn was hampered by the rival connections, because the Duke of This demanded one thing and the Marquis of That wanted another. The Minister who reigns over a party consisting of groups determined to extort compliance with their demands on pain of withdrawing their support, is in much the same position as that in which Grenville, Rockingham, Chatham, and Grafton found themselves before the coming of William Pitt. Lord North began the work which Pitt completed. But with the new form in which the old abuse now reappears, it will require, I fear, even a greater than Pitt to grapple.

If the analogies which are here suggested seem rather strained, they still possess some historical interest, nor do I think they are so far-fetched as to be void of all practical interest. At least, I think this much may be said, that if the system of grouping described by Lord Salisbury twenty years ago continues to spread and gather strength, and if, while the effect is the same, the conditions are so wholly dissimilar that the tactics which succeeded in Pitt's time are obviously and totally inapplicable; if, in a word, grouping cannot be checked,

it must be diverted into other channels. The system represents the growth of national wants for the due satisfaction of which the House of Commons is perhaps too limited a sphere, so that instead of orderly and leisurely legislation, we have something like a general scramble. The 'connections' scrambled for the sweets of office. The groups may scramble for something more honourable. But the effect in each case may turn out to be so nearly alike that a greater change than even George the Third effected may ultimately become necessary.

Another very important question which must shortly come to the front is the present state of the Poor Law; and this reminds me that in Mr. Pitt we had a statesman of bold and comprehensive views whose object was not to abolish outdoor relief, but to place it on such a footing that no disgrace should attach to the receipt of it. In his speech on Mr. Whitbread's Bill, in 1795, he said, with a generous and large-minded sympathy befitting the subject, that

the law which prohibits giving relief where any visible property remains should be abolished, the degrading condition should be withdrawn. No temporary occasion should force a British subject to part with the last shilling of his little capital, and descend to a state of wretchedness from which he could never recover, merely that he might be entitled to a casual supply.

And in his own Bill, which, unfortunately, was never proceeded with, he

proposed that industrial schools should be established in all the villages in the kingdom, and that the parish officer should be empowered to levy the necessary rates; and, what is more, that any person entitled to parish relief might take a lump sum in advance to enable him or her to buy a cow or a pig, or pay the rent of a small plot of ground.

Such was the proposal of one who was a pupil of Adam Smith, and never fails to own his obligations to him.

T. E. KEBBEL.

*MR. JOHN BURNS THE WORKMAN-
MINISTER*

MR. JOHN BURNS is the first workman who has risen to the position of Cabinet Minister. Representatives of labour have held subordinate posts in former Liberal Governments, and working-men have been Ministers in colonial Legislatures ; but these offices are not comparable in influence or in importance with the high position which Mr. Burns is called upon to fill. Without previous official administrative experience, local or national, he is placed at the head of a great department of State. Many times before he has been pressed to take office ; he might have been Chairman of the London County Council years ago ; but he preferred to retain his freedom as a fighter in the ranks. The time was bound to come when one whose policy was constructive had to assume the responsibility of office and power, instead of inspiring, directing, and guiding reforms through others. The accession of Mr. Burns to the Cabinet is a well-merited recognition of his abilities, and is also a triumph for Labour and Democracy.

As President of the Local Government Board Mr. Burns has multifarious duties committed to his charge. He has to sanction local loans, supervise the finances of local authorities, hold inquiries into proposed new undertakings, exercise the (almost) legislative powers which Parliament has delegated to him by way of provisional orders, and is armed with large powers of initiative, inspection, revision, and veto, so that in some respects he can revolutionise the whole system of local administration. In the domain of Poor Law his authority is paramount. He revises, for example, the rules and regulations which guide the system of relief and the administration of the Poor Law, passes plans for new workhouses, settles the wages of the nurses and porters, and fixes the amount of snuff (if any) which a pauper may receive. Sanitary legislation is also under his supervision, as he acts as Minister of Public Health, and beyond the more strictly local governmental functions belonging to his department, there is the social side of his work, such as the administration of the Allotments Acts, the Unemployed Act, inquiring into housing conditions, &c. And all these vast and many-sided responsibilities under the

existing laws, and the opportunities of extending them by administrative orders, and of introducing new measures, have been confided to John Burns, the 'man with the red flag,' the old champion of the unemployed, the working engineer, labour leader, organiser of the new unionism, militant socialist, pamphleteer, County Councillor, parliamentarian, and the workers' tribune.

The elevation of a working-man to the position of Cabinet Minister may seem a bold thing for the Prime Minister to have done ; it has certainly proved the most popular appointment which he has made. It awakened the greatest enthusiasm among the rank and file of the Labour and Radical parties. . It was received in a sympathetic spirit by Mr. Burns's opponents, who, while detesting his views, recognise his unimpeachable honesty and sincerity.

What training has Mr. Burns had for a Cabinet office ? How will he acquit himself and rise to the height of his new responsibilities ? How will his administration affect the nation ?

Those who have known Mr. Burns longest and have watched his career closely have confidence in his judgment and in his ability. To understand his position one must know something of his record, his methods of work, and, above all, his character. He has had no precursor in political life ; no one whose career has run on parallel lines. Workmen representatives we have had in plenty, but they have never done so much, or gone so far, or attained the same practical results. Socialists we have had who have watered down their policy until they drifted into Liberalism, or who have clung to their revolutionary methods and beaten the wind in the political desert. But we have not before had in public life one who began his career in a workshop at the age of ten, and finds himself a Cabinet Minister at forty-seven ; and who through all his life has not sacrificed his opinions or changed his policy, except to adapt his methods to better attain the aims he had in view.

Mr. John Burns decided to become a Minister in pursuance of the policy which he adopted when he became a County Councillor. His conduct he explained as follows (this Review, March 1892) :

When I commenced my duties [as County Councillor] I had to choose between being an industrial Hal o' the Wynd, a mere advocate of abstract ideas, a propagandist of visionary aims and theories, and in so being reduce myself to the level of a faddist—standing alone, free but impotent, or the practical pioneer of the advancing labour host, desiring and slowly winning a higher social, municipal, and intellectual life.

With the accession of a Liberal Government to power he had to choose between pushing forward social reform and labour legislation as the head of a section only of the reinforced Labour party, becoming involved, perhaps, in internal differences and jealousies, compelled to harass the Government as often as to help it, or, on the other hand, frankly to enter the Cabinet, pursuing a constructive and progressive

policy in his own department, and permeating, as much as he could, the general policy of the Government with the same ideas.

Mr. Burns as statesman and Minister should not be judged solely by his services for labour—inestimable as they have been—or by his record as a municipal reformer—fruitful in the results achieved—or by his speeches—brilliant as they often are—but by the possession of various qualities essential for successful statesmanship. We have to distinguish between Mr. Burns the aggressive fighter and fiery demagogue and Mr. Burns the shrewd politician and practical administrator. In the first place, there is his fitness for the particular office which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has called upon him to fill. He brings to the Local Government Board a mind well stored with practical information gained by twenty years' work for municipal government. He has a high sense of public duty and a conscientious desire to do the best in any position which he fills. He is cautious enough not to touch anything which he does not understand. He is a tireless and most conscientious worker. No one can extract more enthusiasm from a Blue-book, or sift with more lucidity the details of dry official returns. In his well-stocked library, the acquisition of which has meant untold and painful sacrifices, he has one of the finest arsenals a fighting politician could possess. He has always been careful in getting up his speeches on public questions; in fact, his speeches have suffered, if anything, from being overcharged with facts and figures, which, however, Mr. Burns marshals and handles with great dexterity. Over-preparedness is a virtue in a Minister. Courage of a high degree Mr. Burns has always had; discretion he has acquired by experience. He is a diplomatist. He adopts the best course to attain his ends. He has not always appeared in public as the exponent of the policy which he has initiated, and his influence has been felt in many quarters where his hand has not been seen. Mr. Burns has learned when to strike, when to compromise, above all, when to be silent. The statesman who does not know when and how to compromise will achieve little in English public life. Mr. Burns's career in the House of Commons has abundantly shown this phase of his character. By way of illustration take his action over the London Water Bill. That Bill was far from his liking. As the spokesman for the County Council, he struggled hard to amend it in the House and in Committee, and showed so much tact and moderation that the measure emerged from Parliament in a form more favourable to the public than was expected. Mr. Burns considered that it was in the interests of London to make the best of the Bill, rather than by further delay to swell the profits of the Water Companies, and the compensation which the public would ultimately have to pay.

Mr. Burns does not possess one gift which some statesmen find exceedingly convenient. He cannot conceal his thoughts by verbosity

and the indefiniteness of his language. He is not one of those Ministers who is able in answering questions, or in explaining delicate points of policy, to use language which may mean little or nothing, or anything which he may desire it should mean at some future time. Mr. Burns sits most uncomfortably on a fence. His language is always direct and explicit; his meaning unmistakable. On the other hand, he has shown a capacity to be silent when discretion suggested it. He is excessively cautious in offering advice, or in giving opinions, until his mind is made up. He does not commit himself readily; and while he has said things in his earlier days which he would no doubt now express differently, I do not think he has ever written a letter which he regretted, or wished to alter or recall. His caution, discretion, tact, and judgment are all qualities which will now serve him well.

The workman-Minister is widely read, especially in all literature which touches upon the social and industrial problems of the day, and he has added to his knowledge of the world by travel.

He has intense sympathy with the poor, born of having shared in their sufferings and by learning at first hand of their patience, their privations, and their heroism. His unequalled knowledge of the conditions and needs of the working classes comes from being one of them, constantly living among them, striving for them, dedicating his life to them. It is his friendship for the working classes that causes him to tell them unpalatable truths about themselves. No one has ever denounced the drinking and gambling habits of a section of the working classes with more vehemence than Mr. Burns.

Another characteristic which will help him as a Minister is his detestation of all quack social remedies and of political charlatans. His contempt for the labour-leader who strays from the straight path of political integrity has made him enemies, and arouses within him suspicions which may not always be justified.

As President of the Local Government Board he may be relied upon to prevent himself being exploited by any class, section, or interest. Independence is one of his most marked characteristics. He will use the official machinery at his disposal to the utmost advantage. That he will be reckless there need be no fear. He were not a statesman did he rush reforms and tempt reaction by his own recklessness.

Before one can appreciate all those characteristics of the Workman-President of the Local Government Board it is necessary to know something of his career and to trace his evolution as a force in English political life.

Before he was out of his teens Mr. Burns had a reputation as a stump orator on Clapham Common, he was writing letters to the newspapers on the condition of the workers, and took part in a discussion at the Society of Arts on the amendment of the Criminal

Law. He worked hard in the evenings educating himself. He was restless and ambitious.

His youthful career as a speaker was interrupted by a year's work in Africa under Sir George Taubman Goldie, who was recently reported to have said that Mr. Burns was 'the best workman he ever had.' Mr. Burns made a tour of the Continent on his return. In the meantime he was diligent in educating himself. He graduated in a self-imposed course of economics, beginning with Adam Smith, leading on through Mill and others to Karl Marx. In 1883 we find him being thanked by the Metropolitan Radical Federation for his services to the 'Cause'; and in 1884 he represented Northampton in the local Parliament. Curiously enough the first reported speech he made as a member of that debating society was a criticism of a bill before the Imperial Parliament dealing with a subject which now comes within his functions as a Minister. He is reported as follows :

Sir Charles Dilke's Bill did not take into account the case of insanitary dwellings and overcrowding, and until they dealt with them they could do little good. Countrymen by their superior physique drove Londoners to the garret. Two-thirds of those who live in town were men who ought to be living on the soil upon which they were brought up.

There must have been something remarkable about a young man of twenty who had such sound views, and whose mind was occupied with the serious problem of housing. He had read much and had formed views. He became a Social Democrat, but never completely adopted all the Marxian doctrines. He was too anxious to have a little on account of the social revolution, and his practical predilections soon obliged him to sever his connection with the 'class conscience' Marxists.

Mr. Burns's real entry into public life dates from the Industrial Remuneration Conference, held in January 1885. The bent of his mind, his methods of controversy, his readiness in debate, his originality of phrase, and his passion for statistics then became apparent. His chief speech was made in reply to Mr. Frederic Harrison's paper on 'Remedies for Social Stress.' He said :

Mr. Harrison had suggested the moralisation of industry and capital. Moralise capital! You might as well try to moralise the lion who is about to devour the lamb. You might as well attempt to moralise the boa constrictor who had its coils about the body of its victim. Could you moralise the retired capitalist out of his 800 square miles of deer forest, or out of his steam yacht, or out of the guinea orchid he wore in his button-hole? All such privileges and luxuries had been secured by the exploitation of labour, by the prostitution of genius and ability to the very lowest degree.

His career is the best answer to his own argument as his special vocation in public life has been the moralisation of the capitalist, and not his abolition, the regulation of private enterprise rather than

its curtailment. But he was only then at the beginning of his own education. He impressed upon his brother workers, 'as a Socialist,' 'the necessity of studying these questions from the economic point of view,' which he had already done himself. His speech was frankly socialistic. The feeling of class hatred which it shows was partly due to an incident that preceded it. He informed his audience, amid cries of 'Shame,' that his employer had dismissed him for attending that national gathering of publicists and economists. Whoever that employer may be, he helped to make Mr. Burns President of the Local Government Board, for the conference was the turning-point of his career. He was boycotted by employers, thrown into the ranks of the unemployed, and began one of the most picturesque periods of his life as agitator and organiser. The time was ripe for the labour agitator, and the man was ready. There was a wave of reaction spreading over London, and simultaneously the unemployed problem became acute. Mr. Burns defended free speech at many street corners, and was frequently arrested for his courage and pertinacity. He began a campaign of education in Battersea, teaching the workers the principles of Democratic Government and showing them how they could reform Vestrydom. He was known chiefly as the leader of the unemployed, and became a marked man with the police, the 'man with the red flag,' the 'Orator of Tower Hill.' His powerful voice, his ready wit, his clever raillery soon made him widely known, and he was acclaimed a popular hero. In 1886 he was prosecuted, along with other three Socialists, for sedition and inciting to riot. He made an able defence, and evidently convinced the jury that he was, what he professed to be, a peace-loving citizen who did his best to help the police and restrain the rioters, as he and his comrades were acquitted. He had not the opportunity of calling Ruskin and other distinguished men who were ready to give evidence as witnesses in his favour to speak of his character and his peaceful intentions.

He was not so fortunate in the following year when he was arrested along with Mr. Cunningham Graham for rioting in Trafalgar Square. He was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment. He defended himself from the dock, and made what was up to that time the finest speech of his life. It was really a defence of the unemployed, and a pronouncement of Socialistic remedies for the evils which then existed. The vehemence of his language in denouncing the authorities added to the prejudice of judge and jury against him. Curiously enough, almost all the demands which he then made on behalf of the unemployed—practical palliatives—have been since granted, largely by his own efforts.¹

¹ Mr. Burns's speech from the dock was chiefly concerned with the unemployed, and he set forth their demands upon the Government, which were:—

(1) To relax the severity of the outdoor relief. (Granted.)

During all this period Mr. Burns was the courageous champion of the poor and the unemployed, according to his lights. Whenever there was work to be done in their interest, or strikes or agitations to lead, Burns was to be found at the head of the malcontents, ready to run any risks, legal or physical.

Next year was the most eventful in his life. He was elected to the County Council in January 1889, and was leader in the dock strike in August, and chief organiser of the Dockers' Union. Mr. Burns has been always a leader among trade-unionists. For many years he was one of the executive of the Engineers' Society and held the chair of the Trades Congress Parliamentary Committee—the blue riband of organised labour. But his greatest achievement in trade-union politics was his organisation of the new unionism, breaking down the barrier of caste between the aristocracy of skilled labour and the growing mass of the helpless unskilled.

In his advocacy of the new unionism, in his desire for social betterment, and in his policy of municipal reform, he was always thinking of the 'submerged tenth'—the casual labourer and the unemployed. He has made a profound study at close quarters of the unemployed problem. His palliatives—shorter hours of labour, abolition of overtime, and others which public authorities can adopt—have been carried out in part; but his reforms go much further. He is now brought to close quarters, from above, with the problem of the unemployed, as at one time he was face to face with it from below. Practical experience never better came to the help of statesmanship. His policy has been the result of mature thought and intimate knowledge. From the first he had a contempt for the charity-mongers, the vicarious philanthropists, and all the 'loafers and cranks and other contemptible persons using the unemployed for ulterior purposes.' To charitable schemes he objects, because they end 'in the demoralisation of the donors and the degradation of the recipient.' It was strikingly true of the West Ham charitable funds that 'wherever money is, there the loafer, the lazy, and the undeserving will be found.'

The last article which Mr. Burns wrote before he was a Cabinet Minister, published only a few days before he accepted office, was an

(2) To urge local bodies to start useful relief works. (Now done to some extent)

(3) To direct the Metropolitan Board of Works to build artisans' dwellings on vacant sites in London, especially on abandoned prison sites. (Since done by the L.C.C., partly through Mr. Burns's efforts.)

(4) To reduce the hours of work in Government employments to eight hours per day. (The first thing which he accomplished as an M.P.)

(5) To give no contracts to firms who did not observe trade-union conditions. (Now done almost all over the country by the Burns labour clause.)

(6) To establish a legal eight-hour day for railway and tramway employees.

(7) To establish relations with continental Governments.

(8) To secure a reduced working day in all trades and occupations.

unsparing condemnation of the Unemployed Act and the labour colonies which it helped to create. He wrote (in the *Daily Chronicle*) :

Farm colonies are an inadequate remedy, uneconomic, wasteful, and destined in the future, as in the present and past, to be a futile remedy for their workless condition.

One of his main objections to the farm colony was that it breaks up family life by withdrawing the father and breadwinner from his family, and even where this may sometimes lead to his physical benefit, it often results in greater moral detriment to himself and family.

Finally he wrote :

I have secured some transient criticism at the hands of superficial people for my dislike of the Unemployed Bill, than which no more mischievous measure was ever passed. I do not believe in the labour colonies this Bill may be used to set up, and in that view I know I will not receive the support of a few politicians and others who are obsessed with pauper ideas of industrial relief and soup-kitchen methods of social reform. Their methods, however, are being rapidly revealed as obstacles to real organic changes in land reform, labour-amelioration, and industrial progress, for which farm colonies, with their dismal record of failure even for the unemployable, are but poor substitutes.

It is a strange irony that it is now his official duty to carry out the 'most mischievous Bill ever passed.' That he is doing so with promptitude and energy he showed as soon as he took office, that he will try to get powers to do something better. may be assumed. His opposition to labour or farm colonies is nothing new, and his hostility to the Unemployed Bill was not provoked because it was introduced by a Conservative Government, with an eye perhaps to electioneering effect. Writing in this Review thirteen years ago, he said : 'The labour colony, as a remedy for the unemployed, is, I maintain, foredoomed to failure, and is nothing but the revival in another form of the hated casual ward with all its physical and moral iniquities.'

This article in this Review was a very exhaustive study of the unemployed problem. His description of the workless man and how to treat him was thoroughly sound,² and his fine passage on the workless woman—'the industrial Andromeda'—is as touching and pathetic a picture as was ever condensed into the same compass.³

² 'The fact is, the workless man has to be kept in one of three conditions : living on the rates as a pauper in a non-productive capacity, earning nothing and costing the country a large sum in officialism ; as a criminal kept in prison—the worst possible fate for any man ; or as a wanderer about the streets, sponging upon his fellows or the charitable rich, forced to live like a vagrant camel upon the hump of his own melancholic poverty, slowly getting physically exhausted, morally and mentally degraded, till the manhood is crushed out of him, and he becomes one of those fearful wrecks to whom death would be the greatest relief. I believe that the cheapest, best, and safest way of all to prevent the idle man, the potential loafer, pauper, or criminal from being a burden is to provide him with work, which will be his salvation and the community's gain.'—'The Unemployed,' *The Nineteenth Century*, December 1892.

³ 'But even more pathetic than the unemployed male worker and industrial nomad is the workless woman or girl in search of work in a city of great distances. Trudging from shop to factory, with thin boots and thinner clothes, with little food,

It is Mr. Burns's deep sympathy for the suffering workless woman and the family of the unemployed man which makes him oppose farm or labour colonies. His attitude on the unemployed problem has never been negative. Besides advocating shorter hours, useful relief works—not municipal workshops to produce something which is not required, to which he is naturally opposed—and the general social and industrial progress with the aid of legislation, he has indicated more than once the policy which he is now likely to adopt as an alternative to the 'most mischievous unemployed Act.' It is the municipalisation of agriculture, which will take the form of County Council small holdings for the permanent settlement of the workers—unemployed in the cities—on the land—a reform which it is hoped will reverse the current of migration. Mr. Burns is, therefore, as President of the Local Government Board where he was as member of a local Parliament twenty-six years ago.

His action in Parliament on this question has been equally consistent; always suggesting that the Local Government Board should urge authorities to carry out useful improvements in winter, proposing better labour conditions, and pushing every palliative that came along.

Mr. Burns's career as a London County Councillor has been one of great usefulness. As the only labour representative on the first Council, he first set himself to improve labour conditions, and on his initiative the Council recognised a minimum living wage for its workers and reduced the working hours. It was not long before Mr. Burns got a labour clause introduced into all contracts compelling contractors to 'pay such wages and observe such hours of labour as are generally accepted as fair in their trade.' This labour clause has been adopted or copied by almost every governing body in the country, largely owing to Mr. Burns's action in London and his influence in Parliament. He has written more than a hundred labour clauses with his own hand. It is one of his greatest achievements as labour's statesman, and has conferred incalculable benefits on the working classes by its direct operation, and has indirectly helped the process of moralising the contractor—an operation which Mr. Burns in his early days thought impossible. 'Mr. Burns's labour charter will soon be in universal operation among all public authorities, as over three hundred have already embodied its principles in their contracts.'

The next greatest thing which Mr. Burns accomplished on the Council was the introduction of direct labour. This course was forced

without the support that trade unionism gives to men, lacking the stimulant of association, isolated by her sex, with no organisation, often the victim of bogus registry offices, friendless and alone, she searches for work that slowly comes. Before her the workhouse or the street, she bravely suffers in silence, and has no alternative to starvation but the eating of the crumb of charity or the loaf of lust. The industrial Andromeda that want of work has chained to a life she loathes incarnates all the poignant sorrow and desperation of the merciless struggle for existence amongst the poor, against which virtue, honour, and labour fight often in vain.'—*Ibid.*

upon the Council by the favouritism and jobbery which were formerly inseparable from small work, and by the 'rings' which were formed among contractors for large undertakings. It was the contractors' answer to the Burns 'fair' labour clause; direct execution of works was Mr. Burns's reply. Out of this development grew the establishment of the much-abused Works Department which now executes a large part of the Council's undertakings. The best possible results are now obtained, as the Department is placed in competition with the moralised contractor. After all, direct employment is a sound business arrangement. It is the tendency of large undertakings all over the world to do away with intermediaries and make themselves as much self-contained as possible. Mr. Burns only brought the County Council into line with the latest developments in industrial enterprise.

Mr. Burns has been not only a labour representative on the County Council, he has taken an active part in all its work. He has frequently been the unofficial leader of the Progressive party. One could not mention a department of the Council's work in which Mr. Burns has not taken an interest and had an influence. If we would single out any subjects for special mention of his labour, it would be housing and tramways, in connection with which he has rendered conspicuous service to London.

Besides working hard on all committees, he has always kept in touch with the actual work, by visiting parks, main-drainage works, lunatic asylums, and indeed all the Council's institutions. He has also been an energetic advocate of reforms, more especially since he has been spokesman for the Council in Parliament. He has always declined to act as chairman of committees.

He was elected to the Council on its formation as a Socialist; but his election address was far from being a revolutionary document. His general reasons for seeking to represent his fellow-workers were admirably set forth.⁴

⁴ He introduced himself as follows: 'Having devoted much time to the subjects with which the County Council will deal, I appeal to you to secure, through my election, those services I am willing to render, and by means of direct labour representation to make the demands of the people known and to have their social condition improved. I am well known to the Battersea electors as an uncompromising advocate of the principles that the County Council can adapt to the requirements of our municipal life, and, through their extension, raise the social, moral, and intellectual well-being of the whole community. My sympathy with the sufferings of the people is not a sentiment created by the excitement of an election campaign and which will die after the election is over, nor is it a desire to secure office and, like the majority of candidates, pursue a policy of masterly inactivity; but rather, as the nominee of Battersea workmen, to work hard and undertake, if necessary, unpleasant tasks in the interest of those who will do their duty to themselves and honour me by placing their mandate in my hands. This office requires men of vigorous health, energy, and determination; such I claim to be, as my public life proves; also men who have a clean record of past services in the cause of labour and progress, not those who, although personally honest, connive at jobbery and corruption because it is too much trouble to expose and denounce it. I will stand as the enemy of the jobber, the sinecurist, the sweater, and the jerry-builder, and the advocate of healthy homes

Many of the specific reforms which he advocated have been carried out, such as the purification of the Thames, efficient sanitary inspection, cumulative rating—in the form of more equalisation—useful work for the unemployed, trade-union hours and wages, erection of artisans' dwellings, municipalisation of the water and tramways. Two-thirds of the reforms in his programme have been realised.

Besides these specific reforms he said : ' I will vote and work for any plan that will tend to make London healthy, democratic, and free, and that will enable her municipality to be the pioneer of changes that are necessary in the interests of her industrious citizens.'

Mr. Burns's first election address as a candidate for Parliament was not such a severely practical document ; but his policy cannot be judged from it, as his subsequent action showed. He was elected in 1892 when the Liberals took office. Without delay he set himself to make the Government a model employer. He agitated to get Government departments to do things which they had power to do, administratively. He obtained inquiries into the prison system, into the cab trade in London, and other matters. He worked hard for the eight-hours law for miners, and for a new Employers' Liability Act. It was in his early Parliamentary career that Mr. Burns came first into contact with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who was Minister for War ; and the kindred sympathies then awakened, and more particularly Sir Henry's concession, at Mr. Burns's suggestion, of improved labour conditions in the War Office establishments, led to a mutual confidence which now finds them colleagues in the Cabinet.

Mr. Burns made a real impression on the House as soon as he entered it. He had a natural aptitude for Parliamentary life, and a breezy confidence which the House enjoyed. He did not make the mistake of speaking often, but was always full of his subject when he intervened in debate. When he rose members were sure to get a trenchant, well-informed speech, full of enthusiasm and earnestness.

In proportion to the opportunities he had (being always in Opposition) Mr. Burns accomplished as much as a Parliamentarian as he did on the County Council. He addressed himself to the subjects upon which he could speak with knowledge and authority, such as the unemployed, dangerous trades, railway-men's hours, coal-mine regulation and mining fatalities, administration of the Factory Act, infant life, lead-poisoning, underground bakeries—which he was the means of getting abolished—' phossy jaw,' employment of women and girls, and all the social verities of life. Some of his speeches on these subjects set the House thinking, and in some cases made it act. Mr. Burns has made a special study of dangerous trades, and his article on ' Labour's Death-roll,' which he contributed to the *Co-operative*

shorter hours, and a living rate of wages. As a Battersea man, I will watch the interest of this district, especially in those matters of which only a workman can have practical knowledge and experience.'

Annual for 1899, is a masterly exposition of the subject. His speech in the Commons on the 4th of August 1904 on preventible accidents and deaths, which he called the 'Short and Simple Annals of the Poor,' was admirable in spirit and convincing in argument.

Besides being the chief speaker in the House on labour as affected by legislation, Mr. Burns was also a leading authority on all London questions. In fact, owing to his commanding position on the County Council, he was especially the member for London, acting as the official defender of that body and supporter of its measures.

The boldest speech which Mr. Burns made in Parliament was his ferocious attack on what he called the 'new Imperialism' in connection with the Boer War.

He has been frequently placed on committees of the House, and always proved an earnest worker, and earned the respect of both parties by the practical grasp which he showed of his subject and his desire to advance useful legislation, although it did not go so far as he would have liked.

Mr. Burns's characteristics as a speaker are well known. He began by being a model stump orator, and retains his sledge-hammer style. He has a powerful voice and great staying power. He is forcible rather than finished. His tendency to overload his speeches with statistics is counteracted by his wonderful fertility in epigram, his happy quotations, the humorous flashes which he introduces, and his knack of leading his hearers on to surprises. He has a keen eye for dramatic effect. He has frequently stirred audiences—including the House of Commons—by his passionate and pathetic appeals on behalf of the less fortunate of his class, but pathos is not his best forte. He is always at his best when he is on the aggressive. It is his custom to prepare his chief speeches, writing down the heads of his arguments, his statistics, his epigrams, and quotations, although his impromptu utterances in debate have never lacked fulness and vigour.

In recent years Mr. Burns has developed considerable power as a writer. But for his Ministerial appointment he would have become more and more of a writer, and he had planned a history of Battersea and a book on his travels in America and Canada. His public lectures on social, labour, municipal, and industrial topics are succinct studies well packed with facts, clearly and forcibly written.

The best example of his work in this line is his 'Lees and Raper lecture' on Labour and Drink, delivered to a working-class audience in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. It is a marvel of pungency and comprehensiveness. For its preparation Mr. Burns—so conscientiously does he work—studied a whole library of books on alcohol and drunkenness—medical treatises, both English and foreign, much official data, numerous reports, returns, &c. To all his careful research he added what was more valuable, his own personal knowledge, gained from his life as a workman among his fellows, and his experience as a

public man. The lecture was packed full of hard facts and bristled with statistics, illumined here and there with brilliant touches of sarcasm, a telling quotation, or a biting epigram. Never before in the same space, and with the same thoroughness, had the effect of drink been shown on disease, lunacy, pauperism, crime, unemployment, on social misery, and, indeed, on every possible aspect of industrial life among the workers and the poor. It was a most powerful indictment against those workmen and the poor who degrade themselves and spread misery around them by their drinking habits. As usual, Mr. Burns laid down a sensible reform programme. For himself he is a teetotaller and a non-smoker.

He has been an active campaigner on behalf of Free Trade, and his speeches on this subject had a powerful influence on working-men.⁵

In his rise as labour leader, municipal reformer, to the Ministerial Bench, Mr. Burns has made enemies. Every strong personality does so, and Mr. Burns's most marked traits do not tend to conciliate enemies—his contempt for those who attack him, and his sturdy independence. Of late he has lived between two fires ; the upholders of the vested and other interests which he attacks unsparingly, and a section of Socialists who, with little following and less influence, brand him as a renegade and traitor. The worst which the extreme Labour party can say of Mr. Burns is really a compliment. His offence is that, instead of remaining a storm centre of agitation, he has become a practical statesman. Against any charge of modifying his views, or rather his methods, which can be brought against Mr. Burns, he can show a magnificent record of something accomplished, something done for the elevation of his class, while his traducers have remained at the barren work of agitation. 'The day of the agitator is declining,' said Mr. Burns several years ago, 'and the day of the administrator is coming.' He is a striking example of the truth of the statement. The ghosts of his agitating days will no doubt now be brought up against him. He has said many things, sometimes partly in jest, which will now be recalled in earnest. 'Eighteen years' practical work

⁵ The following, from his published address on 'Labour and Free Trade,' is a characteristic example of his perorations : 'Not in our fiscal relations with other countries are our difficulties. The foes are not external, but of our own household. In our wasteful Government, our boastful policies, our riotous appetites, our disregard of the warnings of other times and wiser men, lie our difficulties. In war, drink, betting, and gambling we must seek the real cause for any deficiency there may be in our industrial instincts, physical endurance, mechanical capacity, or consuming powers. Let us repress our vices, chaste our lusts, discipline our pleasures, exalt our thoughts, and elevate to the greatest height of public approval the maker of things, the producer of wealth, whose place is now unworthily occupied by the financier, speculator and plutocrat. Let us give to the arts of peaceful industry what for ten years have been given to the disturbance of the world's peace, the shaking of our credit, and, if not checked, the frittering away in vainglorious policies the fine fettle of the best productive forces of the greatest industrial people in the world.'

on the London County Council and fourteen years' experience in Parliament have inevitably led to modifications ; but, as I have said, the change is one of method rather than of principle. There are few politicians who have not changed their opinions in twenty years, and some of them who have boxed the political compass in that period still hold a commanding position in public life.

A man of less stable convictions and sturdy character than Mr. Burns might have been spoiled by the flattery and homage paid to him and by the great success which has been his. Mr. Burns is no more proud of himself to-day as Cabinet Minister than he was as a working engineer or as the 'Orator of Tower Hill.' Success has not sapped away his principles, or made him forget the friends who gave him popularity and power. His new responsibilities will not overwhelm him with a sense of his growing importance. He has the restraint as well as the qualities of a great public man, and will distinguish himself in office by his caution and sound judgment. Mr. Burns recognises that the social revolution cannot be inaugurated by some sudden transformation of the administrative system. Were he in Russia, he would be an advocate of quick change ; he would be the 'man with the red flag,' leading the revolt against autocracy—and Russia just now needs a born leader like Mr. Burns—but he knows that in England the path of social democracy must broaden slowly down from precedent to precedent. It is in that spirit that he may be expected to act as the head of the Local Government Board.

ROBERT DONALD.

That Mr. Burns will use the official machinery placed at his service to the best advantage has already been seen. Within an hour of taking office he appointed a committee to distribute the Unemployed Fund. Before the end of the year he had amended the unemployed regulations, prepared a circular on housing for local authorities, interviewed his inspectors, issued administrative orders affecting Poor Law, and announced the appointment of a committee to recommend a better system of audit for municipal accounts. His touching speech to the inmates of Battersea Workhouse on Christmas Day will not be forgotten.

For twenty years he has advocated the calling up of the militia in the period of the year when unemployment is greatest, and this system has now been adopted.

A GREAT MORAL UPHEAVAL IN AMERICA

THE eminent French publicist, L. J. Prévost-Paradol—whose tragic end so shocked his contemporaries—entitled an essay on the Americans in the height of the struggle to maintain the Union and abolish slavery, *Un grand Peuple qui se réveille*. No better title than ‘The Uprising of a Great People’ could be given to a notice of the movement which has been in visible progress during the last few months in the United States. Few accounts of the movement have reached this country, and those that have come here have been devoted to detached parts of it rather than to a survey of the whole. To define it shortly, it may be said to be a great moral upheaval, a banding together of the forces of good in the nation to combat what it believed to be evil. The action has revealed itself under various forms, but the object is always the same, viz. the purification of public life. Its most conspicuous manifestation, and the one about which we in England have been told most, was the revolt in New York against what is called the ‘Boss system’ in politics. That system is not peculiar to one political party: both American parties have long relied upon it. In practice it is the usurpation of power, often great and ruthlessly exercised, by irresponsible and almost concealed personages. A voter, when called upon to choose a representative, a judicial officer, or even—though indirectly—a President, voted in reality, not for the candidate whom he preferred, but to strengthen and perpetuate the ‘occult power’ of a political ‘Boss,’ whose name was perhaps unknown to him. Adherence to this system not only tended to defeat the main object of democratic institutions; it also facilitated the introduction and fostered the spread of corruption.

It was the latter effect of it which chiefly stirred up the right-minded to wage war against it. The recent election of Mayor in New York was a conspicuous instance of widely distributed and earnest hostility to the Boss system. The voters broke away from the domination of the bosses of both parties. The result of the election was for some time in doubt; and, though victory by a very small margin in the end fell to a boss-nominated candidate, the lesson given by the electors has been learned, and the boss and his confederates have been ignored by their own nominee. In the huge

electorate of New York—589,848 votes were cast in the previous election of a mayor—it is likely enough that there were some voters who were actuated, as has been alleged, by a feeling of rancour against their richer fellow-citizens ; but the election was certainly not decided, was probably not materially influenced, by the antagonism between indigent proletarians and the well-to-do. This was conclusively shown by the voting for the New York District Attorney, who was chosen solely on his merits. It was not in New York alone that the revolt against bossism arose, and either visibly or in effect succeeded. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, and Maryland had the same experience as their sister States ; and movements of a similar kind, though less effective, were discerned in Illinois and Massachusetts.

The movement, as has been said already, was not so much against the mere abuse of electoral methods as against corruption and practices which favour the corrupt. It extended to other regions besides the merely political. The investigation of the proceedings of the great insurance companies was pushed on with almost relentless fervour. There was no attempt to impair or even to question the financial stability of these great institutions. All that was attempted—and, no doubt, it was a great deal—was to ensure the adoption of measures that would prevent their huge funds from being used as instruments of corruption. Simultaneously with the hostility against the bosses and the insurance investigation there was another movement against the laxity of the divorce laws of several States. In general, causes decided under those laws—notwithstanding much newspaper notoriety—have been brought before the courts by suitors of a class not able to exert much influence on society in general. Here and there, however, cases naturally attracting much attention and likely to have a widespread effect have occurred ; and low-minded though highly placed persons of both sexes have availed themselves of the easy jurisprudence of some imperfectly developed commonwealth to flaunt their indecent disregard of the proprieties of life. It may be because the Puritan ideal is not yet entirely extinct in the United States, or it may be for reasons resting on a broader base, but nothing is more offensive to Americans in general than anything tending to the degradation of the home. A much-reported scandal is not regarded by them as a good subject for conversation. If mentioned at all, it is usually mentioned with disgust : and the sayer of smart things, who in other societies is almost expected to exercise his wit upon such a matter, would, if he tried to do so in the United States, be thought and probably be made to see that he was thought stupid and vulgar.

The three agitations or movements have been going on together, and, indeed, are indissolubly connected. The Americans, as they show in a thousand ways in material things, understand the relation between cause and effect, and know that the purification of political,

commercial, and private life must proceed simultaneously if any one branch is to be really purified. A curious manifestation of the extent of the wide front of the movement was the rising in many different places against the methods of playing football. It was a great deal more than a mere game and the mode of playing it that were concerned ; and the rising mentioned was not at all insignificant. It was on the contrary highly significant.

American football is a rougher form of the English Rugby game. Played as it is by some teams in the United States it may be fairly called brutal. From the beginning of the season until the week before Christmas nineteen deaths of players had been reported. The number of the injured must have been much greater. The respected President of Harvard University, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, published in the autumn a severe indictment of the game. Its encouragement of a low form of professionalism was counted as bad as its tendency to brutal roughness. The great Columbia University prohibited it altogether, and throughout the country, from Harvard in Massachusetts to Berkeley in California, earnest efforts at reform are being made.

It is reasonable to ask why these several movements or several phases of one great movement, having what was essentially a single aim, became apparent in the year that has just closed. The answer can be given easily. The immense number of persons scattered over the vast territory of the United States who have been striving for purity of life in all its phases did not come into existence only in the second half of 1905. They had existed, in full numerical proportion to the total population, for many years. What they wanted in order to co-ordinate their efforts and give cohesion to their forces was a standard around which they might assemble, and a standard-bearer who would lead them in the great campaign on behalf of public and private morals which they were ready, and indeed eager, to fight. They have found that standard in the now generally recognised character, and that leader in the person of President Theodore Roosevelt.

No President since Washington has been so generally popular or more thoroughly the President of the whole people rather than the mere chosen head of a party. Political opponents limit unfavourable comment to expressions of surprise that so good a man could have been produced in the ranks of the other side. In the eyes of his fellow-countrymen it is not the least of President Roosevelt's merits—as the visitor to the United States is not infrequently told—that he is a gentleman. The title could not be more fittingly bestowed. Taking his lineage as evidence, he traces, or could trace his descent, if he troubled himself about such a thing, for over two centuries and a half in America alone through a line of ancestors of position. Since Jefferson, no man of higher or of equal literary culture has filled the

presidential office. His gifts as an historian—power of patient research, lucid exposition, judicial decision—are exceptionally high. In his own State of New York he had shown himself to be a firm and wise administrator, as on the battle-field he has shown that he is a brave and intelligent soldier. He has the gentleman's liking for manly sports. He is a fearless rider. A much-prized photograph portrays him on horseback in the act of clearing a high post-and-rail fence, and post-and-rail fences in America are serious obstacles. He is a good shot and an intrepid hunter of big game of the fiercer sort. His known indifference to pecuniary advantage, even to the extent, it is said, of inattention to his personal fortune, rightly tends to enhance the favour that he enjoys amongst his compatriots. The peeps allowed the public into the family circle at the White House reveal a refined and dignified scene, appreciated and admired in tens of thousands of virtuous homes scattered over the Republic.

Criticisms of President Roosevelt often take the form of allegations of impulsiveness. If there is impulsiveness in his disposition it is certain that there is nothing shallow in it. The thing taken up is only handled after full consideration. Action upon it may be hasty, or rather such that does not include delays or postponements. In dealing with a dignified, well-meaning, but lumbering Senate, the President's strenuous methods and love for clear-cut issues may seem to the Senators impulsive, whilst to more impartial observers they seem to be marked by only suitable celerity. The President's conviction obviously is that if a measure is good and necessary it cannot be adopted too soon.

The immense service rendered by him to civilisation and humanity by his successful effort to bring the Russians and Japanese together with a view to stopping the terrible war in the Far East has placed him in the regard of all parties on a pedestal loftier than that on which any of his predecessors except Washington—and perhaps, though less likely, Lincoln—ever stood. Yet there are some of his fellow-citizens who say that even in this he was impulsive and over-hasty. Impulsive in stopping bloodshed! Over-hasty in saving thousands of human lives!

If the leader is such, of what kind is the army which is mustering beneath his standard? Of the physical greatness and material development of the United States the whole world is aware. It would be a serious error to suppose that the Americans have developed only along material lines. There has been a moral, spiritual, intellectual development quite as striking. In no country in the world is mental culture more highly valued or more diligently sought. The aspirations of Americans in this direction are of old date; and those aspirations have not been swamped by the flood of material prosperity which of late years has poured over the land. On the contrary, the material prosperity has been made to minister to the spread of culture.

It is interesting to look at the dates of the foundation of some important seats of learning in the United States. Harvard's antiquity is generally known, the date of its original foundation being 1638. William-and-Mary College in Virginia was founded in 1693; Yale in 1701; Williams College, in Massachusetts, in 1703; the University of Pennsylvania in 1740; Princeton in 1746. Columbia University of New York dates, in its original name of King's College, from 1754. That the work of founding important educational institutions has not been allowed to languish while the country was growing in wealth will be seen in the fact that in a list of 420 American universities and colleges, published little more than a year ago, no fewer than eighty-seven are noted as founded later than 1880. It is to be remarked that these later foundations are due usually to private munificence, as out of thirty-seven 'state universities,' establishments due to the action of the local Governments, only eight are included in the eighty-seven founded within the last quarter of a century.

It is not only in the establishment and endowment of colleges that the aspirations of the Americans towards a higher culture have been manifested. Great and magnificently-housed libraries abound in the United States. The new buildings of the Congressional Library at Washington form a noble monument, not only of the Americans' love of polite learning, but also of the high position in the world of art taken by American architecture. In that fine art they stand in the foremost rank. Not even the unsightly outlines of a group of eighteen or twenty storied 'sky-scrappers' can be cited as evidence of want of architectural good taste. Such evidence would be refuted by a look at hundreds of stately and beautiful public buildings and sumptuous private houses. Large numbers of Americans visit, and are right in visiting, the old cities of Europe with their historic monuments, but nowhere are they likely to see anything of modern date superior to that which they have proved themselves capable of producing. The palaces of Genoa and Venice might be searched in vain for higher taste in design or greater splendour of treatment. In the United States architecture serves wealth and luxury in very attractive ways. It should be interesting to us in the old country to see with what success contemporary architects in America are dealing with the so-called 'Georgian' style. To look at some recently built private houses is to understand the beauties which that style is capable of presenting; whilst comfort as well as beauty is to be found in the American home.

Not in library buildings only do the Americans show their respect for books. The tables in booksellers' shops are piled—the word is exact—with books that are really beautiful specimens of printing. It is a treat to glance at the pages of some of the dainty volumes scattered in rich profusion over a shop counter. The beauty of some of the bindings is almost dazzling, and the multitude of fine designs is extraordinary. Wealth associates itself with the pursuit of culture,

not only in liberal benefactions, but also in the collection of books beautifully bound and sumptuously housed.

We know better in Europe what Americans have done in others of the fine arts and what distinction they have earned as painters and sculptors. Their works in these branches of art have been seen here, and personal inspection of them has permitted the formation of judgment as to their merits. Fewer specimens of American taste in typography and bookbinding reach us; and, as regards American architecture, we have to depend almost entirely on descriptions. Drawings of buildings often fail to reproduce the atmospheric environment and leave us unacquainted with that congruity with prevailing conditions which enhances so greatly the beauty of the architect's work. It is, perhaps, not entirely fanciful to believe that the striking excellence of American architecture is due to the democratic spirit with which that glorious art is necessarily infused. Build as he may—for the abode of the rich man, for the celebration of religious rites, or for the public service of the community—the architect's design is continuously submitted to the gaze of the million, and his success is felt to be directly proportionate to the extent to which he can gratify the æsthetic sensibilities of a multitude of observers.

The position of the Americans as writers of fiction is established to our satisfaction in England by the presence of their works in every boudoir. Equally, if not more, striking evidence of the high stage of literary culture reached by them is given by their productions in graver branches of literature. For example, they are showing remarkable assiduity in what may be called comparative political anatomy. They dissect constitutions with fearless and skilful hand, and trace back existing polity to remote origins with the scientific precision of the palæontologist and the lucidity of expression of the consummate narrator. In general historical writing their work has a similar character. It reveals industry in research, fairness in judging, and clearness of narrative. Captain Mahan has shown to thousands of English readers the magnitude of the treasure that can be disclosed by those who have mastered the process of philosophical deduction in history. One of the greatest debts which we in the old country owe to our kinsmen in the United States is that due to them for their conclusive demonstration of the capacity for lucid expression inherent in the English language. American state papers, official reports, books on serious subjects, occasional essays, and, very often, newspaper articles, are not unworthy of comparison with those written in French, the language which is deservedly credited with the merit of extreme lucidity. A parallel comparison in the matter of wit might be instituted without misgiving. From time to time, in nearly every daily newspaper in the United States, there are published articles exquisitely witty and in good taste. The 'reporter's' language, with its violent distortion of the sense of prepositions and its other solecisms,

is distinct from that used by the leading-article writer. Of one class of book of which we see abundance elsewhere American literature is singularly clear, viz. the historical book, the writer of which tries to hide the scantiness of his knowledge and the deficiency in his research by the use of a stilted style.

The opinion, once widely held in England and sedulously inculcated by a host of American writers, that in the United States decent people will have nothing to do with politics, if ever it was true, is now as much out-of-date as would be the opinion that scrofula can be cured by the royal touch. Whether it be the cause or the effect of the war waged against 'Bossism,' there can be no doubt that the proportion of men of refinement and position entering political life in the United States is as great as it is in any other country. Moreover, it tends to increase. Bosses still exist, and well-bred and honourable Americans who, in order that they may do their duty to their country, engage in politics have to tolerate them for a time at least; in the same way that many English gentlemen of unblemished reputation, who amuse themselves on the turf, have to submit to contact with the shady characters that the sport of horse-racing has as yet proved itself unable to slough away. The American Senate as a body may have declined of late in public esteem; the visitor is told so often enough. It is, nevertheless, the fact that senators as individuals deservedly take high rank in the society of the capital, and not only because of their official status. When the Senate is in session a sight of it in no way encourages acquiescence in M. Ostrogorski's desponding estimate. The same may be said of the House of Representatives. The percentage of well-mannered and carefully dressed men in that body strikes the spectator in the gallery as quite as high as it is in the House of Commons. The deliberations of each branch of Congress are as orderly as those of other Legislatures; and the House of Representatives does not bear the smallest resemblance to the legislative bear-garden depicted by superior persons who write books of travel and insisted upon by not a few Americans. It is doubtful if the bear-garden aspect was ever presented. If it was, it has disappeared as completely as the knee-breeches and silk stockings of Lord North's time.

The superior political and administrative officials in the United States are generally and most justly esteemed by their fellow-countrymen. It has become an almost commonplace remark that President Roosevelt naturally endeavours to surround himself with men of high character. 'No tribute to his own could be more honourable. Standing close to his side are men who—with a patriotic indifference to personal interests which it would be difficult to surpass—have resigned opportunities of securing affluence in order to assume arduous, thankless, and ill-paid posts in the Administration. It is a new feature of colonial polity that men of wealth should go to distant countries with unhealthy, or at any rate uncongenial, climates, and take up, not

positions of splendour and high social distinction, but posts in which hard work and often squalid surroundings await the occupant. Nothing could prove more conclusively the resolve of the Americans to act justly by the people of their newly acquired dependencies than the high character and self-devotion of many of the men who have undertaken to govern and superintend them. In this country we have seen what class of men the United States send to represent them abroad, and the great personal distinction of these envoys ought to enable us to form a correct idea of these who administer the Governments of remote archipelagoes, now sheltered by the American flag.

It is surely worth while to make inquiry as to the racial characteristics of the people who are playing so great a part, and who are obviously destined to play a still greater part, in the affairs of the world. Has it ever struck the reader that, over the immense area of the United States, a single language is spoken, and that that language is English ? Conceive what it would be if, from London to Constantinople, from Stockholm to Messina, only one form of speech prevailed ! Sporadic instances of alien tongues occur no doubt in the American Republic as they do in England, in France, in Germany, and elsewhere ; but, with the exception of the handful of French in Louisiana and of a scattered remnant of Spanish-Mexicans in California and New Mexico —nearly all of whom, by the way, can speak English—the unity of speech is as above stated ; for the other languages soon die out and never descend to later generations. The durability of French, as compared for example with German, and its successful resistance to extinction by another tongue, of which Canada, Louisiana, and Mauritius supply proof, may be suggested as a subject meriting the attention of men of science.¹ The Americans are firmly resolved that English and English only shall be their national speech. The inhabitant who, where the law requires the inscription of his name on any article of property, should persist in inscribing it in Erse or Cyrilic characters would soon find himself in unpleasant contact with the police ; whilst the fate of the orator who might essay to address a legislative assembly in an unknown ancestral tongue would certainly be such as to discourage attempts at similar linguistic performances.

This people, to which English is the one medium of communication, lives under a system of law based on the common law of England and still bearing a close resemblance to it. There is not a considerable law library in the United States which does not contain English legal text-books. The decisions of English judges often govern cases in American courts ; and American decisions, if not binding, are referred to and quoted with respect in courts in England. There is something

¹ There are other striking instances of the vitality of a Romance language. The Daco-Roman (or Roumanian) dialect has endured in a most unfavourable environment since Trajan's time, and the Macedo-Roman (or Tzintzar) probably longer. The case of Portuguese at Macao is something like these.

almost startling to a stranger in the familiarity of American lawyers with the names and history of Englishmen of their own profession. This familiarity is maintained not only with the great names of the past—with Hale, and Blackstone, and Mansfield—but also with names as recent as Selborne, and Cairns, and Russell of Killowen. On nearly every day one may read in an American newspaper some reminder of English jurisprudence—the grand jury has found a bill against such and such an accused person ; the Attorney-General has entered a refusal to prosecute, &c. The French law incorporated in the code of Louisiana and the small proportion of Spanish law incorporated in that of California are not sufficient to affect the general uniformity.

With English as their language, classical English literature as their possession, and English law as the basis of their own, the Americans live under a polity inherited from and in essentials like that of England. The points where similarity merges into identity are numerous, and so are those where, identity being impracticable, approaches to it have been made. American commentators on the Constitution, even those who maintain that there is a great difference between the British and that of the United States, are accustomed to cite or refer to the former over and over again. The main points of difference are due to what Professor Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, in his work on *Party Organisation and Machinery*, calls 'the distrust of the fathers in democratic government.' 'They were convinced that the people were not to be trusted.' It would be rash to assert that a similar conviction did not prevail in Great Britain when the United States Constitution was being drawn up. It may be accounted to George the Third for righteousness that he and Washington thought alike on this point. The result in America was to constitute a strong executive, the President, notwithstanding the obstacles put in his way by the Senate, being the most powerful political personage in the world. Also, the Speaker at Washington is an autocrat compared with the Speaker at Westminster. Generally, local and municipal officials in the United States are entrusted with greater power than their counterparts in England. In national affairs, nevertheless, the difference between the two countries almost disappears when the British Prime Minister is a man of strong character and has a majority in both Houses of Parliament. Another difference on which much stress is laid is that between the Cabinet system in England and the absence of that form of government in the United States. The difference is certainly considerable ; but in practice it has diminished, as the organisation of party machinery has become more developed in this country. Differences such as these notwithstanding, American political life resembles that of the United Kingdom much more closely than it does that of any other country.

Using the same speech, obeying nearly the same laws, reading

the same books, and living under a similar constitutional system, the resemblance of the institutions of the Americans to those of their English kinsmen is accentuated by the existence of another and most potent factor. Family life in the United States is almost identical with family life in the United Kingdom. As in nearly every other direction, so in this, American development, if it tends to divergence from the old English type, is original, and not imitative of Continental European conditions. Where it ceases to be exactly English it becomes distinctly American—that is, it proceeds along lines like those followed by its original. In this discussion it is more convenient to use the word 'English' as a general term rather than 'British,' which, if introduced, would too often have to be accompanied by a commentary or explanation. The home in the American city—excepting, of course, recent architectural experiments which, in the United States as in the old country, occasionally show much originality—is built on the same general plan as thousands of homes in Dublin and Cork, Edinburgh and Glasgow, Birmingham and Manchester. More than this, the family life is the same; the meals, the amusements, the domestic organisation in general. Sojourn in an American city does not remind an Englishman of any European Continental city, but frequently reminds him of England. In the Eastern States especially, and also in a less notable, but still notable, degree in the Western, the American Sunday recalls the English Sunday, and has little likeness to the 'Continental.' In the old and in the new country there are, at the same hour, the same crowds going to or coming from different places of worship, all with English names—Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, &c. The buildings in which Divine service is celebrated are; as regards architectural design, exactly alike in both countries. Further evidence of similarity may be found in the position, highly important notwithstanding the relative numerical inferiority of its adherents, of the 'Episcopal Church,' which is a branch of and in communion with the Church of England. In 1904 it was stated to have 782,543 communicants, and its total numbers are estimated at three millions—i.e. hardly 4 per cent. of the population. It certainly has far more than 4 per cent. of the influence enjoyed by the various Churches. Amongst its bishops are some of the most prominent and respected men in the country, and the average ability of its preachers is very high.

The social life of America is attractive to the English visitor because of its similarity to that of his own. He does not feel a stranger. Social intercourse there is charmingly vivacious, and is made intensely interesting by the remarkable conversational powers of Americans of both sexes. It is perhaps safe to assert that a dinner-party in London can possibly be dull; a dull dinner-party in Washington is unthinkable. The hospitality of Americans has long been

well known. It is distinguished not so much by its profusion as by the delightful courtesy shown in taking trouble, usually a good deal of trouble, to make the visitor's time pass pleasantly. The general appearance of the American people resembles that of the English. An English guest in a New York club at its most crowded hour would be inclined to think that he was amongst his fellow-countrymen, and that he had merely crossed a street and not the ocean.

Recent commentators on American affairs have noticed the advance—if it be advance—towards aristocratic conditions in the country. The evidence of this is multiform. The increasing gorgeousness of servants' liveries has been specially pointed at as a symptom. The insidious anti-democratic influence of 'small-clothes' was cited long ago. 'Rabagas, prends garde,' says one of Sardou's characters, 'c'est par la culotte qu'on commence, et c'est par les décorations qu'on finit.' Button-holes of dress-coats and photographs of eminent soldiers in uniform show that the decorations have begun to appear. Precedence has become an important, even a serious, question. Only a few weeks ago it was gravely discussed in a leading article in an influential Washington newspaper, the writer holding that it was a fit subject for legislation by Congress! He ingeniously suggested that the legislation might take the form of fixing the order in which different persons should march in processions such as are formed at the inauguration of a President. Officials proceeding to or departing from a railway station are now not infrequently escorted by a detachment of cavalry. It is a curious fact that aristocracy rises in republics and declines in monarchies. The Eupatrids in Athens, the Optimates in republican Rome, had much more influence than a duke has in monarchical Italy or a grandee in monarchical Spain; whilst the *serrata del maggior consiglio*, which founded an hereditary aristocracy, ruling for many years, was effected, not in a monarchy, but in republican Venice. The truth is that there has been always a strong aristocratic element in American society. The seventeenth-century gubernatorial families of Massachusetts, like the Winthrops and the Endicotts, can claim a *nobilitas* which, because of the antiquity of the first curule office, might have been envied by the Licinii or Porcii in the Rome of Cicero. Some, but by no means all, of the Dutch families in New York State are hereditary aristocrats, as is seen in the case of the Roosevelts, who have held a position of eminence which, so to speak, entitles them to the privilege of the *tabouret*. The aristocratic sentiment has never really died out in the South. Impoverished, as he has been, by the Civil War, the Virginian gentleman, through whose veins runs some of the bluest of English blood, still has a vivid recollection of the days when his ancestors maintained a state parallel to that of many a great European noble. Family pride—*vetus et insita Claudiæ familiae superbia*—is probably greater now in the United States than ever it was, and is not resented by the com-

munity at large. It is interesting to remember that the holder of a British peerage was once elected Speaker of the Californian House of Representatives.

Attempts have sometimes been made to demonstrate that the English element—using the word 'English' here, as usually in this discussion, in a general sense—has been swamped by the immense infusion of non-English elements into the population of the United States. Facts are against this contention. The necessity of acquiring the English language, of becoming acquainted with virtually English laws, and of submitting to what in essence are English constitutional arrangements, has secured the predominance of the English-speaking race in the country. The wit and eloquence for which Americans are so famous come largely from the Irish strain in their blood, mixture with the latter gifted race exercising a powerful influence on the spiritual side. So, too, the commercial aptitude so widely displayed in the United States may be traced, together with other fine qualities, to Scottish ancestry.

The predominance just mentioned has existed throughout the history of the people, and still exists. Out of twenty-six Presidents all but two could trace their ancestry to the British Isles, the two exceptions being of Dutch descent—Van Buren and Roosevelt. It is the same in the case of the vice-presidents. Every chief justice of the Supreme Court, from the foundation of that dignified tribunal, with a single and that a doubtful exception, has borne an English name. Vagaries of spelling and pronunciation lead to corrupt lections in patronymics and genealogies as they do in other compositions, and a name originally foreign may occasionally take an English form. For instance, the American family of Dabney, an appellation which looks English enough, is really a branch of the distinguished French family of d'Aubigny. Therefore in fixing the descent of an American house it is necessary to guard against the risk of assigning to it a wrong nationality. In the present investigation, doubtful as well as obviously foreign patronymics will be separated from the rest, these last only being counted as English.

The nine living justices of the Supreme Court, whose appointments cover a period of nearly thirty years, all bear English names. Out of twenty-seven judges of the United States Circuit Courts twenty-three, and out of ninety United States District Court judges seventy-nine, are shown by their names to be of English descent. There have been thirty-four different occupants of the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives at Washington. Of their names twenty-six are undoubtedly English. Within the last twenty years out of nine Secretaries of State only one has borne a non-English name. In the present Congress, amongst ninety senators only twelve, and amongst 386 representatives only seventy, appear to be of other than English origin. The same may be said of twenty out of twenty-two general

officers on the active list of the army, and of twenty-two out of twenty-six admirals.

We find similar conditions when we leave the lists of Federal authorities. No less than thirty-five out of forty-five governors of States are of English lineage; whilst out of 103 mayors of the larger cities only twenty-nine have non-English family names. This is highly significant, because, as has been often pointed out, immigrants of Continental-European origin flock into the cities. The English predominance is also to be found in the higher classes of the great business institutions of the Republic. For example, out of 109 banks in New York—cosmopolitan as its commerce is—and Brooklyn, seventy-six have presidents with names indicating their English descent. It might have been expected that in the highest academic posts in the United States representatives of the English element in the population would be outnumbered by those who descend from nations credited with greater aptitude for scholastic pursuits. It is not so, however, for 316 out of 414 universities and colleges are presided over by scholars whose ancestry must be looked for in the United Kingdom.

The above figures prove either that the English proportion of the population of the American Republic greatly outnumbers the remainder, which, in view of the varied immigration of the last half-century, would indicate superior racial vigour, or that the English proportion, if not numerically stronger, must be incomparably more influential. That element is becoming more rather than less English. The physical type, as already hinted, is approximating to that in the 'old country.' The tall, lanky, thin-visaged American of the conventional pictures has disappeared. His successor is, at least as stoutly built as the conventional John Bull. Changes in the mode of life of Americans bring it into closer resemblance to our own. Love of specially English sports is now widespread. With our athletic games the slang relating to them has passed over to and become acclimatised in the Western Hemisphere. The number of prints of English hunting and coaching scenes displayed in shop-windows is very striking. Living in the 'country' is growing more and more popular, in admitted imitation of English habits and tastes.

It is not surprising—the conditions being as they are—that much friendliness should be shown by Americans to the English people generally, as well as to individual Englishmen. Expressions of satisfaction with the present amicable relations between the old country and the new come from all classes; in fact, Americans are as proud of their English origin as we ought to be of the exalted position which they are taking in the world. Their admiration and regard for King Edward—'the King,' as he always is to them—is unstinted and specially agreeable to English ears. Their interest in the 'old country,' and in the attitude of its neighbours towards it, is tinged with affec-

tion. All this imposes on us a duty which, it is urged in all humility, we should hasten to discharge. That duty is to know our kinsmen better, to study their ways closely, and form an accurate conception of that which they have done and are still doing. Mr. Rhodes's munificent bequest has brought many a young American to observe us in our home. We may hope that means may be found of enabling our own youth to observe our kinsmen in like manner. The young Englishman who appreciates the greatness of his race could have no more inspiring occupation than studying on the spot the processes by which one branch of that race has made itself the greatest of nations.

CYPRIAN A. G. BRIDGE.

**THE BISHOP OF LONDON ON THE
DECLINING* BIRTH RATE**

I

UNTIL quite recently the available statistics regarding the birth rate have been somewhat crude and open to criticism. They have sufficed for broad deductions, but have lacked the 'corrections' necessary to make them strictly reliable and scientific. •

This has now been altered. The recent paper of Dr. Newsholme and Dr. Stevenson, as well as the paper of Mr. Yule, both of which were submitted to the December meeting of the Royal Statistical Society, mark a decided epoch in our methods of calculation.

In particular I would like to draw attention to the very valuable paper of Drs. Newsholme and Stevenson on 'The Decline of Human Fertility in the United Kingdom and Other Countries as Shown by Corrected Birth Rates,' because their work is thorough, painstaking, and, so far as I can see, free from any possibility of serious error. They have set themselves to obtain a real 'measure' of *fertility*, which, operating upon a population of given constitution as to age, sex, and marriage, produces as its result the crude birth rate.

Now this measure of fertility, or corrected birth rate, as calculated for the United Kingdom and for several other countries, shows a certain difference from the crude birth rate, but nothing that would, I think, seriously invalidate the conclusions of previous writers. • In certain instances, however, and especially as applied to Ireland, the difference obtained by the better computation is most remarkable. The extraordinary position it gives to Ireland as heading the European peoples in fertility is well shown by the table on next page.

Regarding their method of calculation the authors write as follows :

It must be remembered that by the method of calculation adopted the influence of differences in the proportion of wives and in the ages of these wives has been eliminated, and we are thus enabled to separate between what we may call the *arithmetical* and the *pathological causes* of decline in the birth rate. France is the best instance of a pathological birth rate. The term 'natalité pathologique' is used by Dr. Jacques Bertillon, the head of the Statistical Bureau of the City of Paris. France has rather a larger number of wives

aged 15-45 than England and Wales per 1,000 of total population. But its corrected legitimate birth rate is 80 per cent. lower, and its total corrected birth rate 24 per cent. lower than that of England and Wales. Ireland, on the other hand, has a low crude birth rate, which becomes one of the highest in Europe when correction is made for the fact that only 76.5 per 1,000 of population, as compared with 117.0 in England and Wales, are wives of child-bearing age, only 82.5 per cent. of the women aged 15-45 being married, as compared with 46.8 per cent. in England and Wales.

TABLE G

Communities in Order of Total Corrected Birth Rate, 1880-81	A		B		C	
	Corrected Birth Rate per 1,000 of Population		Corrected Birth Rate per 1,000 of Population		Percentage Decline in Corrected Birth Rate	
	(a) Total	(b) Legiti- mate	(a) Total	(b) Legiti- mate	(a) In Total Birth Rate	(b) In Legitimate Birth Rate
Bavaria	45.49	39.55	Bavaria	40.37	35.59	— 11
Saxony	41.45	35.05	Austria	38.50	32.84	— 1
Belgium	40.76	38.08	Norway	37.79	35.62	— 6
German Empire	40.37	36.44	Sweden	36.19	32.90	— 7
Norway	40.12	37.59	Ireland	36.08	35.59	+ 3
Prussia	39.87	36.54	Prussia	35.72	32.72	— 10
Scotland	39.29	36.47	Dublin	35.39	34.58	+ 10
Austria	39.04	32.86	German Empire	35.34	32.01	— 12
Denmark	38.92	35.86	Italy	38.71	31.17	— 9
New South Wales	38.80	36.53	Scotland	38.38	31.65	— 15
Sweden	38.49	35.56	Denmark	33.12	29.94	— 14
Italy	36.99	33.40	Saxony	31.76	26.60	— 23
New Zealand	36.68	34.88	Belgium	31.01	28.85	— 24
Victoria	36.02	34.25	New Zealand	29.63	28.44	— 19
Ireland	35.17	34.59	England and Wales	28.41	27.29	— 18
Hamburg	34.98	31.35	Edinburgh	28.08	26.68	— 20
Edinburgh	34.97	32.98	Victoria	27.04	25.77	— 25
England and Wales	34.65	32.78	London	26.83	25.93	— 17
Berlin	33.11	28.26	New South Wales	26.47	24.61	— 32
Dublin	32.24	31.61	Hamburg	25.40	21.70	— 27
London	32.21	30.92	Melbourne	24.07	22.26	...
France	25.06	22.73	Sydney	23.89	21.58	...
Paris	23.27	16.46	Berlin	21.89	18.57	— 34
			France	21.63	19.29	— 14
			Paris	16.65	11.98	— 28

By the application of this 'corrected birth rate' an order of merit is established for various countries, counties, and towns. These show very considerable variations, but the general result of the corrections as applied to the towns of the United Kingdom is 'to lower the birth rates of large towns, except in Scotland and Ireland, where the rates are raised.'

Ireland and all its divisions alone among all the countries for which figures could be obtained show an increased fertility. Such are the wonders effected by a corrected statement, although the crude legitimate birth rate of Ireland in 1908 was 22.5, and that of England and Wales 27.8 per 1,000 of population. The low crude birth rate of Ireland is owing to the fact that a large proportion of the child-bearing population of Ireland has been transferred

to America. Those remaining in Ireland who are of child-bearing age are adding to the population at a much higher rate than the corresponding population of England, as shown by the fact that the corrected legitimate birth rate of Ireland is 35.6 and that of England and Wales 27.8 per 1,000 of population.

The causes of the decline of the birth rate are considered under the headings of Urbanisation, Industrial Conditions, Prosperity, Race, Religion, Social Conditions, including Poverty, and, finally, Social *Felo-de-se*.

Under this heading the authors write:

The decline of birth rate is not due to increased poverty,

It is associated with a general raising of the standard of comfort, and is an expression of the determination of the people to secure this greater comfort.

It is not caused by greater stress in modern life, but is a consequence of the greater desire for luxury. Possibly the raising of the age for leaving school, and allied changes as to work, have aided in producing the result by preventing children being an early source of profit. These and allied motives have made parents look round for the means of keeping their families within 'prudent' limits. The gradual slackening of the religious restraints, which were formerly to a much greater extent associated with family life, have doubtless aided in making husbands and wives willing to utilise such preventive means as they have been able to discover. Increased education has helped in securing access to the necessary information, and the greater aggregation of populations in towns has doubtless supplied not only increased facilities for the communication of information on the subject, but also for the purchase of the necessary appliances. Many druggists are stated to make a large share of their income in this way.

The examples already given indicate that the 'gospel of comfort' has been widely adopted, and that it is becoming the practical ethical standard of a rapidly increasing number of civilised communities, both in this country and abroad. Thus Halifax and Bradford began early. The selected rural counties in this country have now approximated to the urban counties. Prussia has not yet overtaken Berlin, but it is following its example. We have no hope that any nation—in the absence of strong and overwhelming moral influences to the contrary—will be permanently left behind in this race to decimate the race. We must look—failing the possibility indicated in the last sentence—for an increasing practice of the artificial prevention of child-bearing, which, whatever may be said for exceptional instances, is at least difficult to justify when used merely as a supposed means towards increased social comfort. And with this we must look for a lower standard of moral outlook, a lowering of the ideal of married life, and a consequent deterioration of the moral, if not also of the physical nature of mankind. France has anticipated the rest of the world, and has thus come near the consummation of its social *felo-de-se*. But it is only a question of decades, in the absence of a great change in the moral standpoint of the majority of the people, before others follow in the same direction, possibly even at the same pace. The outlook is gloomy, and we cannot look with confidence to the help which is likely to come either from preaching or medical teaching.

In the paper by Mr. G. Udny Yule (Newmarch Lecturer on Statistics at University College, London¹) we find, in a survey of the more

¹ *On the Changes in the Marriage and Birth Rates in England and Wales during the Past Half-century, with an Enquiry as to the Probable Causes.*

limited field with which it deals, a very close correspondence with the writers from whom I have been quoting as to the fact and amount and distribution of the declining birth rate, but Mr. Yule has a different method of correction for the crude birth rate, into which I need not now enter.

The paper is illustrated by diagrams, and in Diagram XVI. we have a graphic picture of the fall of the birth rate from about 1875 to near the present time. Regarding this he states : 'For some reason or other the actual fecundity of married women has been falling with increasing rapidity during the past thirty years, and it is to this and to no mere changes in the proportion of married women to the population that the fall in the rate is due.' Again, in dealing with thirteen London districts in 1871 and 1901, he remarks : 'The birth rate has fallen for the upper class districts by 7·2 points per thousand, or 25 per cent. ; for the lower by 4·1 points, or 11 per cent.' But, after some closer consideration, he adds : 'I think this almost compels one to conclude that while there is a very marked contrast indeed between the best and worst districts in towns, the contrast cannot be anything like so great between the better classes of wage-earners and the upper and middle classes as a whole : the fall has been too widespread and too general.' In his inquiry into the probable causes of the decline of fertility Mr. Yule deals mainly with the effect of the variation of prices on the reproduction of the race. He, as well as Drs. Newsholme and Stevenson, and indeed every other skilled statistician, recognises that there may be many factors ; but his inquiry is mainly directed to the one I have already indicated, and while regarding this as an important cause of the decline of the rate, he adds, very fairly : 'There remains, however, the fact that the fall in the fertility coefficient was greater for the decade 1891-1901 than for any previous decade, and that this by no means corresponds with the course of prices.' At the conclusion of his paper Mr. Yule points out that pessimistic views as to the future are misplaced only in so far as temporary causes are at work, such as that of the kind he has been discussing.

II

These papers, which I have only briefly reviewed, contain the very latest and most scientific writing on the subject of the birth rate. Both are agreed in pointing out the marked rapidity and extent of the decline during the last thirty years ; in recognising that this is due to serious loss of fertility in the married life of the people ; that the loss is mainly confined to the married life of the upper and middle classes ; and, so far as the 'corrections' employed have been applied to the larger towns (excepting in Ireland), these tend to lower the computation of the crude birth rate instead of raising it.

In estimating the causes of the decline in the birth rate the different

writers take somewhat different lines. What makes them do so? I venture to think I know the cause. Dr. Newsholme and Dr. Stevenson have actual professional knowledge and experience, which Mr. Yule has not. We who are doctors, if we write at all on such a subject as this, are forced in the present day to write not as those seeking for reasons, for we know them. We have not been led away by any theories or extravagant suspicions. We know that many economic factors have their (limited) share in causation. We can gauge too, fairly accurately, the share taken in causation by such individual reasons as mutual abstention, enforced absence (in the cases of soldiers and sailors), incompatibility, malformation, and sterility due to disease both in men and women; but we have long since passed the necessity of searching for the main cause of the declining birth rate, because we cannot help knowing it. Patients freely confess to 'artificial prevention.' They ask and write for advice about it: and the problems associated with it, such as its probable influence on ovarian and nervous disease, are being forced on our attention every day of our lives.

I question whether it would be possible to find any doctor of experience and standing, in active professional work among the people, who would not wholly agree in the thesis that the decline in the birth rate is really due to artificial prevention. Beyond this, on the question of the harm done by such practice, we should differ, as doctors always have differed in their estimate of the physical harm done by alcohol, by opium, and by prostitution; but the almost inevitable tendency of scientific research is, in the long run, to uphold the opinion of those who from the first have set themselves against all questionable practice and indulgence.

Since I delivered my Presidential address² on this subject two years ago I have found such widespread agreement and approval of all that I said among my own professional brethren everywhere that I have no hesitation in bringing the whole body of professional opinion in evidence at least of practical unanimity in the tracing the decline of the birth rate to the use of artificial checks or preventives. And this body of skilled opinion, as I have said before, is not founded on any theory, but on the ascertained facts of daily experience. Indeed, it is altogether too late in the day for any star-gazing as to the cause of diminishing birth rates when the cause of the stationary population of France has been threshed out and acknowledged for years, and when the Report of the Royal Commission on the similar decline in New South Wales not only traces the cause directly to artificial prevention, but stigmatises the married state of those who practise it as one of 'monogynous prostitution.'

The conclusions arrived at by Dr. Newsholme and Dr. Stevenson

² *The Diminishing Birth Rate.* (London, Baillière, Tindal & Cox. 1904.)

are exactly on the same lines as those at which I arrived in 1904. If there be any difference it is that the later opinion is more grave and pessimistic.

III

If any justification were needed for the reference to the decline of the birth rate in the recent charge of the Bishop of London,³ surely the brief review I have made of the very best research and opinion on this subject is amply sufficient to warrant the few but kind and noble words by which, through his clergy, the Bishop has sought to influence the people of his diocese. Under the light of the best scientific evidence and opinion they should evoke our most thankful and appreciative recognition.

One result of Dr. Newsholme and Dr. Stevenson's work is quite unexpected and very suggestive of hope. If there be no mistake in their figures (though I confess they have startled me) the *corrected* birth rate of Ireland, placing her as it does at the head of Europe in fertility, seems to show (as the authors recognise) the power of religious faith and practice in stemming the tide of luxurious selfishness and social suicide.

Ireland (they say) is a chiefly Roman Catholic country in which preventive measures against child-bearing are banned, and the birth rate represents in the main the true fertility of the country; while in Germany and in England the birth rate is the resultant of two forces, the relative magnitude of which is unknown—viz., natural fertility and artificial measures against it.

But if here, in England, we have a race still instinct with the sense of duty, if here we still have some religion which is no make-believe, then it cannot but be right that a stern and solemn call to its exercise and life should find its full expression. Secret faults like that of 'prevention' not only demand and should receive the wise rebuke of the spiritual head, but he may have strong grounds for hoping that his words may not only be seasonable but effective. Many whose courage and manliness have been temporarily fouled by these and allied sins of cowardly but comfortable living may, and I hope will, derive strength from the clear but sympathetic counsel of the Bishop to turn round and face all the difficulties of their position. The Bishop very wisely makes no invidious distinction between the responsibilities of men and women in this matter.

'Let teaching, then,' he says, 'be given in suitable ways and at suitable times on the responsibility which married life entails, on the glory of motherhood, on the growing selfishness which thinks first of creature comforts or social pleasures and then of the primary duties and joys of life.' And with that identification of himself and his

³ *A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of London in St. Paul's Cathedral, October 19, 1905.* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co.)

clergy with his people which should disarm all hostile criticism, he adds: 'We must learn ourselves and teach others to live the simpler, harder life our forefathers lived.'

IV

It is, however, essentially this 'charge' of the Bishop which seems to have called forth the paper of Mr. James Barclay in the last number of this Review.⁴ The paper can hardly be said to have any real scientific value, and might have been passed unnoticed but for its misleading tendency and for the ill-natured and unfounded attack which it contains on the Bishop of London. By a laboured argument Mr. Barclay endeavours to implant the idea that the present declining birth rate is due to purely natural causes, and at the first reading one might be inclined to think that Mr. Barclay was altogether ignorant of the positive evidence to the contrary which I have brought forward in the earlier sections of this paper. But can we believe this to be the case when he is evidently familiar with the statistics of France, where the evil has been so long and so frankly recognised, and when, apropos of the family statistics regarding the American wives of English peers (a very small number on which to base any deduction) he makes a sudden and unprovoked attack on President Roosevelt, whose opinions and real knowledge of this subject are well recognised? If Mr. Barclay does really know the reason for the decline of the birth rate, one can only regard his paper as a piece of special pleading, an attempt to hide the truth, to confuse the issues and to throw dust in the eyes of those who are seeking for enlightenment.

But let us consider his main argument more closely. This is founded on what he terms 'a mysterious relation' between births and deaths:

In every country in Europe [he says] where the birth rate is high so also is the death rate, and when the death rate declines the birth rate follows: but what the connection may be between the two we cannot suggest, or even decide whether the birth rate influences the death rate or the deaths the births." (p. 86.)

Obviously, where life is very plentiful the care of life will often be imperfect or lacking; but the essential ground on which this statement of Mr. Barclay rests, and the very platform on which he builds his theory of satisfaction, is the fact that during the past thirty years there has been a very marked decline in the death rate, very similar in its extent to that of the birth rate. Mr. Barclay himself seems to derive intense comfort from the contemplation of a table showing in one column the declining birth rate for England and Wales, in another the declining death rate, and in a third the balance between the

⁴ *Malthusianism and the Declining Birth Rate.* By James W. Barclay. (*The Nineteenth Century and After*, January 1906.)

two, which he is pleased to term the 'natural (?) increase.' The part of it referring to the last thirty years I here reproduce.

ENGLAND AND WALES
Averages per Thousand of the Population

—	Births	Deaths	Natural (?) Increase
10 years from 1871-1880 . . .	85·4	21·4	14·0
10 " " 1881-1890 . . .	82·4	19·1	13·3
10 " " 1891-1900 . . .	29·9	18·2	11·7
8 " " 1901-1903 . . .	28·5	16·2	12·3
1903 . . .	28·4	15·4	13·0

I can assure Mr. Barclay that no modern surgeon or physician when reviewing his life-work can contemplate this table with any other sentiment than that of supreme dissatisfaction and disgust. During the last thirty years the whole of modern surgery with its aseptic and life-saving methods has arisen and grown and become established. In addition to this, no science has grown like that of medicine in all its branches. Thousands upon thousands of lives have been saved to the community, and all this should have been a clear gain to the nation. It is small satisfaction to those who, like myself, have given and are giving at least a quarter of each week to the suffering poor in this life-saving work, to recognise that, in one sense, all this work is swept away as though it had never been, by the vicious and unnatural habits of the present generation; so that in 1903 (according to Mr. Barclay's own figures) the so-called 'natural increase' is actually *lower* than it was in 1871-80, when abdominal surgery was yet in its infancy, when asepsis was practically unknown, and erysipelas, pyæmia, and other forms of blood poisoning were rampant in nearly all of our hospitals. And if we further reflect that all this life which we have been privileged to save, however valuable, is yet too often injured, suffering, and imperfect, while that which has been wilfully 'prevented' has had all the potentialities of perfection⁶ (for it is the well-to-do and middle classes who are chiefly responsible), this consideration can only increase our conception of the gravity of the problem before us.

⁵ The note of interrogation is, of course, my own. Another column, containing the marriages, has been omitted. These have varied but slightly throughout.

⁶ In view of the present limitation of children and the noted absence of men of surpassing genius from present populations, it would be an interesting statistical inquiry to find out, if possible, what proportion of the great men of the world were 'first' children of first sons and what proportion belonged to a later period in the family life of their parents.

One cannot help suspecting that our mischievous meddling with great natural forces is very much like little children playing with edge-tools or with fire. The consequences *may* be inconceivably disastrous. Shakespeare was the third child (but first son) of his parents; Sir Walter Scott was the tenth child; Tennyson the fourth of twelve children; Lord Nelson is described as the third surviving son; the Duke of Wellington was the fourth son, and John Wesley the fifteenth child of his parents. If these had been manœuvred out of existence, what an incalculable loss to England and the world!

Now it is on this 'table' and all the facts which it discloses that Dr. Barclay relies for his main attack on the Bishop, which is in these words :

If the Bishop of London had acquainted himself with the subject, as the gravity of his denunciation demanded, it would have been manifest to him there was no reason for his unspeakable dismay or ground for his imputation on the women of England which a mere layman does not care to repeat.

I have the published charge of the Bishop before me, and can find no ground whatever for the insinuation in the last sentence. The Bishop, as I have already said, makes no distinction between men and women, but calls upon both to uphold the sanctity of married life.

Above and beyond, however, this unfair but minor point, there can be no doubt in the mind of any honest person who has followed the skilled literature of France on her own decline, the report of the Royal Commission in New South Wales, and the evidence brought forward by expert medical opinion, that the warning in the Bishop's charge is founded on solid fact, while the ground of Mr. Barclay's apologetic is vague, shadowy, and elusive.

One is forced to ask, Does Mr. Barclay know the facts ? Or is he hiding his real knowledge for the better conduct of his attack ? In either case his implied accusation of insufficient knowledge recoils upon himself. If his ignorance of evil be due to innocence, he 'should have acquainted himself better with the subject' before writing. If his ignorance be assumed, or if, as portions of his paper suggest, he is the secret apologist of 'prevention,' by so much the more does he deserve disapproval and rebuke.

V

It is no good trifling with facts :

- (1) Our birth rate is steadily declining.
- (2) This is due to 'artificial prevention.'
- (3) The illegitimate birth rate is affected as well as the 'legitimate,' and from the same cause ; therefore, the illegitimate birth rate is no longer a criterion of morality.
- (4) This is slowly bringing grievous physical, moral, and social evils on the whole community.

VI

The practical gynaecological surgeon, the visiting clergy, and the medical practitioner approach this subject from one side, the pure statistician from the other.

With us, the doctors and the clergy, it is the habit, or evil, or sin of artificial prevention—whatever you like to call it—which forces itself continually on our notice, and it is this which leads us to take

a special interest in the declining birth rate as being finally the most salient outward or public expression of a secret habit. With the pure statistician, on the other, and with those who, like Mr. Barclay, assume this *rôle*, the 'effect' is the real or supposed object of their chief interest, and the cause is obscured.

There are dangers on both sides. We must be glad to be instructed in better methods of 'correcting' our statistics, and in the recognition and examination of any economic factors that may (a) conduce independently to the lowering of the birth rate or (b) conduce to prevention.⁷ On the other hand, *they* should not ignore the cause, which is 'staring them in the face' if they could only know it as we do. We, being satisfied as to the main cause, have been studying for some years now, not so much the fatal progress of the declining birth rate⁸ as the more immediate physical, moral, and social results of the artificial prevention of conception.

Most of the physical results (though they have been discussed, and, in no uncertain language, in the literature of my profession) are not fit for general discussion; but if we see, as we believe, in addition to disease, grave moral and social dangers arising and growing, are we to be dumb and hold our peace? We are placed in positions of trust; we are, in some special sense (both of us), guardians of the sanctity and honour of English family life, and we have social as well as professional rights and responsibilities.

It is the widespread and insidious invasion of the morality of family life, and in some cities or neighbourhoods its almost threatened extinction, which demand plain speaking.

The mothers of the age just passed are recommending 'prevention' to their children. The married, with no sense of shame, air their knowledge in the company of the unmarried, and, with a bastard 'spirituality,' sneer at the families of their purer neighbours. Even the advertiser sends through His Majesty's Post Office unsought his

⁷ One of the most important of these appears to be the want of steady work and the lack of mutual, skilled, and trustworthy help in the choice of trades, professions, or callings for our boys and young men. In one of the chapters of the remarkable work by Professor A. Harnack on the *Expansion of Christianity* he deals, if I remember rightly, with the social work of the early Christians. If any Christian stranger or convert joined the Church (at Ephesus or Corinth or elsewhere) work was found for him by the members of the Church. If he 'would not work, neither should he eat' (St. Paul, 2 Thess. iii. 10). If no work could at once be obtained, though the stranger was willing to work, the Church maintained him until work was found for him. Such, it seems to me, are the principles which should govern a Christian State, or, failing the possibility of concerted action by the State, the principles 'which will have again to govern the Church in the future. If we can provide work, and remunerative work, (1) on the land, or (2) by increasing manufactures, or (3) by training the neglected boys of our age for colonisation abroad, we shall do much to encourage the bearing of moral burdens and finally change them into blessings.'

⁸ I notice as I write that the London record for 1904, which has been just published, is the lowest birth rate since the institution of civil registration.

list of artificial preventives to the homes of the newly wedded ! What this is leading to is better imagined than described.

I have always held that the great ideal of the large and cultured family, where plain living, high thinking, and holy aspiration are the three great features of the upbringing, is the very highest ideal of Christian civilisation, and have been glad to recognise and remember that the British Church from before the coming of St. Augustine, and, to some extent, through all the centuries since, has specially guarded the privileges and sanctity of family life. In spite of many and grievous lapses, too, I cannot help thinking that from the family life of the country parsonage and the dissenting 'manse' a vivifying stream of life has, up till now, been constantly spreading through English society, making it cleaner and purer ; and if this high ideal (so often, as I remember it, realised in practice) is to perish, I know of nothing exactly to take its place. It may be generations before the old traditions are entirely lost, but the old order is already changing. I am not—I will not be—wholly pessimistic. Some good will arise out of evil, though I cannot but foresee that the good will have its sorrowful side.

Some of the best and noblest of our boys and girls will be—nay, are already being—repelled by modern married life and all its dangerous atmosphere. They may hardly know the reason of their choice, but an increasing number of these 'best' will instinctively choose in the future the life of the brotherhood or convent, where there appears to be no hindrance to the peace and satisfaction of the heavenly walk, rather than a life, however alluring, which never will have, which never can have, the continuous sanction and presence and blessing of the Highest. A new 'quest of the holy Grail' will arise. We shall not lack our Percevales and Galahads, nor Sir Percevale's sister nor good Sir Bors ; but when the cultured family of knightly sons and queen-like daughters has vanished, and given place to the *ménage* of one, the sacred fellowship of the Table Round will once again be broken.

JOHN W. TAYLOR.

THE CHILDREN OF THE CLERGY

FULLER, in his *History of the Worthies of England*,¹ has a curious section under the heading, 'That the children of Clergymen have been as successful as the Sons of Men of other Professions.' 'There goeth a common report,' he says, 'no less uncharitable than untrue, yet meeting with many believers thereof, as if clergymen's sons were generally unfortunate, like the sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, dissolute in their lives, and doleful in their deaths.' He does not deny 'but that our English clergy have been unhappy in their offspring (though not above the proportion of other professions)'; and he mentions three 'not unprobable' reasons for their unhappiness:

First, if fellows of Colleges, they are ancient before they marry. Secondly, their children then are all Benjamins—I mean 'the children of their old age'—and thereupon by their fathers (to take off as much as we may the weight of the fault from the weaker sex) cockered and indulged, which I neither defend nor excuse, but bemoan and condemn. Thirdly, such children, after their father's death, are left, in their minority, to the careless care of friends and executors, who too often discharge not their due trust in their education; whence it is such orphans too often embrace wild courses to their own destructions.

But he concludes that, on the whole, 'clergymen's children have not been more unfortunate, but more observed, than the children of the parents of other professions.' At the end of the section he adds:

It is easy for any to guess out of what quiver this envenomed arrow was first shot against the children of clergymen, namely from the Church of Rome, who, in their jurisdiction, forbid the banns of all clergymen, against the law of nature, Scripture, and the practice of the primitive Church; and in other places unsubjected to their power, bespatter the posterity of the clergy with their scandalous tongues.

Fuller himself, indeed, was the husband of two wives and the father of several children; it is possible, therefore, that his experience of domestic life was the whetstone which sharpened the edge of his temper or his wit; but his stricture upon the celibate life of the clergy in the Church of Rome, if it was not entirely unprovoked, need hardly have been couched in language so stern or so sweeping.

The celibacy enforced upon all the Roman Catholic clergy by the

uncompromising rule of Hildebrand is a critical instance of the power which one man's will may exercise, in spite of strong natural inclination, upon a large number of human beings through many ages. If there is any historical parallel to it, I know not where it can be found, unless in the rule of abstinence from all intoxicating liquors as imposed by Mahomet upon the votaries of Islam all the world over. But a battle against human nature is always a perilous venture ; and when it is fought over a wide area of humanity, Nature is apt in the end to win the day. No impartial student of ecclesiastical history will deny that compulsory celibacy has been the parent of grave evils. But against the evils are to be set some high results. It is probable that a system of clerical celibacy produces lives both nobler and more ignoble than are seen in a Church where the clergy are free to marry. The successes are better, but the failures are worse. A priest may be above matrimony—or below it. In the epigrammatic phrase which Aristotle applies to such persons as show themselves incapable of participating in civil society, the priest who does not marry is $\eta\thetaηρίου\eta\thetaεός$, or, to put it in more modern phraseology, he is either a sinner or a saint.

The late Mr. Lecky, in a remarkable passage of his *History of European Morals*,² has admirably drawn out the distinction between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant clergy. 'Where the vow of celibacy,' he says, 'is faithfully observed, a character . . . is formed, which with very grave and deadly faults combines some of the noblest excellencies to which humanity can attain.' While he recognises the narrowness, the hardness, the fanaticism, the distorted sympathy of a priesthood which is bound by vows taken in youth to a lifelong celibacy, 'no other body of men,' he adds, 'have ever exhibited a more single-minded and unworldly zeal, refracted by no personal interests, sacrificing to duty the dearest of earthly objects, and confronting with undaunted heroism every form of hardship, of suffering, and of death.' It is a softer virtue, less impressive, but not, perhaps, less attractive, which he ascribes to the Protestant clergy : 'Nowhere, it may be confidently asserted, does Christianity assume a more beneficial or a more winning form than in those gentle clerical households which stud our land, constituting, as Coleridge said, "the one idyll of modern life," the most perfect type of domestic peace, the centre of civilisation in the remotest village.' To the married clergyman, and not less truly to the clergyman's wife, a unique sphere of happiness and usefulness lies open.

His religious convictions will be revealed by a higher and deeper moral tone, by a more scrupulous purity in word and action, by an all-persuasive gentleness which refines, and softens, and mellows, and adds as much to the charm as to the excellence of the character in which it is displayed. In visiting the sick, relieving the poor, instructing the young, and discharging a thousand

² Vol. ii. chap. v. ('The Position of Women'), pp. 384-5 (81d edition).

delicate offices for which a woman's tact is especially needed, his wife finds a sphere of labour which is at once intensely active and intensely feminine, and her example is not less beneficial than her ministrations.

It is not my wish in this paper to follow out Mr. Lecky's contrast. But in any just estimate of the advantages attaching to a married or a celibate clergy it is necessary to take account of the part which the children of the clergy have played in the national life. The enforced celibacy of the clergy means the withdrawal of a large part of the male citizens of a country from the duty of begetting and educating children. This may be a serious evil in a country like France, which stands in need of an increased population. It is serious everywhere if the citizens who cannot become parents are, as the clergy are or ought to be, a class distinguished by such qualities as gentleness, sympathy, refinement, cultivation, humanity, piety. For unless the law of heredity counts for nothing, it is the interest of the State that the best citizens should enjoy the privileges and discharge the obligations of parentage. That any serious and virtuous part of the community should be debarred or should debar itself from exercising the parental office cannot but be an injury to the body politic. For upon the whole it is true, with whatever limitations or exceptions, that brave and virtuous and clever parents will beget brave and virtuous and clever children, or at least will beget such children more frequently than parents of an opposite character.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis;
Est in iuvencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus, neque imbellem feroce
Progernerant aquilae columbam.

It has sometimes seemed to me, therefore, that such students of sociology as are interested in the question of a celibate or a married clergy might be helped to a just conclusion by ascertaining the sum total, so to call it, of the contribution, whether intellectual, or ethical, or spiritual, which the clergy of Great Britain have, since the Reformation, made, in the persons of their children, to the treasury of the national life.

That splendid literary monument, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has for the first time in English history rendered such an estimate possible. It has been my self-imposed task to examine the parentage of every person whose name occurs in the sixty-three original and the three supplementary volumes of the Dictionary; and if I confine myself to the centuries succeeding the Reformation, during which the Protestant clergy have been allowed to marry, it is safe to assert not only that the clerical profession has sent out an immense number of children who, according to the language of the Bidding Prayer in the ancient universities, have 'served God both in Church and State' with success and distinction, but that no other

profession has sent out so many children equally successful and equally distinguished.

To begin with the mere enumeration of names : Although there are, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a good many names of sons or daughters of the clergy which can scarcely be said to merit national recognition, yet the names which I marked as worthy of remembrance for some service performed in religion, or politics, or literature, or science, or art, or commerce, or philanthropy, or warfare, or some other aspect of the various life of the nation, amounted to 1,270. Large as this number is, it consists solely of men and women whose fathers were clergymen or ministers of religion ; it takes no account of the many more who were grandchildren either on their fathers' or their mothers' side, or still more remote descendants and relations, of clergymen or ministers. Yet even so it allows something not far short of four hundred names for each century since the Reformation.

The significance of these figures becomes enhanced by a comparison between the clerical and other professions. It is natural to compare the clergy with the doctors or the lawyers ; for these are also members of learned professions, and each of these professions is divisible into two separate bodies—physicians and surgeons on the one hand, barristers and solicitors on the other—corresponding more or less with the distinction between the episcopalian and the non-episcopalian clergy. Neither the medical nor the legal profession has at any time been subjected to a rule of compulsory celibacy, except so far as their members were in holy orders. But with the Church the medical profession was never identified or closely associated, and the legal profession ceased to be so at an early date.

It is, therefore, a remarkable result of the statistics afforded by the *Dictionary of National Biography* that, while the eminent or prominent children of the clergy since the Reformation have, as is stated above, been 1,270, the children of lawyers and of doctors who have attained eminence or prominence in all English history have, upon a calculation as accurate as it has proved possible to make, been respectively 510 and 350.

If the superiority of the legal over the medical profession, as contributing in this way to the strength of the national life, should excite some surprise, it must not be forgotten that a certain number of men, who are now and have for a long time been called to the Bar, cannot be said to have regularly practised their profession. Thus the fathers of sons so illustrious as Jonathan Swift and George Canning were little more than nominal barristers. Nor, indeed, is the parentage of the best known Englishmen in the early days of English history always ascertainable. It is right, therefore, to receive such conclusions as this article suggests in a cautious spirit. But the superiority which the clergy enjoy, in respect of their children, to the

other professions lies beyond dispute. The children of the clergy who have served the State with distinction since the Reformation have exceeded by more than four hundred the similarly distinguished children of members of the legal and medical professions put together, whether since the Reformation or before it. The superiority has been one not of numbers only but of degree. From clerical homes have sprung sons more distinguished, and a larger number of more distinguished sons, than from the homes of any secular profession.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to do more than illustrate the relation of the clergy through their children to the general strength and talent and virtue of the State in its various departments by choosing a hundred or more of the most famous names descending from a clerical parentage. Such an enumeration, however, will suffice to determine whether the marriage of the clergy is a national gain or loss. The names are roughly classified according to the study or profession or pursuit in which the persons who are mentioned have distinguished themselves ; but not seldom the distinction has been many-sided.

There is an interest, I think, attaching not only to the number of the children of the clergy who have done good service, but to their particular lines of service. It is a reasonable expectation that children will be found to attain their preponderant distinction in the profession of their fathers, and the *Dictionary of National Biography* bears it out. The continuous renown of such families as the Yorkes and the Coleridges in the law, of the Wordsworths and the Sumners in the Church, of the Darwins in science, of the Arnolds in literature, is familiar to students of modern English life. As literary men have been in large proportion the sons of literary men, politicians of politicians, lawyers of lawyers, and actors of actors, so have clergymen habitually been born and bred in clerical homes. I find, then, as many as 350 names of more or less well-known men who have not only been the sons of clergymen, but have themselves been clergymen. Among them are not a few whose deeds are written in golden letters upon the roll of their country's fame.

The story of St. Patrick's life has been lately told anew by Professor Bury, and he frankly accepts the tradition of St. Patrick's clerical descent. 'Calpurnius,' he says, *i.e.* the father of St. Patrick, 'belonged to the class of decurions,' or town councillors, 'who had sought ordination. He was a Christian deacon, and his father before him had been a Christian presbyter.'³ The long episcopal line of the sons of the clergy includes at least six archbishops, viz.: Dolben, Herring, Howley; Leighton, Temison, and Whately. It is curious that the father of Archbishop Leighton was a physician as well as a clergyman, and that, while he was inhibited by the Bishop of London from preaching because of his antagonism to episcopacy, he was interdicted by the

³ *The Life of St. Patrick*, p. 20.

College of Physicians from practising medicine as not possessing a proper medical degree. He had both graduated in medicine and had been ordained on the Continent. But, whatever may have been the father's disqualifications or deficiencies, the son is one of the lights of the Christian Church. No spirit purer or holier than his has adorned the Scotch or English episcopate, and he was justified at the end of his long life in saying of himself that he had done his 'utmost to repair the temple of the Lord.'

The most notable bishops who have themselves been sons of clergymen are Atterbury, Beveridge, Burnet, Jeremy Collier, Gauden, Heber, Hoadly, Horsley, Lowth, Pearson, Sherlock, and Thirlwall. There is scarcely any aspect of English history (apart from such activities as are necessarily denied to the clergy) but it has been touched, and in general honoured, by one or other of their names—whether politics, or literature, or theology, or oratory, or dialectics, or the fate of exile from England, or a missionary life and death in India.

Clerical homes have been the birthplaces of other divines, not, indeed, bishops, but some of them weightier than most bishops, such as Waterland, who might, if he would, have been promoted to the See of Llandaff; Mansel, who adorned the deanery of St. Paul's by philosophy no less than by theology; Lardner, Frederick Denison Maurice, Matthew Henry the commentator upon the Bible, Lightfoot the Hebraist, Paley, and Conyers Middleton. Nor are these all, or perhaps the greatest, clerical sons of the clergy. John and Charles Wesley, the authors of the Methodist revival, with its far-reaching ecclesiastical and national consequences, were respectively the fifteenth and eighteenth children of Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire. There was ever in the heart of the Wesleys a deep loyalty to the Church which had been their father's, and was, as they felt, truly their own—such a loyalty as moved John Wesley on his death-bed to dissuade his followers from leaving the Church of their ancestors, and drew from Charles Wesley, in a letter to Nelson, the strong phrase, 'Rather than see thee a dissenting minister, I wish to see thee smiling in thy coffin.' But the Methodist revival is not the only great religious movement which owes its inspiration to the Church. John Keble, the poet of the *Christian Year*, was the son of the vicar of Coln St. Aldwyne in Gloucestershire. Two other figures there have been, picturesque but upon the whole strangely solitary, in modern days, born in homes different perhaps in all respects except in their religious character, Dean Stanley, son of a clergyman who rose to be Bishop of Norwich, and Charles Haddon Spurgeon, son of a humble pastor at Kelvedon in Essex.

Religion is near to philanthropy. In the religious life faith without works is dead. It can be no wonder, then, that the benefactors and reformers of society should often have been bred in clerical homes.

Among them it will be enough to mention the names of two men imperishably connected with the abolition of the African slave trade, Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp.

But if religion, as is natural, if philanthropy owes a debt to clerical homes, what is to be said of philosophy, scholarship, science, and art?

The Church counts, as the children of her clergy, philosophers so eminent and so different as Cudworth, Hartley, Hobbes, Reid, Dugald Stewart, and, in recent days, Thomas Hill Green and Henry Sidgwick.

The greatest names in British art are also hers, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Sir Christopher Wren; and these are names so illustrious that their brilliancy throws all others into the shade, although those others include a Sir David Wilkie or a Sir George Gilbert Scott. And if the greatest names in science or learning are not hers also, yet Roger Cotes, the young friend of whom Sir Isaac Newton said, 'Had Cotes lived we might have known something'; Adam Sedgwick and George John Romanes, eminent as they were at various times in various branches of scientific study; Sir John Gardner Wilkinson the Egyptologist, Robert Cæsar Childers the Orientalist, may suffice to deliver the homes of the clergy from the reproach of sterility in the wide and widening field of human knowledge. She is justly proud of sons so famous in medicine and surgery as Abercrombie, Abernethy and Jenner, Sir Charles Bell, and Sir Benjamin Brodie. It is a fact, too, no less interesting than striking, that Harcourt, the founder of the British Association; Hastings, the founder of the British Medical Association; and Knight, the first principal librarian of the British Museum, were all sons of clergymen.

The Church has given to the House of Lords at least five Lord Chancellors: Lord Talbot de Hensol, Lord Campbell, who was not Lord Chancellor only, but the biographer of all Lord Chancellors, Lord Cranworth, the Earl of Selborne, and Lord Herschell.

She has given to the world of politics such men as Sir Samuel Morland, Sir Edwin Sandys, Carstares, Thurloe, Sir Philip Francis, who may claim a place also in the history of letters and of the Empire, and in recent days Robert Lowe, afterwards Viscount Sherbrooke, W. E. Forster, the founder of a national system of education, and H. C. E. Childers. She has given to the Army Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir John Inglis the defender of Lucknow, Lord Harris of Seringapatam, and Sir Abraham Roberts, the father of Lord Roberts, soldiers who all by a curious coincidence won their name and fame in India; and to the Navy Sir Hyde Parker, Viscount Hood, and, beyond and above all others, Nelson.

The contribution of the clerical homes of Great Britain to the service of the State abroad and at home has been signal in the past; and it is not less signal to-day. For in the catalogue of Englishmen who have stamped their names as founders or conquerors or administrators upon the imperial history of the British Empire in recent years

there are none who stand higher than the late Mr. Rhodes and Lord Curzon of Kedleston.

But it is in literature that the sons and daughters of the clergy have achieved their supreme distinction. If English literature is, as it may be justly held to be, the richest, the most enduring treasure of the Anglo-Saxon race, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that that literature would be robbed of half its glory if so much of it as has been contributed by the sons and daughters of the clergy were taken away. For among the poets who were born in clerical homes are Ben Jonson, Fletcher, Marvell, Otway, Thomson, Tickell, Cowper, and Tennyson ; among the historians, Alison, Fuller, Hallam, Robertson, and Froude ; among the novelists, Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë and her sisters, Mrs. Gaskell, and Charles Kingsley ; among the essayists, Addison and Hazlitt ; among the scholars, Casaubon ; among the travellers, Arthur Young ; among the men of letters who achieved an equal success in many branches of literature, Oliver Goldsmith, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Matthew Arnold. Nor are these all. What a crowd of names, scarcely less famous perhaps than these, comes flooding upon the memory in the thought even of the literature of the nineteenth century—Calverley, Hawker, Leigh Hunt, Henry Kingsley, G. A. Lawrence (the author of *Guy Livingstone*), Lockhart (the son-in-law and biographer of Sir Walter Scott), Mark Pattison, Frederick Tennyson and Charles Tennyson-Turner, W. N. Molesworth, Moultrie, Blackmore, Myers, and many others, all alike showing the wealth of the literary stream which has flown, like a Pactolus, from the parsonages and manses of Great Britain to enrich the nation, the Empire, and the Anglo-Saxon race !

The names enumerated in this article are but a fraction, although the most distinguished part, of the 1,270 names gathered from the pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But it is the sum total of the 1,270 names which can alone adequately represent what has been the service rendered by the sons and daughters of the clergy to the State.

It is not perhaps wonderful that the clerical homes of Great Britain should have proved to be a 'soil' prolific of learning and virtue and patriotic devotion. For nowhere is domestic life more favourable to the cultivation of high moral qualities. The clergy are a body of citizens whose calling in life tends, or ought to tend, to raise them a little above the common level of humanity. They are the expositors of lofty motives and duties ; they ought, therefore, to feel them and practise them. They have received the education of gentlemen. They live for the most part in such circumstances as do not prohibit culture, and do not permit luxury or extravagance. The clergy, or at least the rural clergy, possess a certain leisure which they can spend, and generally do spend, in the training of their children. The children are brought up often, if not always, in simple natural

surroundings, amidst the influence of elevating examples and in sympathy with great and noble thoughts, not without some knowledge of history nor without some desire of distinction, but with definite religious impressions and in obedience to the Divine Book. If I were to look anywhere for the fountain-head of healthy, vigorous lives and elevated ideas and dignified characters, it would seem natural to look to the country homes of the clergy.

But whatever be the reason of the part which the children of the clergy have played for three or four centuries in the national life of Great Britain, the fact is undeniable. No single source has contributed so much to the learning and energy and honour of the nation as its clerical homes. The 'sons of the manse' have long since won a repute which has become proverbial in Scotland. Not less distinguished or devoted have been the children who have sprung from the rectories and vicarages of England.

But the point of this article is not that the sons and daughters of the clergy have rendered greater service to the State than any other class. That may be the case ; I believe it to be so ; but it is not the conclusion upon which I am anxious to insist. It is rather that a State cannot afford to lose the virile and noble strength of its clerical homes. It is that the Church, in forbidding or discouraging the marriage of the clergy, pays regard exclusively to her own supposed interest, and not to civic or national efficiency. For whatever may be the spiritual or ecclesiastical benefit of the unmarried state—if, indeed, there be any at all—it remains true that the enforced celibacy of the clergy is, and is proved to be, necessarily a serious impoverishment of the national life.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

*AN OFFICIAL REGISTRATION OF PRIVATE
ART-COLLECTIONS*

THE present moment, when we are looking to a new Government for reform of all things, seems one propitious to a scheme for remedying that most defective, as also most abused, of all our ways—our method of dealing with treasures of art.

The incident which is dividing public, or at any rate newspaper, interest with the General Election is that of the Rokeby Velasquez.

It is an incident not novel in our history, though presenting certain new features. Not for the first time have the guardians of our National Museums overlooked or rejected a work of art, which might have been purchased direct from the owner at a moderate price, to learn afterwards that they have missed a unique opportunity. Whatever the course adopted in the present case—whether the Velasquez be secured for the nation at the enhanced price asked by the dealer or syndicate now in possession, or whether it be allowed to pass finally out of the country—precedent may be found in the annals of the British Museum and the National Gallery.

At all times English institutions and the English Government have shown themselves, in matters of art, notoriously bad buyers; exceedingly close-fisted in the main, but indulging in occasional outbursts of reckless extravagance. If the matter were carefully looked into, it might transpire that the English themselves rather than the dreaded Berlin Museum or even American millionaires, were responsible for the enormous rise of late years in the price of pictures. The 40,000*l.* now asked for a Velasquez of the first order of importance is moderate in comparison with the 70,000*l.* given by so astute an administrator of finance as Mr. Gladstone for the 'Ansidei Madonna,' a work by no means one of Raphael's best, nor specially characteristic of the master. Again, a picture which most writers upon Velasquez agree in thinking that artist's finest work outside the Prado, and which has in any case, owing to the restrictions placed by Catholic Spain upon the painting of the female nude, a unique place both as a work of art and in the history of Velasquez and of Spanish painting, is well worth two or three times more than the poor Titian, repainted as to the face and apparently preserving only in a sleeve the

direct touch of the artist, for which the National Gallery gave in 1904 the sum of 30,000*l.*

Two blacks do not, however, make a white, and since the resources of the nation for art purchase do not rise in proportion to the sums given, it is, to say the least, doubtful whether precedents in sensational extravagance should be followed any more than precedents in oversight and blunder. The 'Ansidei Madonna' and the so-called 'Ariosto' were, it is admitted, paid for at an exorbitant rate. Does it follow that we should pay 40,000*l.* even for a masterpiece if, as seems certain, the picture might have been secured at a far lower sum could the intervention of a middle-man have been avoided?

A portion of the blame in this case has been laid to the late Government for the neglect to appoint a new director to the National Gallery, and undoubtedly a strong and watchful director, even when he has a heavy body of trustees to move, can effect something in a public institution. But the inadequacy of our existing organisation, even when complete, to keep watch upon and secure judiciously for England the treasures which come into the market, has been brought home to us by too long a list of blunders for confidence to be placed in it again. It would seem, indeed, that just now the lack of a director is complained of chiefly because there is no director to serve as scapegoat. A few years only have elapsed since there appeared in the *Saturday Review* certain articles on recent purchases at the National Gallery, which attacked the then director, and which, though disfigured by a tone of personal animosity, undoubtedly made good some of their charges of blunder. Neither can the Gallery be congratulated on an addition to its pictures made yet more recently—a work called a Lazzaro Bastiani—a very fair piece, no doubt, of modern repainting in the manner of that mediocre Venetian master. True, not the nation, but only the 'lovers of art,' have paid for it.

Unworthy acquisitions, however, whether by gift or purchase, are not what must be chiefly lamented in the history of our galleries, but rather the frequent rejection of desirable works. It is always possible to weed; for instance, more than one picture now exhibited in the National Gallery might profitably exchange places with the superb 'Leda and the Swan' by, or after, Michelangelo, still relegated, from strange prudery, to the basement. But a good thing once lodged in Boston, New York, or Berlin, is lost beyond reclaim.

The following list, taken almost at random, shows a few of the treasures which have passed to Berlin of late years:

- A. Dürer: 'Madonna with the Siskin' (1892, Marquis of Lothian).
- „ „ 'Portrait of Friedrich der Weise' (1882, Hamilton Collection).
- „ „ 'Portrait of a Young Woman' (1893, formerly Cholmondeley Collection).

A. Dürer: 'Portrait of a Young Girl' (1899, presented *after being on sale in London*).

M. Schongauer: The 'Nativity' (1902, in the market).

Rembrandt: 'Portrait of Anslo' (1894, Lord Ashburnham).

J. van Eyck: 'Knight of the Golden Fleece,' named by Mr. Weale 'Baldwin de Lanoy' (1902, formerly attributed to Mantegna. Mr. Weale, in a letter to the *Times*, stated that *it was offered to the National Gallery and refused*).

Bartolommeo Montagna: Altarpiece, 'Noli me tangere' (1894: Ashburnham Collection).

Other examples are the four fine Van Dycks—two from the Peel collection (1900), and two others purchased in England in 1897 and 1901; the Domenico Veneziano from the Ashburnham collection; the portrait by Holbein from the Millais sale (1897); and the splendid Dutch pictures from the Adrian Hope collection.

The reading of Retford's famous 'Art Sales,' or of Mr. Roberts's entertaining 'Memorials of Christie's,' reminds us painfully of one after another irreparable loss. Picked instances have lately been circulated in the press in connection with the Velasquez. I do not propose to recapitulate these, but shall confine myself to one or two instances which seem to have been overlooked or forgotten. The case of the Lawrence drawings is one of the most striking. Sir Thomas Lawrence directed in his will that the National Gallery should have the first option of buying his collection of drawings by Old Masters at the moderate valuation of 18,000*l.* The National Gallery declined, as did also the successive patrons of the fine arts to whom the option then fell, and the collection, after many adventures at home and abroad, was to a great extent dispersed. Eventually, it was owing to private subscription, supplemented by a generous contribution from Lord Eldon, that the remnant of this magnificent collection found its way in 1845 (Lawrence having died in 1830!) to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which thus became possessed of the unrivalled series of drawings by Michelangelo and Raphael that constitutes its peculiar glory.¹

Yet stranger was the apathy and blindness shown by the National Gallery in respect of the Wynne Ellis bequest. Here a collection was offered, not for purchase, but as a free gift. The case was brought back to my mind a few days ago while looking through the latest portfolio (8th Series) of the Dürer Society. On Plate II. is reproduced the fine 'Portrait of a Girl' now in the Heugel Collection

¹ For the fate of the drawings from the Lawrence collection, which eventually found their way back to England from the Continent, see the preface to Sir J. C. Robinson's *Drawings by Michelangelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford*.

in Paris. Mr. Montague Peartree, in his description (text, p. 3), observes

As is well known, Mr. Wynne Ellis, in 1876, left his entire collection to the National Gallery. The directors of that institution, however, were only prepared to accept about one-fourth of the bequest thus offered to them. Among the rejected works was the Arundel 'Girl's Portrait with the Plaited Hair' of 1497. This picture was then purchased by Sir J. C. Robinson and, after some further vicissitudes, has recently passed, at a considerable price, into the collection of M. Henri Héugel, of Paris. . . .

Here, apparently, in 1876, the Gallery had a director who committed a far greater sin than any of those laid by the *Saturday Review* at the door of Sir Edward Poynter. The rejection of three-quarters of the Wynne Ellis bequest in itself would be incredible,² but that it should have involved the rejection of a Dürer of the first order at a time when the Gallery possessed no single example by that master, passes all human comprehension. Though the Berlin Museum purchased no fewer than four Dürers out of England between 1882 and 1899, our National Gallery continued without a Dürer till the year 1904, when it purchased—this time with admirable judgment and discretion—the fine portrait by Dürer of his father (No. 1938 in Room XV.),³ which had not long before passed into Lord Northampton's collection from that of Louisa, Lady Ashburton. In connection with this Dürer it is not uninstructive to look up the National Gallery's Report to Parliament for the year 1904 (p. 7). We there find that it was purchased from Lord Northampton *together with* Bartholomäus van der Helst's 'Portrait of a Lady' (No. 193 in Room X.) for 10,000*l.* Immediately after, the Report goes on to mention the so-called 'Ariosto' by Titian, already referred to, as purchased from Sir George Donaldson for 30,000*l.* 'out of a Parliamentary grant in aid for 9,000*l.*, and a balance obtained by private subscription.' The picture had originally belonged to Lord Darnley, the owner of another and far more splendid Titian, the 'Europa and the Bull,' which, some years ago, passed without protest to America. Sir George Donaldson is a well-known and respected art critic; I believe that, like Mr. Agnew, he has shown himself a frequent benefactor to the National Collections. This does not, however, alter the fact that there is a glaring discrepancy between the price paid for the mediocre Darnley Titian, which was obtained 'at second hand,' and that given for the incomparably finer Northampton Dürer (with the Bartholomäus van der Helst 'thrown in,' so to speak), which was obtained directly from the owner.

Enough of the National Gallery. If we turn to the British Museum, it is the same tale. To take only the department of 'Classical

² For details, and the account of the subsequent sale, see both Retford and Roberts in the cited works. The portrait, afterwards so notorious, of the 'Duchess of Devonshire,' attributed to Gainsborough, was also among the rejected pictures.

³ The attribution has been questioned by certain connoisseurs; it is none the less a magnificent portrait.

Antiquities,' with which I may be supposed to be most familiar, it opens there with the tragic history of the purchase of the Elgin Marbles, which almost cost Haydon his life, and was only brought to a successful termination by the intervention of foreign experts, among whom was Canova. In those early days the question was one rather of the purchase of works brought from abroad than of works yielded by English private collections, but the tale of meanness and incompetence is the same. Let us hear part of it unfolded by D. E. Williams in his entertaining *Life of Sir Thomas Lawrence*, published in 1831, near in time, therefore, to the transactions described :

In 1816, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine into the qualities and value of the Elgin Marbles, and to report to the House upon the expediency of purchasing them, as a nucleus of a National Gallery of Sculpture.

The proceedings of the Committee, and the evidence taken by it, afford an abundant scope for the ridiculous. More contradictory testimony was never produced in what lawyers technically call a Horse Cause.

It is very remarkable that, whilst the Government of England has been proverbial, throughout every region of the earth, for an expenditure almost insanely profligate, it has been of all governments the most disreputably mean with respect to promoting science, literature, and the arts.

The Townleyan collection of Marbles was purchased for the British Museum in June 1805; but the Committee remarked that 'They were in excellent condition, with the surface perfect, and, where injured, they were generally well restored, and perfectly adapted for the decoration, and almost for the ornamental furniture, of a private house.' This is rather an odd view of the subject, but the Committee, in the same strain, proceed—'The Townleyan Marbles being entire, are, in a commercial point of view, the most valuable of the two' (the Elgin). After this, from a Committee of the House of Commons, let no man discredit the royal saying—I always buy Mr. —'s paintings, they are so beautifully shiny, and look as smooth as glass.'

Our Government refused to give 6,000*l.* for the Egina Marbles, because 'Their real value was supposed not to exceed 4,000*l.*, at which Lusieri estimated them.' The Bavarian Government, however, did not consider Lusieri as a saint of infallibility, and it purchased them for 6,000*l.*, a sum, considering the value of money, and the nature of the revenue of Bavaria, equal to five times six thousand pounds, in the then depreciated paper currency of England.

The Marbles of Phygalia (Arcadia) were purchased for the British Museum for 15,000*l.*; but the Committee lament that the rate of exchange increased the amount to 19,000*l.*, and declare this to be more than equal to their value, though, with an inexplicable inconsistency, they immediately acknowledge that they would have sold for this sum to a private purchaser.

Mr. Perceval, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, agreed, in the first instance, to give the Earl of Elgin 30,000*l.*, 'provided Lord Elgin should make out, to the satisfaction of a Committee of the House of Commons, that he had expended so much in acquiring and transporting' (his Collection). This had little to do with the subject; but, after a lapse of about five years, and the arrival of eighty additional cases, and the augmentation of the collection by the addition of a collection of medals, the Committee consented to increase the offer to 35,000*l.*, but this partly in consideration of what they are pleased to term the rise, or, in other words, the fall, in the value of money. To give more money for an object, because money has risen in value, might form a good argument in suing out a certain description of statute from the Court of Chancery.

In the early part of the second half of last century the British Museum was, it is true, enlarged at a pace which placed it at the head of all European collections of antique art. But this was owing not so much to any impulse given by Government or to any special enthusiasm, as to the splendid achievements, in his double capacity as excavator and buyer, of Sir Charles Newton, who 'in the ten years 1864-74 alone was enabled to purchase no less than five important collections of classical antiquities: the Farnese, the two great series of Castellani, the Pourtales, and the Blacas collections, representing in special grants upwards of 100,000*l.*' (Cecil Smith in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Above all, he brought from Halikarnassos the sculptures of Skopas to the Museum which already held the Pheidian marbles from the Parthenon. Under his guidance, too, the results of numerous other excavations, like those of Mr. Wood in Ephesus, flowed into the Museum. It was doubtless not possible to continue indefinitely expenditure on this grandiose scale. In fact, the protective laws soon put forth by Greece and Turkey to prevent the capture by foreigners of works of art excavated on their soil effectively checked such wholesale collecting as Newton's. After his retirement, and when the spell of his enthusiasm and learning was no longer there to persuade lukewarm ministries to unloose their purse-strings, the Museum began once more to let opportunity slip. From private collections one piece after another has gone to the Continent or to America. Here, again, private purchasers, mostly German or American, show themselves more alert than either 'trustees' or 'directors.' Why, to quote quite recent instances only, have a fine Polykleitan head from the Nelson collection, and the beautiful head of a goddess, once in the possession of Lord Ronald Gower, 'gone to America?' Why was Mr. Pierpont Morgan allowed, under the very eyes of the British Museum, to purchase the lovely bronze Eros, which formed such a centre of interest at the Exhibition of Greek Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903? In this case, it is true, we have so far not exactly been losers, since Mr. Morgan, with characteristic generosity, allows the bronze to be exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, just as he allows the large altar-piece by Raphael, from the Colonna collection, for which he gave, I believe, the long sum of 100,000*l.*, to hang in the National Gallery by the side of the 'Ansiedi Madonna.' Still, Mr. Morgan is an American, and we may be pardoned for saying that we wish the exquisite bronze were safely lodged for perpetuity in our national Museum. Why, again, should the remarkable archaic bronze horseman, also exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, pass through so many hands before becoming, in 1904, the possession, at something over 1,200*l.*, I believe, of the British Museum, who could have purchased it at the time of the sale of the Forman collection, to which it belonged, for

about 250*l.* ?⁴ I was able to follow the history of this unique bronze somewhat closely. After the Forman sale it was apparently lost sight of till my husband and I one day came across it in the beautiful rooms of Madame Lelong, the well-known Paris collector. On my return to England I revealed this to the then 'Keeper' of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, suggesting that the bronze might still be secured. I believe I was only laughed at for my pains. Shortly after Madame Lelong died, and when we were once more going round the Paris collections in January 1903, with a view to finding works suitable for the Exhibition of Greek Art, to be held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, we again came across our horseman at a well-known dealer's, where it had also been recognised by Mr. Charles Newton Robinson. Between us all we induced the committee of the club to accept the bronze for exhibition, although it was in the market, and one is glad to think that it never recrossed the Channel. After the close of the exhibition it was secured for the British Museum, Mr. Cecil Smith brilliantly inaugurating his Keepership, and, let us hope, a new era in buying, by purchasing, with the help of a subscription from the National Art Collections Fund, both the horseman and the exquisite bronze relief of 'Aphrodite and Anchises' from the Hawkins sale. 'All's well that ends well,' but it won't do to play too often at the game of Tarquin and the Sibyl.' Last May, when the Capel-Cure collection was sold at Christie's, a beautiful Roman tombstone, inscribed with the elegy of Donatus to his 'learned Pedana' passed into 'the market,' instead of to the British Museum. Neither the Editors of the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions, nor Buecheler in his *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, knew the modern whereabouts of the altar, which the present writer was so fortunate as to rediscover nearly two years before the sale. Only the other day the Museum lost three exquisite bronze $\lambda\epsilon\beta\eta\tau\epsilon s$, or caldron-shaped vessels, in the purest Greek style, which are now in America. A beautiful replica of the well-known 'Narcissus,' the statue of a young boy leaning on a short pillar and looking down with an expression compounded of Polykleitan melancholy and Attic grace, was, to my knowledge, in England only six months ago. A note in the *Burlington Magazine* for January informs us that the statue, of which, I believe, there is no other replica in England, has gone to Munich, presented to the Glyptothek by a sort of Bavarian 'Art Collections Fund.'

Enough has been said to show, if demonstration were still needed, that something is wrong with our national method of art purchase, and that our great public galleries are the last to benefit by the process of dispersion, now unquestionably set in, of the treasures in private collections all over England. Thanks to the collecting activity

⁴ I can only quote these figures from memory and approximately.

and artistic taste of past generations of Englishmen, in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, England is still richer in works of art than any country save Italy. Shall we show ourselves insensible to the value of this great inheritance, and rest acquiescent, if dissatisfied, under the reproach that we are become an inartistic nation, and, as such, must not hope to compete in the present race for possession with America and Germany? As well might we plead guilty to inherent business incapacity because other countries are now disputing our foremost place in the field of commerce.

The mischief surely is not lack of artistic feeling, but inadequate equipment of knowledge, and this, in its turn, is due to faulty organisation.

Our national buyers are probably no worse than any one else, not even than dealers, in judging the value of a work of art presented to their consideration for the first time, although, weighted by the sense of national responsibility, they may be unduly slow in venturing to bid, and so let many an opportunity slip. They are, however, undoubtedly behind dealers, as well as behind American and German buyers, in their knowledge of what is in the market, or likely to come into it. This may be due in a measure to individual failure in alertness, but since we find the same ignorance manifested time after time and in various museums and departments, it is vain to look for remedy to new directors or fresh bodies of trustees. Clearly knowledge must be facilitated, and some means provided, apart from the individual enterprise of a director, for bringing private collections and public galleries into closer touch.

The *Burlington Magazine*, in an able editorial (January 1906), proposes a scheme according to which two or three picked persons shall be entrusted with the task of reporting upon the private collections of England, and advising the National Gallery as to such limited number of masterpieces as must be secured to the nation, should they come into the market, 'at all costs,' while in respect of minor works of art the National Art Collections Fund shall undertake the responsibility of purchase.

Whatever two or three individuals there may be who could command the full confidence of the directors and trustees of our museums in the first capacity, it seems doubtful at present whether the National Art Collections Fund could hope to gain it in the second. Assuredly the Fund has already done good work, such as presenting a fine Watteau to the Dublin Gallery, and coming, in 1904, to the assistance of the British Museum in the matter of the two Greek bronzes referred to above. Nor can the zeal which they are now displaying in the projected purchase of the Velasquez at 40,000*l.* be ignored. Yet the Fund has also shown signs of inexperience, of a certain lack of judgment, as in the purchase for the National Gallery of the repaired Lazzaro Bastiani. Then, since the *Burlington* editorial asserts, of

the 'Venus and Cupid' by Velasquez, 'that the price proposed is considerably in excess of that which the owner would perhaps have been willing to accept had he been approached directly,' why should not the Fund, this 'embodiment of contemporary scholarship,' have found out long ago that the picture was for sale and left no stone unturned to secure it before it came into the hands of dealers?

At the same time the proposal of the *Burlington* editorial, that some outside body should be appointed to report upon the private treasures of the nation and to hold, as it were, a watching brief, is one in itself excellent. Only, such a body must be one fully representative of all artistic interests, and able to work with the authority of office as well as reputed knowledge. Indeed its formation should be preceded, I think, by the appointment of some preliminary committee to consider carefully what should be the character and powers of a body of artistic advisers to the nation.

Such a preliminary committee, representing in its members the various bodies already formed to protect the artistic interests of the country—the three great London Museums, for instance, the Hellenic Society, the Arundel Club, the newly formed Vasari Society, and of course the National Art Collections Fund—would, it is hoped, find it possible to approach the Government in view of obtaining the appointment of some *Royal Commission for inquiring into the Art Collections of the country and for the registration of their contents*. A Commission of this kind would have valuable precedent in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, founded in 1870, which works in concert with the Record Office. The new Commission would in the same way be affiliated to the National Gallery and the British Museum, probably also to the Victoria and Albert Museum, pending the time when we shall have a Ministry of the Fine Arts on the lines so ably advocated by Mr. M. H. Spielmann in this Review for last September.

The terms of the Royal Warrant appointing the Historical Manuscripts Commission would apply almost word for word to such a Commission for the registration of works of art as is now proposed. To give, for example, the most essential clause, putting into italics the few words which would need alteration, and giving in brackets what might be substituted:

Whereas it has been represented unto Us that there are belonging to many Institutions and private Families various collections of *Manuscripts and Papers* [rd. Works of Art] of general public interest, a knowledge of which would be of great utility in the illustration of *History, Constitutional Law, Science and General Literature* [rd. of History, of the History of Art, and of the Applied Arts and Crafts as well as of General Literature], and that in some cases these *Papers* [rd. Works of Art] are liable to be *lost or obliterated* [rd. mislaid or to change hands before any proper record has been made of them]: And whereas we are informed that many of the possessors of such *Manuscripts* [rd. Collections] would be willing to give access to them, and permit their contents to be made public, provided that nothing of a private character . . . should be divulged.

Its duties would be to report upon and tabulate the artistic contents, accumulated for centuries, in great historic houses and, while fulfilling the immediate function of watchdog for the national museums, it would have also a wider scope and reap for the public the benefits of the art treasures of England while they still remain in private hands.

There is, I think, every reason to believe that private owners would welcome the proposal for a Royal Commission for inquiry into collections of works of art as warmly as they welcomed the Historical MSS. Commission, who, in their first report (1870), were able to give the following account of their reception :

It is very gratifying to the Commissioners to state that Your Majesty's Commission has been fully appreciated and favourably received. Many collections, the existence of which was unknown, have been brought to light and submitted to the inspection of the Commissioners, in accordance, &c. . . . No less than 180 persons and heads of institutions expressed their willingness either to co-operate with the Commissioners or to request their aid in making known the contents of their collections, and so desirous were the possessors to assist the purpose indicated that Your Commissioners deemed it desirable, in the first instance, merely to undertake a preliminary examination of the collections, and to abstain from calendaring any of the papers.

It is happily true that in some few cases owners of great ancestral collections, heirs as well to a long scholarly tradition, and probably to great wealth, have already caused these collections to be placed, as regards, at any rate, cataloguing and arrangement, on much the same footing as a public museum. But, after all, it is not all owners even of hereditary treasures who are able or willing to keep a permanent librarian or curator. To such as cannot, a Commission for inquiry into works of art should come as a real boon, helping them to discover where the real strength of their collection lies, and discard old high-flown attributions which invariably bring discredit on a collection, and nowadays impress only housekeepers and cheap trippers. Any fear, moreover, that by making known the contents of their collections, death duties—the bugbear of the private owner—might be increased, is manifestly absurd, since the same spirit of discretion that governs the transactions of the Historical MSS. Commission would assuredly govern those of the new Commission. The Royal Warrant for the former provides not only 'that nothing of a private character . . . should be divulged,' but in a subsequent paragraph instructs the Commissioners to give owners 'full assurance that . . . no knowledge or information which may be obtained from their collections shall be promulgated without their full license and consent.' So the Commission for Inquiry into Works of Art would be bound in honour not to reveal to the public the value, real or probable, of any object which they scheduled. It is more than probable, indeed, that such a Commission would instruct its members, or anyone it employed, never so much as to discuss either with owners or with outsiders the commercial value of an object.

They would, in short, merely be putting on a sound official basis work such as has been left in this country to foreign savants. Let us listen to what Professor Furtwängler, in an address delivered before the Bavarian Academy, as lately as 1899,⁵ had to say on the English private collections of antique sculpture alone :

In England Charles I. collected antiques, which, however, were sold by public auction in 1649, and the Earl of Arundel brought many Greek fragments from the Classical East, which afterwards were scattered and partly destroyed. Then, in the eighteenth century, there awoke among the English nobility, as a result of increasing culture and of a corresponding taste for antique sculpture, a desire—which soon passed into a fashion—for adorning castles and country seats with antique marbles in the manner of Italian palaces. Then began an influx of antiques into England, where they vanished among the country seats of the aristocracy, and, soon forgotten and neglected, fell into a new sleep of death from which, in our times, German savants have occasionally endeavoured to recall them.

The reproach, though severe, is not unmerited. Professor Michaelis, the learned compiler of *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, which was published in 1882, complains in his preface of the difficulty of getting information about the works of art so 'widely spread' over the country, adding, however, that 'even more difficult is it to obtain such access to them as shall enable the visitor thoroughly to examine the works of art without being every moment disturbed by the impatient noise of the housekeeper's keys. But the greatest of all hindrances is the want of good catalogues or other literary means of general, as well as special, preparation and instruction.'

Unfortunately great works such as that of Michaelis having, so to speak, no official authority to recommend them, have made singularly little effect either upon English owners or 'the English public. They seem to have been consulted everywhere abroad—especially in Germany and in America, where the most zealous collectors are to be found—rather than over here. In fact, I sometimes think that it is partly owing to their existence that so many works of art have gone out of the country without the 'authorities' who preside over our national collections being so much as aware that sale was imminent or contemplated.' It would be interesting to find out whether, as a rule, foreign museums do pay such very high prices, or whether it is not industry and organisation which enable them to be first in the field and thus carry off the prize.

It is time, indeed, that this work among the English private collections be taken up by English scholars working under competent official direction. This is not said to disparage our immense debt to Passavant and to Waagen, to Conze and to Michaelis, to Professor Furtwängler and to Dr. Bode, all of whom, in their different lines and at different periods, have, amid untold difficulties and discouragements,

⁵ *Ueber Kunstsammlungen in alter und neuer Zeit*, von Adolf Furtwangler, 1899.

contributed to the great catalogues which are now classical. On the contrary, their work it is which will enable a Commission such as that now proposed to proceed in their task of registration with rapidity and certainty, avoiding waste of time or labour; for, in reality, the task before them would be to revise and generally bring up to date the descriptions of their predecessors, doubtless shortening or compressing many of these descriptions, since, *qua* Commission, at any rate, they would not be required to produce the work of specialists. One essential innovation, however, would have to be introduced—one which the Historical MSS. Commission, moreover, have never attempted—and that is the competent illustration, by however cheap a process, of nearly every picture, statue, or other object scheduled. Then, in case of accident, a record of the work would at least have been obtained. The destruction of the Turin Library by fire sufficiently shows the necessity for securing, wherever possible, photographs of works of art. Negatives, moreover, should not be left to the care of photographers, but be collected into a place of safety such as the British Museum. The Arundel Club, for the reproduction of pictures in private collections, and the Vasari Society, for the reproduction of drawings, have already set a good example, but their work must necessarily proceed more slowly and be on a more limited scale than that of a Royal Commission such as the one proposed.

The gain to the studious and art-loving public of reports thus competently undertaken is self-evident. It might well be that other benefits would accrue to public and owners alike from the work of the Commission. Many a work of art might be saved, by timely expert notice, from destruction by sun or damp or smoke, or even from relegation to a lumber-room and thence to a rubbish heap by an ignorant housekeeper—dangers which no one who has studied private collections with care will think imaginary.

Again, might not the influence of the Commission be employed in obtaining for the public readier, or rather more satisfactory, access to private collections?

In view of the vast numbers of sightseers who tramp daily through the great houses of the 'Dukery,' or through Warwick Castle, Chatsworth, and Wilton, it is idle to echo old abuse of 'the favoured class' and declare owners unwilling to admit the public. Neither is it difficult, unless in the rarest case, for a student to obtain special leave to examine some individual object. But the intelligent and educated person who is neither ignorant 'cheap tripper' nor special student, falls between the two and, herded with the mob, harried by a pompous housekeeper or flunkey, or perhaps by a young and quite illiterate housemaid, can seldom enjoy quietly a visit to a private collection. The much-abused tourist is not always of the sort made familiar by Mr. Anstey's *Voces Populi*, who asks for 'the cupboard where his Grace's boots are kept,' or who, in front of Rubens's 'Three Graces'

inquires 'Which is the present Duchess?' Indeed, I sometimes doubt whether this genus—any more than Mr. Gladstone's collars or Mr. Chamberlain's nose—has any real existence outside the domain of the caricaturist. In the course of my excursions to private collections I have been brought across extremely intelligent tourists—real students sometimes, who are too shy to avail themselves of the privilege of scholars to ask for a special permission; at other times working-men keenly interested in the applied arts, all of them in too great awe of the imperious housekeeper and her satellites to dare to do more than glance at the objects of real interest while they are hurried past foreign and English treasures, past pictures by Rembrandt or Veronese, past Chippendale furniture or Limoges enamels—to be made to admire modern silver candlesticks given by some Royalty, or the latest *bad* portrait of the owner. I remember a housekeeper once saying to me indignantly of a young German who was trying to identify the pictures in a great collection with the help of his Waagen, 'I've no patience, ma'am, with these foreigners. They bring their books and think they know the place better than me, who've been with the family twenty-four years!' Were owners and the Keepers of museums to enter, through the Commission, into friendly relations for their mutual advantage, it might be that—in the case, at least, of our great historic collections—some scheme for better exhibition, under competent guidance, might be devised. But these are considerations beside the present mark. The question of exhibition to the public brings us back, however, to a point of special interest raised once more by the 'editorial' in the *Burlington*.

Allusion is there made to an owner who, by opening his collection twice a week to the public, obtains exemption from death duties. Are we to understand that the numerous public-spirited owners, who from time immemorial have opened their collections, do not all enjoy the same immunities from death duties as the owner quoted, practically as an isolated instance, by the editors of the *Burlington Magazine*? At this point it is desirable to examine the clause relating to works of art and kindred objects in the Finance Act of 1896. It runs as follows :

Where any property passing on the death of a deceased person consists of such pictures, prints, books, manuscripts, works of art, scientific collections, or other things not yielding income as appear to the Treasury to be of national, scientific, or historic interest, and is settled so as to be enjoyed in kind in succession by different persons, such property shall not, on the death of such deceased person, be aggregated with other property, but shall form an estate by itself, and while enjoyed in kind by a person not competent to dispose of the same, be exempt from estate duty, but if it is sold or is in the possession of some person who is then competent to dispose of the same, shall become liable to estate duty.

It may be—though it is not perfectly obvious to the lay mind—that the case cited by the *Burlington* is covered by this clause, and that the opening of a collection to the public makes it in the eye of

the law, as it certainly should, 'of national interest.' But as the clause is at present worded, it would seem that exemption can be claimed only for 'settled' property, and that, however public-spirited, an owner who has the power to sell his works of art must pay duty upon them. The clause is surely to the advantage of a 'favoured class' rather than of the public, and revision may perhaps be looked for from a Liberal Government. For could the exemption from death duties be extended to all works of art, whether 'settled' or not, expressly on their being made accessible to the public, great encouragement would be given to the opening of private galleries. In the event of the proposed Royal Commission, the privilege might well be dependent upon its report.

Were legislation to go a step further and to grant further exemptions or give direct aid to owners willing to arrange and show their collections in such a manner as really to delight and instruct, there might be won for the country, no isolated works of art, but complete collections, surpassing in value and interest and beauty any possible fresh-created local gallery or museum. By legislation on these lines the sale of works of art from private collections might be successfully checked—for time after time the heavy death duties have been the plea for such sales. Thus by laws, not penal but advantageous, we might attain the object vainly aimed at in Italy by the oppressive and ineffectual *Legge Pacca*.

Hitherto, instead of open and educated intercourse between the various national collections and those great private houses which contain works of art, there has been mostly only the mutual suspicion and distrust that spring from ignorance. This attitude is fostered by a good deal of cant as to the selfishness of the private collector who shuts up his treasures from the vulgar gaze, and the consequent advisability of sweeping all art treasures as quickly as may be into great national collections open to the public. This sort of talk is not of yesterday. It dates back to the time of the Emperor Augustus, and probably further. Pliny in his *Natural History* has a passage about the great Agrippa, the friend and son-in-law of Augustus, which excellently illustrates the point. Agrippa, it seems, had once made a magnificent speech (*oratio magnifica*) 'fully worthy of the first citizen of the state, urging that all pictures and statues should be made public property.' 'Certainly a wiser plan,' adds Pliny, 'than to consign them to exile in our country houses (*quam in villarum exilia pelli*).'¹ There is no reason to believe that Agrippa ever carried the day, probably because Augustus would have been reluctant to support a measure so likely to give offence to the powerful Roman nobility, who, like the English of the eighteenth century, were the most zealous collectors of their time.

Anyhow we find another distinguished Roman, the brilliant and many-sided Asinius Pollio, whose collection, to judge from Pliny's

account of it, must have been one of the most stupendous in antiquity, proposing to throw it open to the public, and showing moreover 'characteristic eagerness in the execution of his project (*ut fuit acris vehementiae, sic quoque spectari sua monumenta voluit*).'

To-day public opinion as a whole is still on the side of Agrippa. Yet there are not wanting great scholars and even directors of public museums who are beginning to see the matter in a different light. It was Professor Furtwängler himself, the illustrious director of the Munich Glyptotheek, who, in the discourse already alluded to, asserted that centralisation of works of art in great museums had to a large extent done its work, and that the growth of local museums should now be encouraged. I admit that he was speaking scientifically of local museums which should be destined to receive archæological 'finds' on the spot on which they had been excavated. But the idea merely needs extension. The next best thing to seeing a statue in the place it was made for, or a picture in the church or palace for which it was painted, is to see it in the collections to which it was subsequently moved, by great collectors whose names have often become historic, and where it has a double value as work of art and as illustration of the taste of the period, not unfrequently also of a phase of history. It is evident that all historical portraits are best appreciated in the house of the family whose ancestors they represent. In such an instance, moreover, as the famous collection at Blenheim Palace, its dispersion caused the nation to lose not only incomparable works of art, but a curious, if not altogether creditable, page in the history of its greatest soldier—a page which was there for all to read, and which now will only be found in dusty historical annals. And we must remember that memorials of conquest such as those dispersed from Blenheim, or those equally great which still form the collection at Apsley House, can never, in one sense happily, be brought together again.

There has been a good deal said of late in England about those dealers—*lupi in pelle ovina*—who, masquerading as art-critics, get introduced into the easy cosmopolitan society of Italy and help deplete its princely houses of their works of art for the benefit of American or other millionaires. But the internal affairs of Italy, though we seem unable to learn the lesson, are not ours. As a fact, it appears as if the great Italian, and especially the Roman families, were becoming alive to the danger, though, like other people, they may be shutting the stable after the mare has bolted. Italy only so far concerns us that we should study what has happened there, not in order to read cheap and impertinent lessons to the Italians, but in order to avoid committing the same errors here in England without one half of the excuse. It is no use crying shame when the superb Sciarra collection disappears from Rome to be dispersed over minor collections outside Italy, or when, more recently, the Vicenza

Giorgione and the Chigi Botticelli go to the Gardner collection in Boston, and worse still the Aretino by Titian from the same Chigi Palace also finds its way, doubtless by the same route, to America. It is no use to cry shame or for pious lady tourists to exclaim against the indifference of the modern Italians to art if meanwhile in so infinitely richer a country as England is than Italy, the Lothian Dürer goes to Berlin, the Dudley Raphael (the exquisite small panel with the 'Three Graces') goes to Chantilly, and Lord Darnley's 'Europa and the Bull' to America—or if family portraits, far too numerous even to indicate, the flower of the art of Van Dyck, of Reynolds and of Gainsborough, are allowed to cross the water to adorn the Museum of Berlin or the salons of Parisian financiers.

All are doubtless agreed in wishing for some measure to check the exodus of works of art from England. On the part of the public, at any rate, there seems to be a considerable awakening to responsibility in these matters. The scheme which I have ventured to advocate differs from others now in the air mainly in the greater stress laid upon the necessity of maintaining great private collections intact. Rather than pass out of the country, works of art which come into the market should be secured without fail to an English public Gallery, but best of all would it be if by happy co-operation of private owners and a public body, our great houses could preserve their artistic contents, while becoming by better management and more organised accessibility themselves 'national monuments' in the truest sense, ministering to the culture and delight of the nation none the less because remaining the property of those historic families to whom they owe their existence.

EUGÉNIE STRONG.

P.S.—As I send this article to press a letter from the National Art Collections Fund to the *Times* (January 24, 1906) announces that the Velasquez has been secured for the nation. The splendid acquisition emphasises the interest which the public now take in great works of art. Apparently also there is plenty of money to give effect to this interest. This does not alter the regret that so large a sum should be expended on a picture which could probably have been secured, not a year ago, for something like half the amount. The event points better than could any arguments to the immediate necessity for organising our forces and for insisting on some form of legislation which shall bring our National Museums into close contact with the owners of collections, so that entire loss to the nation of a work of art or unnecessary extravagance in its purchase may be equally avoided for the future.

E. S.

*A VISIT TO THE COURT OF THE
TASHI LAMA.*

THESE notes from a diary of a visit to the Court of the Tashi Lama, by one of the few Europeans who have ever been there, may be of interest at this juncture, when for the first time the most holy and awe-inspiring of incarnate Lamas has emerged from the seclusion of centuries.

When the mission returned from Lhasa after the signature of the treaty, the Commissioner, Sir F. Younghusband, hurried back to Simla to see the Viceroy, and General Macdonald marched the troops back to India. The writer remained behind at Gyantse with Captain O'Connor, C.I.E., who had just been appointed British Trade Agent at Gyantse under the Treaty of Lhasa, and by the Commissioner's instructions accompanied him to Shigatse when he paid his first ceremonial visit to the Court of the Tashi Lama. It was an interesting occasion, as, by virtue of the decree of the Emperor of China, the Tashi Lama had been named high-priest of Tibet in succession to the Dalai Lama, whose flight had led to his denunciation and deposition by his suzerain. The Tashi Lama was believed to be well disposed to the Government of India, and in the time of Warren Hastings a good understanding was entered into with his predecessor, the third Tashi Lama. Still, this was more than a century ago, and in view of recent events, and to secure the smooth working of the Treaty of Lhasa, it was important that the cordial relations that formerly subsisted with his predecessors should be re-established with the new ruler of Tibet.

Besides Captain O'Connor and the writer, and Captain Steen, I.M.S., the British medical officer in charge of the garrison at Gyantse, the British visitors to the Court of the Tashi Lama on this occasion included Captain Rawling, Somerset Regiment, in command of a small party who were proceeding under orders from the British Commissioner to open the new trade mart at Gartok, in Western Tibet, and Major Ryder, R.E., D.S.O., in charge of a survey party. These last only stayed a day or two at Shigatse in order to collect transport and buy rough furs in preparation for their long and adventurous journey from one end of Tibet to the other.

So far as is known we were the only Europeans who have ever visited the sacred city of the Tashi Lama, with the exception of Mr. Bogle in 1774, and Captain Turner in 1783, both envoys despatched by Warren Hastings. Tashilhümpo, the monastic city, and Shigatse, the lay capital of the Tashi Lama, are about sixty miles from Gyantse, or four days' easy march. The road follows the fertile valley of the Nyang Chu (river) to within three or four miles of its junction with the Tsang-Po (Brama Poutra), just beyond Shigatse. The valley was one vast cornfield all the way to Shigatse, but except just round Gyantse all the corn had been cut and carried to the primitive mud threshing-floors of the numerous monasteries and farm-houses of this prosperous valley ; and these, with their piles of golden sheaves, made pleasant resting-places by the way.

Close round Gyantse there was unhappily a good deal of standing corn running to seed when we returned from Lhasa—a pathetic sight, as it is to be feared that the poor people who should have reaped it have themselves fallen victims to the Great Reaper. One would rather believe that Mr. David Macdonald, the best Tibetan scholar with the mission, was rightly informed, and that when the fears inspired by our ubiquitous mounted infantry have subsided the people will return. According to his information very few Gyantse men were killed in the recent fighting, but a good number of Lamas and laymen from Lhasa.

From Dongtse, our first halting-place, onwards it was soon apparent that we were to be made welcome by our distinguished host. At every monastery and village the inhabitants turned out with offerings, usually bushels of eggs and huge sacks of flour. By the Tashi Lama's orders each resting-place for the night had been settled beforehand, and instead of camping, as we had always done hitherto, on the windy plain, our tents were pitched in the garden or compound of the chief country house of the district. Only those who have dwelt in tents on the Roof of the World can realise what it means to have shelter from the pitiless wind that seems to blow without ceasing at these heights. Even as early as the 12th of October, although a blazing sun all day, the thermometer showed twenty-one degrees of frost at night in an ideally sheltered spot. Our tents were pitched that night in the garden of a country house belonging to a Lhasa official, about fifteen miles from Tashilhümpo. It might have been the croquet-ground or 'bowling-green of a Tibetan country squire, if they had such things in this country. A rectangular plot of smooth-shaven turf, protected on all sides from the wind by a row of small poplars and the usual mud wall, it was just about the size of a large tennis-lawn.

The chief landmarks between Gyantse and Shigatse are the pretty monastery at Dongtse, which is built on the crown of a rocky cliff about twelve miles out from Gyantse, and Penang Jong, a great

frowning fortress nearly as big as Gyantse Jong, which is picturesquely poised on a steep crag on the eastern side of the river. It was in this fort that just before the advance to Lhasa our mounted infantry, in reconnoitring, found enormous quantities of grain stored, and we subsequently heard that the Lhasa Government were much perturbed on learning that their reserves of corn had been discovered. We passed great flocks of cranes, and saw quantities of ducks and geese, and one officer shot two or three golden plover, which lay like stones. These cranes are huge birds, as big as an ostrich, and of a pretty French-grey colour, with black tips to their wings and tail. They are very wary, and it was impossible to get near them on foot, although the natives never shoot them. By riding up to them and shooting from our ponies' backs we managed to bag a few, and they proved excellent to eat. One of our party, who did not realise what the menu for dinner was, remarked that he had no idea yaks made such good beef !

About twelve miles from Shigatse we went three miles out of our way in order to look at a very beautiful and interesting monastery—Shalu. This is a very old religious establishment of Nonconformist Lamas. It is quite unlike the great monasteries of the Established Church in architecture. Instead of the golden pagodas, which adorn their temples, it has a roof of really beautiful and highly-glazed green tiles, which recalled the 'turquoise' bridge at Lhasa. At the corners of its pagodas are finely-modelled figures of demons and dragons. The abbot was away, but the 'manager,' or steward, entertained us with the usual buttered tea and greasy cakes, and then showed us over the monastery. In the chief temple there was a very handsome bust, life size, in gold or copper gilt, of a goddess, probably Dölma, but the features were almost classic, and it might easily have been a very handsome Madonna. Except the turquoise bridge at Lhasa, and perhaps one or two Chinese gateways there, this is the only building we have seen in the country with these remarkable and distinctive pagodas of green tiles, and it would be interesting to know where they came from. . . .

Shalu is a notable monastery for instruction in the higher mysteries of Buddhism and black magic. To achieve these entails so great a state of sanctity that it is apparently necessary to pass an uncertain number of years in solitary confinement in total darkness in a rock cell. Some of these wretched creatures actually submit of their own free will to be immured for life in caves in the rock, with no outlet except a trap-door barely large enough to enable the attendants to put food through. If they become sufficiently holy or sufficiently attenuated they may escape, it is said, by precipitating their bodies through this tiny aperture. Unfortunately, we did not see any of these recluses who live, if living it can be called, immured in underground cells or dungeons of the monastery. Those who

wish their blood curdled and their flesh made to creep should read Surgeon-Colonel Waddell's account of a visit paid by him to one of these rock hermitages near Gyantse.

On leaving Shalu we got our first view of the Tashi Lama's capital. The beautiful monastic city of Tashilhümpo is the principal landmark for miles. It is most picturesquely situated on the slope of a rocky spur rising steeply from the plain. In the gloriously clear light of the Himalayas, while still at a distance of twelve miles or more, the city showed up dazzlingly white against the sombre brown of the hills. If our first view of Lhasa, jealously guarded from view by pretty groves of green trees in a land where trees are not, with only here and there a few glittering golden spires and cupolas, stimulated the imagination and recalled the enchanted city with the sleeping princess of fairy legend, Tashilhümpo, much more commandingly placed, and, unlike the mysterious 'forbidden city,' quite open to view and unveiled, stood out in the golden sunlight suggesting a Buddhist Jerusalem of ivory and gold. The city faces south, and as we approached it from that quarter its white walls and golden roofs made a truly striking effect. Nearer acquaintance confirmed our first impression that this is a far more striking and beautiful city than the much talked of and written about 'forbidden city,' although perhaps no single building is quite so imposing as the Potala Palace, which owes much to its situation. Granting this qualification, the five great mausoleums of the predecessors of the present Panchen Lama, which are set up in line on the northern side of the city, are difficult to beat for grandeur and magnificence. Each of these might well be a cathedral.

To the east of the city is another imposing landmark, an immense fort, a grey, forbidding mass of masonry perched on the rock, as is invariably the case in Tibet. The lay city of Shigatse is clustered round this fort, and we could see little or nothing of it until we had almost arrived; and when we had it was even less inspiring than Lhasa, to which it bears a strong family likeness. About five miles from the city we were met by a regiment of officials, Lamas and laymen, who pushed on in front to prepare refreshments for us.

These officials of the Tashi Lama's Government made a quaint procession, which would have excited the envy of the Lord Mayor of London. The Lama's attire does not give much scope for adornment. Unlike the layman he does not 'braid his hair,' which is cut short or shaved close to his head. Moreover, the ordinary Lama, as a general rule, wears no hat whatever, whereas the lay population indulge in an infinite variety of headgear. Captain O'Connor made a collection at Lhasa, but I fancy gave it up in despair when he had acquired about fifty different kinds of hats. Of the reception committee some had flat scarlet hats made of feathers, some orange silk hats decorated with red buttons, similar to the hats worn by the

shapés (state councillors) at Lhasa, some a sort of dirty yellow tam-o'-shanter, and some wore a sort of conical sugar-loaf hat. Their clothes were by no means so striking as their hats, although some of the higher lay officials wore yellow silk robes; but their ponies and mules were 'richly caparisoned' with saddle-cloths of divers colours, saddles, bridles, headstalls, and cruppers covered with metal inlaid apparently with gold, and other articles of 'harness,' which, being designed rather for ornament than for use, I hardly know how to particularise. The abbots wear a golden papier-mâché hat with a high crown, which must entail considerable discomfort in this windy country. That of the abbot who met us threatened to blow off every moment, and he had all his work cut out to hold his hat and himself on. The seat on horseback affected by the natives of Tibet closely resembles that made fashionable on the Turf in England by jockeys imported from America. The saddles are very hard and heavy, and are perched on a pile of rugs, with a gorgeous saddle-cloth to save their ponies' backs; so the appearance of the rider, with his knees up to his nose, perched on a pile of luggage, is more curious than elegant. The Tibetan seat is not conducive to correct guidance of the animal that is being ridden. Their mules' and ponies' mouths are, moreover, extremely hard; so the order of the procession that formed up in front after meeting us and preceded us to the city left a good deal to be desired. The riders in the cavalcade were perpetually bumping into each other in the vain endeavour to keep their ponies straight.

Sarat Chandra Das relates that his patron 'the Minister,' the Sinchen incarnate Lama; one of the abbots of Tashilhümpo and tutor of the Tashi Lama, when journeying from Shigatse to Gyantse, tumbled off his pony. On the return journey in the company of the pundit, the latter says 'the Minister' ordered his page to bring him a basketful of earth from a spot he pointed out, and this was placed before him as he sat cross-legged on a rug, whereon he said some prayers, and offered an oblation of *tsampa* (native flour) and water. This, as Sarat was informed, was done in order to drive away an evil spirit, which was supposed to haunt the spot with the object of hurting him. These little mounds of dirt with evil-smelling oblations are so common that one hardly notices them; and no wonder, if every time a Lama tumbles off his pony he offers an oblation to propitiate an evil spirit with designs on his neck.

This is a good example of the gross superstitions which are so hopelessly mixed up with the religion of these people. The Sinchen Lama was one of the most learned and enlightened monks in this land of Lamas. He asked Sarat to get him various mathematical instruments, medicines, and books on astronomy, and naïvely informed the pundit that he was one of five persons in the province of Tsang who took an interest in science, 'as although many learned

men in the country, they did not care to know anything of the science and civilisation of other countries, but were only interested in the sacred literature of Tibet.' One cannot help doubting whether they do, in fact, make any intelligent study of their own sacred literature. We saw thousands of beautifully printed and most artistically bound books in their monasteries and temples, but the dust lay thick on all of them, and it is questionable if they were ever opened. The universal belief in the efficacy of charms and spells is not confined to the uneducated peasantry, for from the Nepaulese Consul at Lhasa we learnt that the Dalai Lama was accustomed to perform nightly 'the Torki ceremony—charms to bring the British into a desirable frame of mind.' This must have been about the time that the Tibetan levies were fiercely attacking the mission post at Gyantse.

Some of these officials who met us near Tashilhümpo were wearing extraordinarily handsome charm-boxes.¹ According to Captain O'Connor the people of Shigatse are supposed to be quite poor, but these officials of the Tashi Lama show no signs of poverty. The officers, whose uniform includes a flat feather hat of a brilliant scarlet, are particularly expensively attired. They invariably wear a charm-box of solid gold studded with large turquoisees on the back of their pigtails, and a fine gold and turquoise earring terminating in a drop-shaped blue bead in the left ear. One, a mere boy, was wearing the most magnificent turquoisees we have seen in this country, where everyone who can afford it wears turquoisees. The sex of these officials, owing to their ladylike hats, long braided hair, and jewels of gold, used to puzzle the sepoys when we first reached Lhasa.

About a mile from the city an enormous tent had been pitched, where we found the functionaries of the Tashi Lama's Court waiting. They invited us to enter and partake of refreshments. These consisted of divers cakes, some quite good (as a rule they are so greasy and full of hairs as to be uneatable), dried fruits, 'buttered tea,'² and before each of us a cup piled up with boiled rice and raisins. I never was able to determine what the dried fruits were. I once gnawed one for an hour or two without making any impression on it, but I fancy it must have been a petrified apricot. Unluckily we had no chopsticks, and were too genteel to use our fingers, which was a pity, for personally I looked longingly at the raisins, and cursed the gentility which forbade us to follow the example of 'little Jack Horner.' We had been assigned the house of the principal noble of Shigatse as a 'residence during our stay. It is a 'small house, and is not in such a good state of repair as 'Lalu Palace,' which the

¹ These are hollow brooches worn by men and women in Tibet. In them are placed charms and spells to protect the wearer from evil spirits.

² Tea, which is the national beverage of Tibet, is always made with butter instead of milk. First a corner of a brick of tea is broken off and put in the teapot, then a handful of salt, and last a lump of rancid butter which has been kept for months in a goatskin, and hot water is poured on the lot.

mission occupied at Lhasa, but it is a well-built, solid house, and the rooms, though few, are large, with the usual splendid smooth concrete floors which one only sees in this country. They are made of chalky clay mixed with small pebbles, and are polished until they are as smooth as glass. They set as hard as stone, and are often of a deep red, closely resembling marble. As in all the houses of the Tibetan aristocracy, the walls are beautifully painted with frescoes in the Chinese fashion, the ceilings are tapestried in silk and stuff, and the rooms are lighted by large Chinese paper windows. Most of these are torn, so the house is nice and airy. The usual rickety ladder leads from the ground-floor to the first storey, and thence to the flat roof.

Tashilhümpo was brilliantly illuminated on the night of our arrival with thousands of butter-lamps.³ It appears that we arrived on the anniversary of Purangir, the third Tashi Lama, who so hospitably entertained Mr. Bogle, the first envoy of Warren Hastings, in 1774. By an extraordinary coincidence we also arrived on the same date as Captain Turner, the second envoy to the Court of the Tashi Lama despatched by Warren Hastings. Captain Turner reached Tashilhümpo on the 13th of October, 1783, consequently upwards of a hundred and twenty years have elapsed since the last Englishman visited the Tashi Lama. Purangir was a great man, perhaps the greatest statesman that Tibet has produced; so it was considered by the Government and people alike an omen of marvellously good portent that we should have arrived here on the anniversary of the greatest and most revered ruler they have ever had.

Next day, as we were not due to pay our respects to the Tashi Lama till mid-day, we did some sight-seeing in the lay town of Shigatse, the capital of the province of Tsang. Like Lhasa, to which 'distance lends enchantment,' it proved rather disappointing and uninteresting on nearer acquaintance. The same big stone and mud built houses and tiny narrow streets, perhaps a little less filthy than those of Lhasa, but no golden pagodas to relieve the monotonous grey as at Lhasa. Like Lhasa, it is dominated and dwarfed by its Potala; in the case of Shigatse an immense stone-built fort on the same lines and model as the Potala, but without its magnificence.

The inhabitants were friendly, but devoured by curiosity. Several 'policemen' accompanied us on our first visit to the town, but we dispensed with them afterwards, as being extremely ill paid, as at Lhasa, where the pay of a policeman is about 5s. per annum, they beat their unfortunate country men and women who pressed round to look at us with their long whips far more severely than we thought desirable or necessary in order to earn backsheesh. Their uniform is not expensive, a filthy dirty grey toga, and an equally filthy yellow

³ These are metal dishes or vessels filled with butter, with a wick in the centre. They provide the only artificial light in the temples and monasteries of Tibet.

cloth hat, while they are armed with a long whip. During the rest of our stay we walked about the town unarmed and without any escort, and met with nothing but friendly curiosity. All told, our escort did not exceed fifteen sepoy, which on Captain Rawling's departure for Gartok was reduced to six. But we met with nothing but friendliness and good will, and judging by the cheerful sounds that proceeded from the compound of our house every night, our sepoy had no cause to complain of any lack of friendliness on the part of the ladies of Shigatse, although it never occurred to anyone to ask who was 'calling so sweetly.' Melody is differently interpreted in the East, and to unsympathetic Western ears the serenades in our garden at Shigatse sounded more like a cat concert on the roof than anything else.

In one respect Shigatse is better off than Lhasa. Its great square or market-place is ever so much larger than the great square at Lhasa, and as it lies in the shadow of the fort, the Shigatse Bazaar is really very picturesque. Like Lalu Palace, which the mission lived in at Lhasa, the house we occupied at Shigatse stands by itself in a good-sized compound surrounded by a high wall on the extreme southern side of the city. About 400 yards from our house was the house occupied by the Tashi Lama's mother. Captain Steen, I.M.S., who set up a dispensary on the day we arrived and collected any number of patients, and performed a variety of more or less serious and difficult operations to relieve the sufferings of the natives, numbered this distinguished lady amongst his patients before our departure. The Tashi Lama requested him to call on her on seeing my ear-trumpet. This Captain Steen did, and having borrowed my ear-trumpet was successful in surprising the poor lady, who until that day had never heard anything in her life.

Captain Steen's patients waxed more and more as his fame got spread abroad. His consulting-room and bedroom combined was on the ground floor, and as soon as it was light the halt, the maimed, and the blind collected in the compound, and peering into their medical adviser's chamber, the two former reported the progress of his toilette to the latter. They must be first-rate subjects for a surgeon, being incredibly stolid and unemotional. They were quite content, when Captain Steen's supply of anæsthetics began to run short, to submit themselves to the knife without them. Fortunately, their sense of feeling is apparently by no means acute, and they betrayed a truly astonishing indifference to pain. On the other hand, most of them were touchingly grateful to their benefactor, who, like Captain Walton at Lhasa, did a splendid work of humanity in succouring the sick. Captain Walton, I.M.S., who was the medical member of the mission, did perhaps more than anyone to convince the inhabitants that the devil (the English) is not so black as he was painted by their priestly rulers; and thanks to his noble work amongst the 'enemy,' the mission

received timely warning of surprise night attacks on the handful of men in Gyantse post.

The Tashi Lama had not yet moved to his palace at Tashilhümpo for the winter, so we had a ride of about a mile to his summer residence, a pretty old monastery in a large park on the west bank of the river, about three-quarters of a mile east of Shigatse. The compound of the monastery is enclosed by a high wall, and we rode in at a big gateway in this close by the great bridge over the river. This bridge, with the exception of that at Tölung, seven miles west of Lhasa, is the finest we have seen in the country. It rests on ten great wedge-shaped stone piers, and leads to the direct road to Lhasa and the Far East. A 'drive' of quite respectable extent along the river bank led to the monastery, where we turned into the courtyard under another big gate-house. Here we dismounted to climb the usual slippery ladders that give access to the upper floors of every Tibetan house, irrespective of size and importance.

As we were about to enter the house Captain O'Connor heard that the Chinese official 'General Ma,' who was more than suspected of having instigated at Gyantse the first surprise attack on the mission post, and of being responsible for the murder of the servants and a Ghurka in the employment of Captain Parr, Chinese Customs Commissioner in Tibet, had turned up at the Tashi Lama's Durbar. Captain O'Connor had already declined to meet this man, and we at once sent in word that if he was present we should not attend; so, greatly to the satisfaction of our Tibetan hosts, the Chinaman was hustled out by a back door. We then climbed two or three ladders and passed through several dark little rooms into the 'Gompa' (great hall) of the monastery, a good-sized room supported by a number of pillars. At the further end of the hall there was a slightly raised dais, and here the Tashi Lama was seated cross-legged on a kind of throne. After bowing to the Grand Lama we took the seats assigned to us; these were for Captain O'Connor, the British Trade Agent, a chair on the dais on the immediate right of the Tashi Lama, and for the rest of our party stools below and at right angles to the dais. The only other person who was seated besides the Tashi Lama and ourselves was the Prime Minister, a fat and rather arrogant-looking monk, who was provided with a chair on the dais on the left of his master. The rest of the company present, which included the Tashi Lama's brother, who bears the title of duke, his uncle, who is an earl, and the great officers of state, stood in a row opposite to us. We afterwards heard that Captain O'Connor had been received with unprecedented honour in being given a seat on the dais beside the throne of the Tashi Lama. There were a considerable number of red-robed Lamas scattered about in the Durbar hall.

The Tashi Lama is an intelligent-looking young man with closely shaven head and a pale, beardless face. He wore the severely simple

dress of an ordinary monk, but his Lama's robe was perhaps a shade darker maroon than that of the others, and a broad hem of embroidered gold braid which edges the kind of underskirt that Lamas of high rank usually wear just showed above his robe. His expression is particularly amiable, and he appears to be greatly revered and beloved by his subjects. It is said that his prestige and reputation as the embodiment of transcendent holiness are even greater in the Buddhist world than that of the Dalai Lama, who from all we heard at Lhasa was more feared than loved.

His Holiness having expressed his pleasure at meeting the British officer, Captain O'Connor tactfully opened the conversation by reminding the Tashi Lama of the long-standing friendship between the Government of his Majesty the King-Emperor and the Tashi Lama. He added that now our differences with the Lhasa Government had been settled, he who had been appointed British Trade Agent at Gyantse had made haste to come and pay his respects to a ruler who had long been on terms of friendship with his Majesty's Viceroy in India. As incarnate Lamas never die, the present man is merely a reincarnation of the third Tashi Lama, the friend of Bogle, who visited Tashilhümpo more than a century ago.

The Tashi Lama courteously replied, expressing his appreciation of what Captain O'Connor had said, and added that he personally had always been opposed to hostilities, and that now the unfortunate differences between his Majesty's Government in India and the Lhasa Government had been settled by a solemn treaty, he trusted that the friendly relations which had existed between his own capital and province and their powerful neighbour would extend to the whole of his country.

After asking our respective ages and informing us that his own age was only twenty-two, the Tashi Lama wound up the proceedings of our first formal visit by expressing regret that etiquette compelled him to receive us with so much state and ceremony. He said it would give him pleasure to make better acquaintance with us, and that at the next visit he hoped it would not be necessary to occupy his throne, and he would be able to receive us with less formality. We then got up and bowed to the Grand Lama and withdrew. Captain O'Connor, one of the few frontier officers who foresaw the late complications with Tibet, is a decided philo-Tibetan, and consequently by his sympathetic attitude made an excellent impression on the Grand Lama.

The Durbar hall was very plainly decorated as compared with others that we have seen in the country. On a shelf just behind the Tashi Lama's throne were two lovely old cloisonné vases, and the inevitable buttered tea was served from a beautifully modelled and richly chased golden teapot, handsomer than any we saw at Lhasa,

where probably the Lamas thought the second best were quite good enough for us. We were offered the usual greasy cakes and petrified fruits, which Captain O'Connor's Tibetan servants scooped up with indecent haste as their perquisite.

At the conclusion of the Durbar of the Tashi Lama, the Prime Minister, who has rooms in the same monastery, invited us to visit him. He received us in a small room painted, as is customary in Tibet, in many colours, with nothing remarkable about it except some pictures which adorned the walls. These, which were presumably representations of Paradise according to Oriental ideas, were a bit startling even for Tibet. In that country, where it is the custom not only to call but to depict a spade as a spade, and where the morals of the people are not so carefully looked after as in our own virtuous land of vigilance associations, erotic pictures which would give the latter fits are common enough; but we were a little surprised to find such startlers on the walls of the sanctum of this holy man, who was just explaining to Captain O'Connor that it was only as a favour to the Grand Lama that he, who was one of the abbots of Tashilhümpo, and consequently a Lama of peculiar sanctity, had condescended to concern himself with carnal matters and undertake the office of Prime Minister to the Tashi Lama. He holds the same high office as the Sinchen Lama, the kind friend and patron of the pundit Sarat Chandra Das, by whose assistance and connivance the pundit was enabled to carry out his plucky project of visiting Lhasa in disguise. His high rank and reputation for learning and piety did not save the poor Sinchen Lama from the vengeance of the Lhasa Government when it was subsequently discovered that by his help a British subject had been able to visit Lhasa. The Sinchen Rinpoche, to give him his title, was barbarously put to death and his body thrown into the Ky-Chu at Lhasa. The execution of the Sinchen Lama did not satisfy the Lhasa Government's thirst for vengeance, and his servants, besides all and sundry who had befriended the pundit, were savagely punished. As a rule their hands and feet were cut off and they were left to die. Among those who escaped is a Lama who is here with us now. He was formerly a servant of the Sinchen Lama, and has been in Captain O'Connor's service for some time. He is now a personage, and as the confidential servant of the British Agent in Tibet gives himself great airs. Having waxed fat and prosperous, he has abjured his Lama's vow of celibacy and has taken to himself a wife. As an abbot of Tashilhümpo the body of the Sinchen Lama should rightly have been embalmed and interred in a *chorten* of the monastery. His execution, with its many indignities, caused the greatest grief and indignation here and at Dongtse, his native place, and Captain O'Connor's success in obtaining at Lhasa the reversal of the decree under which reincarnations

of the Sinchen Lama were declared to have ceased has given corresponding satisfaction.

The Prime Minister was much exercised about the indemnity payable under the Treaty of Lhasa, as the Lhasa Government will, he said, certainly make Tashilhümpo pay one-third of the amount. He asked if it was advisable for the Tashi Lama, who had always been averse to hostilities, to write personally to the Viceroy of India. Captain O'Connor, knowing that the Home Government had already determined to make a present to Tibet of fifty lacs of rupees at the expense of the Indian taxpayer, and wishing the Tashi Lama to get the credit of the reduction of the indemnity, warmly encouraged the idea.

Next day, the 16th of October, we paid our first visit to the monastic city. Tashilhümpo, which must be two or three miles in circumference, is built on the slope of a rocky hill, and is surrounded by a high wall with five gateways. It is a good-sized town of steep narrow streets, with lofty stone houses painted white on either side, and the usual *chortens* or shrines to departed Lamas in the centre of the larger streets. Some of these steep and narrow streets are astonishingly pretty and picturesque, with quite large trees growing apparently straight out of the great flagstones that pave them. Within the walls of the city, besides streets and 'squares,' is a pretty wooded park called the 'Park of Happiness.' It was, we were informed, at first proposed to invite us to pitch our tents in this park, but the Tashi Lama subsequently decided to place the house of his brother at our disposal. Here, as at Lhasa, where the 'Duke of Lalu' was our involuntary host, we were lodged in the house of the principal layman. But here we were welcome and honoured guests; while there we were not only self-invited, but were pressed at every halting-place by the way to return whence we came. There are any number of beautiful temples and great monastic houses here, including four large conventional colleges; but by far the grandest feature of the city are the five great tombs of the predecessors of the Tashi Lama.

Tashilhümpo means the 'heap of glory,' and the city is well named, for these splendid monuments would justify its title if they stood alone. Each of them is a beautiful and imposing temple of white stone, of which the upper part, like the central portion of the Potala Palace, is painted a deep crimson. Each is adorned by a huge pagoda roof heavily overlaid with gold, and the grandeur of all is enhanced by their setting; for they are built in line, and are on a much bigger scale than any of the other buildings of the city with one exception. Practically all the other buildings are of white stone, with only a narrow frieze of deep red or black. The combination of crimson and gold of these magnificent temples makes a fine effect of colour against the dead white of the city. The tombs of the first and third Tashi Lamas are a good deal larger than the others, and are perhaps artistically the most beautiful. The exterior of the tomb of the fourth Grand

Lama is, perhaps, the most picturesque. A small courtyard planted with tamarisk trees makes a very pretty effect, which is enhanced by a steep flight of steps leading up to the shrine and the courtyard in which it stands. In the centre of the city are the palace of the Tashi Lama and the great hall where the monks of Tashilhümpo, to the number of 5,000, assemble for their devotions. Both are fine buildings ornamented with a number of small golden pagodas. The roof of the great hall is supported by a hundred pillars, and adjoining it is the great courtyard where the religious dances of the Lamas take place; but we were not lucky enough to see any. The pundit Sarat Chandra Das has well described the great Black Hat dance which he saw on New Year's Day when he was here. Unluckily we had at our disposal nothing like the time he had for sightseeing. Most of the few hours we had we spent in examining the monuments of the Tashi Lama's predecessors.

The embalmed body of each Grand Lama reposes in an enormous metal urn or coffin within his marble-lined temple. These urns are overlaid with gold and inlaid with precious stones, and are ornamented with really beautiful repoussé work. Into the smooth floor, which resembles marble, of each temple are let, besides pebbles and bits of coloured glass, very large turquoises and other precious stones. In each temple is a life-sized bust of copper, heavily gilt, of the dead Lama, and some smaller ones. The smaller busts are probably of gold. All the large busts are hung round with festoons of pearls and other jewels. In every temple, besides numbers of small butter-lamps of gold and silver, there is a monster metal butter-lamp ornamented with plaques of gold and silver. The Tibetan metalwork in these mausoleums is very bold and original, and many of the miniature temples and *chortens* in gold and copper gilt, which adorn the shrines of these holy men, are really works of art. We saw some very fine pieces of old china, including two large *sang de bœuf* vases and some pieces of old Cloisonné, on the altars of the shrines. The tombs are guarded by great silver dragons.

As in all Tibetan temples, the light was very defective, so it was difficult to see what the frescoes on the walls of the mausoleums were like; but so far as one could see there was nothing remarkable about them, although there were some good tapestries in the temples, and some of the sacred carpets are very handsome, but the feature of the interior of the mausoleums is the metal-work. In each mausoleum is a large tapestry carpet with a portrait of the Grand Lama embroidered in silk on it. That of the third Tashi Lama is a fine piece of work, and must be quite ten yards long.

On the altar of the shrine of the first Tashi Lama is a most beautiful gold cup. We should call it a cup, but it is, in fact, a butter-lamp. Like many of their butter-lamps, it is in the shape of a wineglass with a slender stem and a quantity of embossed work about the bowl

and the base. One sometimes sees the bowl of these cups decorated with several rows of miniature skulls in relief work. This one has two rows of tiny golden skulls round the base instead of the ordinary beading. It is a great pity that these people will spoil the effect of their finest temples, and the golden idols and objects of art that adorn them. They have a mania for swathing their idols in dirty rags with prayers printed on them.

Although there is perhaps more gold plate, chiefly golden butter-lamps, in the 'holy of holies' in the Jo-Khang (the cathedral) at Lhasa, these temples of the Tashi Lamas are really more beautiful and picturesque than anything we saw at Lhasa with the exception of the Potala Palace, and there was nothing in the Potala to compare with the contents of the tombs of the first and third Tashi Lamas. Amongst all the wealth of precious metals and jewels were a few nicely sparkling coloured glass globes which should probably have been labelled 'Made in Germany.' Decorations such as these are, however, common enough as ornaments of the tombs and shrines of the 'dead of many creeds. We saw some at Lhasa, and one only wonders how they got to Tibet.

At the extreme north-eastern corner is the one blot on the symmetry of this beautiful city. It is a huge and hideous wall or screen of rubble stone, nine storeys high. On it on festival days are hung immense tapestry carpets with representations of the chief Buddhist deities worked in silk. These sacred picture carpets are gazed upon by crowds of devout pilgrims from all parts of the Buddhist world as well as by the entire population of Shigatse. The interior of this hideous building is used as a larder by the monks of Tashilhümpo, and in it are stored any number of dried carcasses of yaks, sheep, and goats. Judging by the size of their larder, the Lamas have no notion of mortifying the flesh by fasting. Possibly they find the number and inordinate length of the prayers they are compelled to repeat sufficiently exhausting without any further discipline, but they have not the appearance of ascetics.

Next day we went over Shigatse Jong, which was really waste of time, except for the fine bird's-eye view one got of the city from the top. Like all Tibetan forts, it is built on a rock two or three hundred feet above the plain, so we had a stiff climb. Fortunately the road up to it winds, so we were able to ride the greater part of the way, but after that we had to ascend endless rough stone steps and innumerable rickety ladders. Like everything that does not appertain to their religion, the vast ramshackle fortress was shamefully dirty and neglected and crumbling to ruin. There were no soldiers to be seen and no weapons beyond a few bundles of broken and rusty swords. The garrison, we were informed, were 'all away on leave'! In this strange country every fortress—and there are a good many in Tibet—is jointly commanded by a priest and a layman. Both are styled 'Jong-pens,' and the latter is by way of being a soldier with the rank

of general. This curious division of authority must, one would think, lead to divided counsels and differences of opinion as to the relative value and expediency of praying or fighting. At Shigatse Jong prayer seems to have gained the upper hand, as, if weapons were scarce and soldiers scarcer, there were stacks of religious books and quantities of idols, and every other room in the great building appeared to be a place of worship. We particularly asked the Jong-pens to show us the dungeons. These contained no prisoners, but were adorned with a quantity of crumbling skeletons which were, the Jong-pens informed us, all that remained of a number of sheep 'placed there when the fort was built to feed the garrison in time of war'!

There is a Chinese resident here, and, as at Lhasa, a small colony of Chinese, who are very tenacious about keeping up the fiction of Chinese suzerainty. There are also a small number of Mahomedan and Nepaulese traders living in Shigatse. Unlike Lhasa, where there are a goodly number of shops of all sorts, there do not appear to be more than half a dozen shops in this town, and these sell little besides cloth, and are uncommonly difficult to find. All the trade of the place is done in the open bazaar, which is of considerable size, and one day, when it happened to rain all day, there was no bazaar and presumably trade languished. Lamas and laymen brought a good many articles to our house, including teapots, cloth, turquoises, and Tibetan jewellery, and the prices asked were nothing like so high as at Lhasa.

The ladies of Shigatse are no better favoured than those at Lhasa, but we actually saw a pretty girl in one of the few shops of the town. Pretty girls are so scarce in Tibet that one wonders where the eccentric Manning found the comely Tibetan ladies 'whose pulses he took pleasure in feeling.' Possibly our standard of beauty in the twentieth century is higher, or we are not so susceptible.

The ten days we had arranged to spend at Shigatse passed all too quickly, and Captain O'Connor had a busy time between constant visits to the Tashi Lama and paying and receiving visits from the chief officers of the Grand Lama's Government, the Chinese Resident, the Nepaulese Consul, and many others. These diplomatic courtesies entailed a regular orgie of buttered tea, and the unfortunate Trade Agent of Great Britain in Tibet became paler and paler. Personally I never could conquer my aversion to buttered tea, and having a stubborn nose, was never able to appreciate the bouquet of tea flavoured with rancid butter.

As some return for all the 'hospitality shown to us, we took advantage of the fact that the aristocracy of Shigatse were accustomed to hold their annual archery meeting in the garden of the house we occupied, to give a 'party.' We got in a Tibetan cook, and after the archery competition had been decided, we regaled our guests, who included the Tashi Lama's brother and uncle, the two Jong-pens or Lieutenant-Governors, and several other high officers of State, with

mutton broth, buttered tea, sweet biscuits, and champagne. Of the last we luckily had three bottles left of a few dozen which Lord Curzon had kindly sent to the mission at Gyantse. As no one knew who had won the competition, and as the Government of India had thoughtfully provided the Tibet Mission with a quantity of Brummagem paste jewellery to give away as presents, we decided to avoid invidious distinctions by giving a prize to each competitor; and as none of them had ever received a prize before, our guests were not disposed to be critical, and accepted their prizes with the utmost satisfaction.

The next day we were received by the Tashi Lama at a farewell Durbar with unprecedented honour. All our Tibetan servants and followers received the blessing of the Grand Lama, which is usually bestowed only on personages of high rank, and at the conclusion of the Durbar he invited us to come and take leave of him privately.

He received us in a pretty little pavilion in the park of his summer palace. This pavilion is built of wood, and consists of only two small rooms with an open verandah, in which there were a few flowers in pots and some birds in cages, a most uncommon sight in this country. The pavilion stands on a toy island surrounded by a miniature moat, and the interior was beautifully painted and decorated, recalling a highly finished Chinese lacquer cabinet. Hunting scenes with pictures of elephants, tigers, and deer most artistically painted adorn the walls, and a few fine Chinese and Tibetan objects of art were scattered about. Amongst these last the Tashi Lama pointed out with pride a magnificent model in gold of a Buddhist temple, which must have taken years to make and have cost a large sum of money. It was, he said, made and presented to his immediate predecessor by some devout Mongolian Buddhist, who made the long journey on foot from Mongolia to Tashilhümpo to present it.

The Tashi Lama received us quite alone, and talked at length and quite openly of his earnest desire to live on terms of friendship with his powerful neighbour. Captain O'Connor happening to mention that a near relation of mine occupies a post at the Court of his Majesty, the Tashi Lama begged me to take an early opportunity of informing the King-Emperor of the kindness and cordiality with which we had been received, and of his wish to do everything in his power to encourage trade and friendly intercourse between his Majesty's Indian Empire and Tibet.

The amazing fact that the Tashi Lama, the most revered re-incarnation on earth, and perhaps the most holy and most exclusive personality of the Buddhist world, is at the time of writing the guest of his Majesty in India, and that a close and cordial understanding now exists between the Government of India and the new ruler of Tibet, is a striking evidence of the success of the Mission to Tibet.

C. VERNON MAGNIAC

(*Late Private Secretary to the British Commissioner in Tibet*).

*THE DEANS' MEMORIAL AND THE
ATHANASIAN CREED*

IN August last I wrote to the *Times* giving my reasons for withholding my signature to the above memorial. These were criticised in the November number of this Review by the Dean of Windsor, by whom the memorial had been drawn up and sent to the Archbishops. The part that he had taken in it not unnaturally induced him to try to show that my arguments had not weakened his cause.

It was suggested to me shortly after his article had been circulated that of course it would be answered, if only from the obvious misinterpretation of a great deal that I had said, but inasmuch as my letter, written without consultation with any one, was only intended to give my personal reasons for dissenting from my brethren, and as my critic was a much-valued friend, I preferred to exercise a self-denying ordinance and let judgment go by default. When, however, I realised that the article took it for granted that I had written not for myself alone, but in a representative capacity, I felt that I could no longer keep silence. To obviate my objection to replying it was further suggested that it could easily be done by a third person; but to this also I demurred, on the ground that in case misinterpretation had arisen from want of clearness on my part I was the proper person to rectify the error; and further, I was afraid that an unfriendly critic might take a less charitable view of the Dean's misunderstandings and review the case in a manner that neither of us would like. This, I hope, will make it quite clear that what follows is only a perfectly good-humoured and friendly criticism of misinterpretations, which, though of course absolutely unintentional, nevertheless call for correction.

Some misunderstanding, at all events in the minds of the public, would have been avoided if my letter had been answered where it appeared, viz. in the *Times*. It would then have come before those who had read it *in extenso*, or who would probably have it within reach; but to publish the criticisms of it in the pages of a monthly Review, where it was only possible to quote extracts, was necessarily to place it at a considerable disadvantage. However, I will endeavour

under the circumstances to afford sufficient materials for the public to decide whether my arguments as I intended them, and this is all that I care about, are as weak and unworthy of consideration as the Dean considers them or not.

The article almost begins with a misconception, which I am anxious to remove at once, by assigning to me and those whom he supposes that I represent an attitude which I have never taken up. The Dean writes: 'The attitude taken is that of *non possumus* . . . let the matter alone: let it drift. In spite of the distress of so many, in spite of the strongly expressed opinions of many learned divines of unquestioned orthodoxy, still let us shut our eyes and refuse to see the stumbling block in the way.' So far from being animated by any such intentions I had opened my letter by saying that 'few grievances enlist my sympathy more than that which is felt when a man finds himself unavoidably forced to do or say something which seems to him to violate the law of love and charity'; and I concluded it by expressing a 'hope that in His own good time the Holy Spirit would put into the mind of the Church a solution of the difficulty, which will effect the purpose without injustice to one side or the other.' This is hardly the language of such a deliberate obstructionist as my critic describes.

Let me turn now to the arguments in my letter: the first, that 'the present is an inopportune time for making a change' was brushed aside with very little ceremony. I wrote, 'just now there is a widespread unsettlement of faith, and there is a fear that any relaxation of the legal obligation to recite the Creed may be interpreted by wavering spirits at least as encouraging the idea that the Anglican Church is loosening its hold on the Catholic Faith.' To this he replied: 'we are very familiar with this argument, if argument it can be called. The truth is that when men have come to the conclusion no change ought ever to be made . . . the time is in their view "singularly inopportune." The argument of inopportuneness can accordingly have very little weight, and may at once be dismissed from consideration.' It is a little hard to regard me as one of those who thought 'no change ought *ever* to be made' when I had expressed the hope that a solution might one day be found.

But a far more important point which I should have thought would have led him to treat this argument less lightly is the fact that it had been very strenuously urged by some of the highest of our spiritual rulers and guides, and, to judge by their language, with a full consciousness of their responsibility in pressing it.

When the Upper House of Convocation assembled to debate the question in May 1904, the Bishop of Salisbury proposed an amendment to a resolution of the Bishop of Worcester in the following terms: 'That the present is not an opportune time for the consideration of matters involving the revision of the text or rubrics of the Prayer-book,

especially when such revision would touch the profession of faith'; and in support of it he urged that 'this was a time of unrest and disquiet,' and that this 'fact created an atmosphere of which their lordships were bound to take account.'

The Bishop of Oxford, the Dean of Windsor's own Diocesan, said that though the proposal for deferring the question seemed to lay them open to the charge of timidity, 'still he could not help feeling, and he had felt it with growing strength, that they might be incurring a very serious disaster, if they were now to carry any such measure as was proposed.' He followed it up by a most earnest appeal to pause, on the ground that claims had been set up to treat absolutely essential beliefs as open questions, and that 'they had spread wide alarm and unsettlement through the Church of England.' He said, moreover, that 'people were looking, naturally and pathetically looking, to the bishops to help them now; and he could not help feeling that in regard to them this was as inopportune a time almost as could be taken for the change.' 'Their suffering did seem to him to claim as a right the most thoughtful and gentle consideration, "Let us choose another time to do it."

This is a full and very forcible expression of what was in my mind when I put this argument of 'inopportuneness' prominently forward.

The Bishop of London said that 'he could not be a party to having this question raised at the present time,' and six other bishops voted on the same side. These are weighty judgments in favour of my contention, and delivered, it will be observed, not in casual conversation, but in solemn conclave, and they are recorded in the Chronicle of Convocation for the guidance of those members who care to know what their spiritual rulers think on such a crucial question. When, therefore, the Dean of Windsor takes them into consideration he will, I am sure, feel that my first argument deserved different treatment from that which he gave to it.

My second reason for dissenting was based on the fact 'that the Rubric enjoining the recitation is part of an Act of Parliament and can only be altered by another Act'; and I pressed the fears of many of our most loyal Churchmen, backed by the conviction of those who know the temper of the House of Commons, that any Bill to modify the use of the Creed would almost certainly be amended to abolish it altogether. This, I felt, would be such an Erastian procedure as to lead to an agitation for a severance of Church and State; and I added that the expected change of Government might make it possible; at all events the risk would be too serious to take.

The likelihood of such a result is, however, only a matter of opinion, and the Dean was not afraid to face the risk. Indeed, he proceeded to show himself as sanguine as I am fearful; but I doubt if our experience of the treatment of ecclesiastical measures before the House of Commons during the last few years lends much support to his

confident prediction. 'The chances,' he said, 'are surely greater that, whatever the Church, speaking through her Convocation, asks for in the matter of this rubric, Parliament would be willing to grant.' As the issue can only be conjectural we need not dwell upon it further.

His reply, however, to my assertion that the rubric could only be altered by an Act of Parliament requires to be more fully considered. He wrote: 'But it must be pointed out that it is not in accordance with facts. Technically, no doubt, the Dean is right. Practically he is wrong. Is it not the case that more than one rubric has already been altered without any Act of Parliament at all? There is, for instance, a rubric enjoining what is called the Long Exhortation in the Service for Holy Communion. That rubric has been practically "altered," in the sense that it has ceased to be observed; and Parliament has had nothing to do with it.' It is far from correct to say that it has ceased to be observed, for there are many churches, where Communion is still rare, in which it is still read. But when I spoke of 'altering the rubric,' as the context shows, I meant exactly what the words implied—not altering something else literally or practically. The clergy may alter their own views as to whether the observation of a particular direction is important or binding on their conscience, but so long as it is left in the Prayer-book *litera scripta manet*; and it will remain, unaltered and the same, till the authority which placed it there and 'sealed' it shall break the seal and take it away. Any diocesan bishop, if he thought fit, could order an incumbent to read the Long Exhortation; and to decline to obey would render him amenable to episcopal censure.

If such a 'practical alteration,' as the Dean maintains has been made in this rubric, were what the memorialists pleaded for, it was idle to ask for the interposition of the Archbishops. Not a few of the clergy have on their own responsibility done with the rubric for this as a larger number have done with the other, and it is therefore, by his own argument, already 'altered'; but he wants something quite different; and this object I asserted could not be attained except by Parliament. His illustration was an unfortunate one, because to alter by one process cannot mean to ignore or neglect by another.

My third reason was based on the proposals made in the Upper House of Convocation that the bishops should, by virtue of the *jus liturgicum*, exercise a dispensing power to recite the Creed or not. If this were done I argued that in the absence of unanimity, of which their debates exhibited little prospect, one diocese would be relieved, another not, and in any case 'in individual parishes discord would be rife.' I maintained further that the dispensing power did not extend to interference with an ancient and catholic Creed, but I was unable, from the exigency of space, to support the position by the evidence of writers of authority. If I had written more fully I might, perhaps, have prevented the serious misreading by the Dean of my

last reason. But before turning to this let me traverse his statement: 'Inasmuch as the address of his brother deans to the Archbishops did not even allude to, much less endorse, the suggestion (*i.e.*, for the exercise of the *jus liturgicum*), it is difficult to see how the Dean of Lichfield found in such a suggestion any reason for holding aloof from his brethren.'

I read in the opening lines of the memorial, 'we desire to express our respectful appreciation of the efforts made by the spiritual rulers of the Church towards solving the problem,' &c. I had reason to believe from reports that one such 'effort' was to be by the exercise of dispensation, and I have turned to the only place I know of where their 'efforts' are recorded—viz., the Chronicle of Convocation; and I find that the July session was opened by the Bishop of Salisbury in the following words: 'Your Lordships will remember that at the last group of sessions we passed a Resolution which is before us to-day . . . that "each diocesan bishop should be authorised on application from an incumbent, with sufficient reason shown, to dispense with the *Quicunque vult* either on all or on some of the days when the rubric orders its recitation." ' His lordship gave his opinion very decidedly that the meaning of the Resolution was 'that the Bishops were to take upon themselves to give authority for the alteration of the rubric,' and he said that he could not support it. Nevertheless it was carried by fourteen to six votes. It was interpreted largely in the Bishop of Salisbury's sense outside Convocation, and eagerly seized on by clergy who were anxious for relief, for several of the bishops testified, in the course of the debate, to their having received requests for dispensation on the strength of it. Yet further, when the Lower House was asked 'to express their appreciation of the manner in which their Lordships were endeavouring to deal with this serious question,' several speakers, one of them giving historical evidence at length, disputed the claim of the bishops to exercise the dispensing power in connection with a Creed.

In the light of this information I claim to have been fully justified in assuming that what had occupied a very important place in the debates of the bishops was at least one of the 'efforts' which the memorialists 'alluded to.' No other, at all events, had led to such immediate 'appreciation' from those who were seeking for relief through their deliberations. I think then with this confirmation that I *had* reason on the ground alleged for holding aloof.

I pass now to the Dean's criticisms of my fourth reason, which he did not see was based upon my dread of the consequences if this one of the efforts which the bishops had made, viz. to exercise a dispensing power which I in common with many experts thought to be *ultra vires*, should be put into practice.

I had written 'There is yet one more objection' which is not without weight. Those clergy who have been practising what are

called 'ritualistic illegalities' would be far less likely to accept the godly admonitions of their bishops if they had disregarded their feelings in matters which to them are of vital importance. The present confusion would be worse confounded.'

My previous argument showed that interference with the recitation of an ancient and catholic Creed would be to exercise *unauthorised* power, and would greatly distress the feelings of some, because the confession of faith was to them of vital importance; and I feared the possibility of their losing respect for the counsel of their spiritual fathers in non-essential matters. But the Dean ignores my previous contention and the sequence of argument, and makes as though I had written something quite different. This is his comment: 'It is necessary to take in the full meaning of this statement. It says in effect that if a burning question, which enlists on both sides of it a vast amount of the orthodoxy and piety of the Church, should eventually be *decided by authority* (the italics are mine) in a way contrary to the ideas and wishes of certain clergy, then it is likely that these clergy will hesitate to accept the godly admonitions of their bishops, and so forget the solemn vow and promise made at their ordination.' He goes on to quote the vow they had taken, that they would gladly submit to the godly judgments of their ordinary. But he ignored a preceding vow, that they would minister according to the bidding of 'this Church and Realm.' If, therefore, the bishops should advise anything in direct contradiction of this promise it could not be covered by anything that came after. It would be an illegal counsel, which had no claim on their acceptance.

Let me illustrate this from the question at issue. The rubric ordering the recitation of the Athanasian Creed on certain fixed days was made by the Convocation of 'the Church,' and subsequently sealed by 'the Realm,' and embodied in an Act of Parliament. Now one of the vows taken by a bishop at his consecration is that he will correct and punish those who should disobey him 'according to such authority as to you shall be committed by the ordinance of this Realm.' The State has certainly nowhere empowered him to counteract the express directions for the recitation of the Creed; and if he should claim to do it, a recalcitrant priest, as I suggested, knowing that it was *ultra vires*, might be disposed to set less value on his other and less important counsels. The fact is the Dean of Windsor is betrayed into language of rather severe remonstrance from an entire misapprehension. He assumed, and that without justification, that I approved of disobedience to orders given 'by authority,' and not to those given 'in face of authority,' of which alone I had been thinking and speaking.

One word more to vindicate myself, not only for my own sake, but to avoid misunderstanding by others. The Dean speaks of my last argument as 'of the nature of a threat'; and I am afraid he meant

a threat on my part. It could hardly be intended of the clergy, the violation of whose convictions I said might lead them to disregard episcopal advice, for he says, 'this is to express a very poor opinion of those clergy, for which they will hardly be grateful. For myself I entertain a far higher opinion of the honesty and loyalty of the ritualistic clergy as a body.' The 'threat,' then, which he afterwards speaks of as 'thinly veiled,' must be mine; and the Dean's language leaves the impression on the reader's mind that I, to say the least, should sympathise with insubordination to authority. I should like to appeal in self-justification for my maintenance of episcopal authority to several hundreds of the clergy who have been trained for the ministry at Ely Theological College, of which I was the first head.

In conjunction with the founder, the revered Bishop Woodford, I drew up thirty years ago the principles upon which the students should be trained, and they have not been altered, save by way of development, by my more worthy successors. Among those principles implicit obedience to all lawful commands of their Diocesan, *i.e.* 'the godly admonitions' in the Ordination vow, has always been inculcated as of paramount obligation.

I hope that this expansion of the arguments of my letter to the *Times* will have strengthened my position in standing aloof from the memorialists, and also have satisfied my brother dean that in some instances at least he has quite misunderstood me.

H. MORTIMER LUCKOCK.

THE READING OF THE MODERN GIRL

A SHORT time ago, in a London High School, a composition was set to girls of fifteen and sixteen, on 'Your Favourite Novel'; the majority chose simple, inoffensive tales by second-rate authors and authoresses (especially the latter), while a few described novels which were at the particular moment extremely popular at the circulating libraries, but hardly suitable to juvenile tastes. One descended at length upon a lurid and sensational romance by an authoress whose books are sold by the tens of thousands, and the corrector wrote underneath the essay, 'Not suitable,' whereupon the father of the pupil, feeling, no doubt, that his literary taste was impugned, queried 'Why on earth not?' The parent's remark explains to a very large extent the reason why many of our girls are reading to-day books of an inferior nature, and are in many cases neglecting the standard novels which, if not read in youth, are so seldom read later in life.

In a correspondence that was carried on a little while ago, on the subject of girls' reading, it was suggested that new series of books, especially written for girls, were needed, and that the modern girl suffered from lack of suitable material on which to feed her mental hunger. The suggestion seems almost farcical considering our stock of noble English novels and stories, a large number of which are quite suitable for girls on the threshold of womanhood; but it was made in all seriousness by a writer who really believed that there was not enough good literature to go round! Far, indeed, from this being the fact, the good literature on the contrary is being pushed on one side by the enormous mass of written stuff that is yearly issued by the press of an inferior and second-rate quality, upon which our girls feed greedily, with the very natural result that they cannot digest food of a superior nature. Habit and custom lay such a terribly heavy hand upon us all and so enthrall our minds that it is impossible to escape the bonds of our youth, and the 'child is father of the man,' in literature as in life.

• What does the modern girl actually read? I have lately tried to discover the answer to this question by interrogating some two hundred girls, 'between fifteen and eighteen years of age, who attend secondary schools in different parts of England. Their answers

have been interesting, and, to me, most instructive ; they may be regarded as genuine expressions of opinion, for the papers sent in were accompanied by no names, and the girls were told that their own teachers would not read the lists.

The following questions were asked :

- (1) Which are your favourite novels ?
- (2) Which of Scott's novels have you read ?
- (3) Which of Thackeray's novels have you read ?
- (4) Which of Dickens's novels have you read ?
- (5) Which of Jane Austen's novels have you read ?
- (6) Which of Mrs. Gaskell's novels have you read ?
- (7) Do you like C. Yonge's stories ?
- (8) Do you like Miss Muloch's stories ?
- (9) Do you like Miss Thackeray's stories ?
- (10) Do you read magazines ? If so, which ?
- (11) Which are your favourite poets ?
- (12) Name six poems you are very fond of.

A careful examination of the 200 papers revealed some striking and, to the writer of this article at any rate, some surprising facts. There was little difference of opinion about the favourite novels : the majority voted for Edna Lyall, the favourites being *Donovan* and *We Two* ; next came Merriman's novels, and close to these the *Prisoner of Zenda*. Miss Corelli scored a good number of votes, as did L. T. Meade and E. E. Green. A few of the elder girls, not more than 3 per cent., named *David Copperfield*. With the exception of Dickens, no standard novelist found a place among the favourite books, though most of the girls, in answering questions 2 and 4, showed that they had read a considerable number of Dickens's and Scott's novels. It seems to be clear, therefore, that these two novelists, although still read by the younger generation, are no longer loved with that absorbing passion which so often took possession of their parents and grandparents. Thackeray and Jane Austen were only known to a select few who, in several instances, added the gratuitous but informing statement, 'I find I cannot read J. Austen, she is so dull.' Mrs. Gaskell's delightful stories, so suitable for girlhood, are apparently unread by the modern girl, for not a single book of hers is mentioned in the 200 lists, with the exception of *Cranford*, which appears six times. The novels of C. Yonge and Miss Muloch where they are not actively disliked are evidently regarded as suitable for the juniors, for on several papers the answers to questions 7 and 8 were in the form of, 'I do not like these writers,' 'Not much,' 'Fairly well,' 'No, not at all,' or 'I used to like them when I was young,' 'I liked them rather when I was twelve or thirteen,' and so on. The name of Miss Thackeray was unknown to all, yet there is perhaps no more beautiful and pathetic narrative in our language than *The Story of Elizabeth*, which to know and love is certainly a step towards a liberal education.

The answers to question 10 show that the habit of desultory, miscellaneous reading has, alas! taken firm root in our midst, and flourishes exceedingly among those who are likely to be most harmed by it. 'I read nearly all the well-known magazines,' writes one young lady of eighteen (proudly, one imagines), and she goes on to give a long list beginning with *The Nineteenth Century* and ending with *Home Chat*, a list that shows at any rate a catholicity of taste that should not, perhaps, be condemned. Here is the magazine reading of another maiden: *The Strand*, *The World and His Wife*, *The Smart Set*, *Harmsworth*, *The Captain*. It is not surprising to learn that this young lady had read no Scott, no Jane Austen, no Miss Yonge, no Miss Muloch, no Thackeray, and could only recall one favourite novel of a most infantile description! How could she, indeed, find time to read anything beyond her five magazines per month? Were these two answers exceptions, it would not be worth quoting them, but they are largely typical of the rest of the papers; over a hundred papers named three magazines as read regularly, while between fifty and sixty girls write down the names of five periodicals. Most of the magazines mentioned were unobjectionable except in so far as they were of the *Tit Bit* order of writing, and so likely to destroy all taste for serious and continuous reading.

Concerning poets and poetry there was almost absolute unanimity. Tennyson was the favourite, and of his poems the *Idylls of the King* took the first place. Longfellow's *Evangeline* and *Hiawatha* were much beloved, while Browning's shorter poems, *The Pied Piper*, *Saul*, and one or two others were appreciated in one school, a fact that showed that this poet was being studied in class, I think. Scott had a fair number of admirers: *Sohrab and Rustum* was named by several, but there was little variety in the lists, which indicated a very narrow range of poetry among the elder girls in our schools.

Two papers are given below *in extenso*; it would not be fair to say they represent the vast majority of those sent in, but many of them contain very little more information. The answers are given in the order of the questions on page 279.

Paper No. 1.

Age 16.

- (1) I have read only 'Westward Ho!'
- (2) I have read part of 'Ivanhoe.'
- (3) I have not read any (Thackeray).
- (4) I have not read any (Dickens).
- (5) I have not ready any (J. Austen).
- (6) I have never read any (Mrs. Gaskell).
- (7) I do not know them (C. Yonge).
- (8) I do not know them (Miss Muloch).
- (9) I have not heard of her (Miss Thackeray).
- (10) Sometimes.
- (11) Tennyson.
- (12) 'Lady of the Lake,' 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' 'Horatius,' 'Ancient Mariner.'

Paper No. 2.

Age 15.

- (1) I have not read any.
- (2) Not any.
- (3) Not any.
- (4) Not any.
- (5) Not any.
- (6) —
- (7) I do not know them.
- (8) I do not know them.
- (9) I have not heard of her.
- (10) Yes, as many as I can.
- (11) Longfellow.
- (12) I've heard of 'The Reaper and the Flowers,' 'Psalm of Life,' 'Village Blacksmith.'

It is curious to compare the taste of the modern girl with that of the girl of twenty years ago ; fashion in reading has changed as greatly as fashion in dress, and it must be confessed for the worse. Those of us who were at school a couple of decades ago were revelling in our Dickens and our Scott in a manner that strikes our pupils of to-day as curious and odd. 'I find Scott so awfully dull,' said a schoolgirl to me the other day ; 'I will read him if you really want me to, but I can't honestly say I like any I *have* read.' Mrs. Oliphant's stories, the heroines of which we followed from one volume to another, with their homely charm and real insight into human life, seem to have passed into the limbo of forgotten things ; it would be useless to attempt to resuscitate them at the present moment, although many of us think they are eminently suitable reading for the girl of to-day who will be the mother of to-morrow. Such books are too uneventful, too seriously written, too earnest for the generation that feeds on scraps and snippets. Charles Kingsley, the most popular novelist of the '70's and '80's probably, whose muscular Christian heroes appealed to boys and girls alike, whose *Westward Ho!* would have been voted one of the very finest of modern novels by a plébiscite of twenty years ago, is neglected, while Mrs. Ewing, a writer of real genius, is scarcely more than a name. We who read *The Story of a Short Life*, *Jackanapes*, *A Flat Iron for a Farthing*, when we were in our teens, and to whom the memory of these touching and beautiful books remains a precious possession for ever, regret that our successors should be shut out from such a great inheritance.

An authoress dearly loved in our youth appears but twice in the list. Louisa Alcott, a few years ago, numbered a very large circle of readers on both sides of the Atlantic, and thousands of girls felt they knew *Little Women*, *Good Wives* and *The Old-Fashioned Girl* as they knew their sisters and friends. It is a pity her books, like many others, have disappeared ; her heroines were real girls, and their outlook upon life was wholesome and cheering. They were just the books to give girls of sixteen and seventeen who were rightly and naturally outgrowing the more childish volumes. Miss Alcott's

books are essentially womanly books ; they are full of vigour and life, and it is difficult to understand their passing. Equally inexplicable is the neglect of Mrs. Gaskell, Miss Thackeray, Miss Yonge and Miss Muloch. With this long list of neglected writers of the first rank, it seems unnecessary to suggest the production of a series specially intended for girls, if by girls we mean those who are between fifteen and eighteen years of age. Here, if the girl only knew it, is a whole wealth of good reading awaiting her, but, alas ! too often she has lost the key to this great kingdom. She has so satiated her mind with the second-rate, the insipid or the ultra-sentimental, that she cannot read the good and the beautiful. The modern school-girl is not reading a vicious literature ; her taste is healthy, and for that let us be thankful in an age that produces much that is corrupt and unedifying. Nevertheless, it were folly to disguise the fact that the reading of inferior novels, this filling the mind with scraps and tags of information, is harmful in the highest degree. If she does not read the great novels in her youth, she is never likely to do so : partly because, later on, she will naturally want to keep abreast of contemporary literature, and partly because she will have no desire to read them. If till the age of eighteen or nineteen her taste for good literature has not been cultivated—or, to put it more truly, if till this age she has cultivated a taste for inferior books and really appreciates them—it is unnatural to expect that after twenty her taste will alter to any considerable degree. Why is it that rubbishy novels have such an enormous circulation to-day, and that these same novels are published in their hundreds and thousands ? Is it not largely due to the fact that the middle class who form the bulk of novel-readers have no standard of taste ? Having never read a good novel, they do not recognise a bad one when they see it. He who till the age of maturity had lived in rooms hung with cheap and badly-coloured oleographs is not likely to find much pleasure in the National Gallery ; nor can those who in their youth have listened to nothing but the last music-hall songs be expected to appreciate a sonata by Beethoven. Early impressions are the strongest of all, and are rarely obliterated in later life. ' Give me a child up to seven years old,' said Loyola, ' and anyone who likes may have him afterwards.' Let the girl during her school-days read poor stuff, and in nine cases out of ten she will ever afterwards be incapable of reading anything but poor stuff. ' Life is very short,' says Ruskin, in that wonderful preface to *Sesame and Lilies* which no girl should leave school without having ' inwardly digested,' ' and the quiet hours are so very few, we ought to waste none of them in reading valueless books.'

If the 200 lists which I have examined are a true index of the reading of the modern girl, it would be interesting to discover what the causes are that have brought about this changed taste in reading—a

change, let it be emphasised once more, not towards the vicious, but towards a lower level of literary art, the standard novels being neglected in favour of stories by tenth-rate writers, and magazines of all kinds. Is it a natural evolution, and if so no more to be stemmed than the current of a river that has worked its way into a new channel ? Those of us who are interested in the education of girls, and who believe that much of the progress of the world depends on its womanhood, can only deplore it if such be the case. But we shall not believe it until the evidence in support of such a theory is far stronger. It is a foolish optimism that accepts the comfortable doctrine of 'Whatever is right.' In many instances the exact opposite is true, and the present tendency in many things needs to be fought against with the utmost persistency. If, therefore, the *status quo* need not be accepted, where shall we seek for the cause in order to find the remedy ?

The modern parent and the modern school cannot escape blame : they are responsible largely for this deterioration of taste. Not entirely, perhaps, for there is that unconscious influence from which none of us can entirely escape ; we are the children of an age that loves cheapness in every department of life, and the *Zeitgeist* pursues us all. So much must be acknowledged, but even so the parents and teachers are answerable for some of the evil. Take the case of the parents first ; the modern mother exercises far less supervision over her daughter than she did a generation ago, she knows little of her daughter's tastes in many directions, and less of her pursuits. The daughter gets books from school friends, from the circulating library, and above all, from the free library, which is not such an unmixed blessing as some of the admirers of Mr. Carnegie would have us believe. In many suburban districts of London, the chief patrons of the free library are the young ladies and their servants, and the former are constantly to be found in the reading rooms idly turning over the leaves of magazine after magazine, and picking up scraps of information on almost every imaginable subject. It may be good, as Ruskin says, for a girl to be let loose in her father's library, where presumably she will find a book that may be beyond her intellect, but certainly not those that will vitiate her taste ; it is decidedly not to her advantage to give her *carte blanche* in a public one. Again, the modern parent brings home many magazines which are read with avidity by the younger members of the household, and where the parent does not bring them, the children constantly buy them for themselves. Those who travel by train on any line frequented by schoolgirls and schoolboys are constantly struck by the fact that almost all the boys and girls are reading penny and halfpenny papers, often of the most "trashy" kind. A few years ago such a thing was unheard of, partly because there were far fewer illustrated chatty papers, partly because parental control was stronger, and would have sternly denounced such a misuse of pocket money. But the present-day parent is more and

more shifting his responsibilities on to other shoulders. If he is poor, he allows the State to educate and feed his children ; if he is better off, he allows the teacher and the school an altogether preponderating influence, so that the home naturally falls into the background. The school of to-day is expected to teach the children not only a multiplicity of subjects, but to instruct them in manners, morals, religion and hygiene—with what success it is not necessary to enter upon here.

With all this extra work it is not therefore surprising that the schools sometimes fail in the performance of their rightful duties. And who can blame them ? Certainly not those who have had practical experience of what is expected from the teacher, who, it would appear, is to be guide, philosopher, friend, doctor, athletic coach, and mother rolled into one.

‘Until quite lately literature occupied an inferior position in our secondary schools for girls, and anyone was supposed to be able to teach it. Latin and mathematics being really important subjects, only specialists with very high degrees (and often inferior teaching capacities) were permitted to handle them, and in many schools, if the truth were told, the whole curriculum was based on these two subjects. Time was grudgingly given to science and to modern languages, while history and literature came last of all and filled up the interstices. Teachers of experience will confirm the statement that in some schools literature and history are taken alternately in the highest forms, according as the one or the other is the examination subject. Such an arrangement does not lend dignity to the subjects so treated, neither is it good for the scholars, who are too apt to regard learning as useless if it does not ‘pay’ from an examination point of view. But even where literature forms an essential part of the school curriculum it cannot be said to be dealt with satisfactorily at present. No doubt it will be better under the new four-year arrangement laid down by the Board of Education, which, in the hands of intelligent teachers, looks as if it should work well, and result in greater knowledge of and more genuine enthusiasm for our noble literature.

How is English literature taught in our girls’ schools to-day ? In the upper forms—girls from fifteen to eighteen years of age—certain prescribed books are studied, and in order to pass the examinations at the end of a year these books must be studied most minutely by the help of notes which are often more adapted to real scholars than to young students. Ask a girl of sixteen or so what literature she is studying in school, and she will most likely reply : ‘We are “getting up” *Henry the Fifth*, or the *Merchant of Venice*.’ Proceed to examine her in the nature of ‘getting up’ a book, and you will find it principally consists in learning notes by heart. These notes deal with difficult points in philology, comparisons between the various editions of the play, and the different readings—all matters of interest

to the ripe scholar, but surely not required by the 'young person,' who has probably read nothing more than one or two plays of Shakespeare. During the last three or four years examiners have dealt more with characters, with the result that editors of the latest text-books present their readers with ready-made sketches of the chief people in the plays, which the girls, with their terrible facility for 'getting up' anything, learn by heart, and reproduce with a wearisome monotony. Of course, it may be said that a really great teacher may surmount these difficulties, and, in spite of cheap criticisms and learned notes, inspire her pupils with a passionate enthusiasm for a Cordelia, a Rosalind, a Henry the Fifth. The great teachers are few and far between ; they do, and have always done, good work regardless of bad systems. It is the average, conscientious teacher with whom we are concerned, who loves her play or her poem, and desires her pupils to love them likewise. She would like to spend time over the beauties of character and of language ; she would like her pupils to do original work, and often she urges them not to read the character sketches which serve as a preface until they have formed their own estimates. She would like to disregard the notes. But how can she ? She is, indeed, placed between Scylla and Charybdis. Omission of the notes will mean failure at examination, and that is a serious matter ; study of them will mean distaste of a fine piece of literature perhaps, and that is even more serious. Only those who have actually taught literature know how impossible it is to teach it in the way it ought to be taught when there is an examination looming in the near future. The teacher is obliged to lay stress on the unimportant and the unnecessary, and to pass quickly over the æsthetic and moral side of literature, which should make it such a valuable subject of study for young and impressionable girls. Literature is of all subjects least adapted to examination, for here the facts are nothing and the spirit and feeling everything, and one can after all only examine people on facts and deductions from facts, not on those things which appeal primarily to the emotional and imaginative side of the mind. There is no lack of interest in literature among girls, and there are plenty of enthusiastic teachers in our schools who would rejoice to see the present system of examinations done away with ; or if examinations must form a part of modern education they believe that a kind might be devised less dependent on 'cram,' and more conducive to the acquisition of a knowledge and understanding of great works of poetry and prose suitable to the immature minds of young people.

Another objection may be raised against the present system of literature-teaching in our schools—narrowness of range. The ordinary girl of eighteen leaves school with a knowledge of probably two or three Shakespeare plays, a Chaucer story, one book of the *Faerie Queen*, perhaps a volume of Burke, and some of Scott's poems. She

may also have learnt *Outlines of Literature* in one or other of the forms, but beyond the names of some half a dozen authors she remembers little else from this course. The list is a very limited one; but this is natural and necessary under the present *régime*, where each book must be studied in detail, and one play of Shakespeare often occupies a whole term, the result of such study being very often boredom verging on dislike on the part of the pupils. If we would only banish this foolish idea of treating young people as if they were scholars, and demanding from them a knowledge that is quite beyond their understanding, we might send our girls out into the world with a stock of good literature and a love for it which would be their best possession for ever after. That girls will read good books and keenly enjoy them is seen in the fact that for the last ten years in a certain large and very well known secondary girls' school a literary society which all girls over thirteen may join has flourished exceedingly, and done excellent work in cultivating the taste of middle-class girls for the very best literature. The girls join this society voluntarily, and continue to keep up their connection with it long after they have left school. They read the works of one author during the year, write papers, and attend meetings for discussions, and in this way they have read Thackeray, Jane Austen, Scott, Dickens, Mrs. Gaskell, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and selections from the works of Wordsworth, Tennyson, Coleridge, Browning, and others. Their spare time cannot therefore be devoted to magazines and newspapers, and when they leave school they possess a standard by which they can judge contemporary fiction. I do not know of any more valuable work than this, but such work should not be left to the enthusiasm and energy of an individual teacher, but should find its place in the ordinary school curriculum: Why should not the girls in the higher forms be reading Jane Austen and Wordsworth as well as Shakespeare and Burke? The sixth form might well spend its last year in the study of nineteenth-century literature, of which, as a rule, the present generation is wofully ignorant. It is a magnificent literature, worthy of study and of extreme interest to those of the twentieth century.

The school, therefore, and parent can do much to prevent that deterioration in taste that is so apparent on all sides, and this without anything in the nature of a revolution. Parents should sternly forbid the reading of more than one magazine a month, for the indiscriminate reading of magazines is perhaps more harmful than anything else; it creates a distaste for reading anything but 'snippets' and the lightest of literature, and gives the reader an air of superficial knowledge that is far worse than downright ignorance. The spaces in the mind may be filled; it is difficult to clear away rubbish. Magazine-reading is to the mind what constant 'whiskies and sodas' are to the body; it prevents the digestion of anything solid, and the

taste for it grows with what it feeds upon. Again, parents, especially mothers, could do much to cultivate a love of good literature by the habit of reading aloud. How many of us have not owed our love for Scott or Dickens to hearing those beloved authors read aloud in holiday time? It is such a pity to have dropped that excellent habit; it united the family, for old and young alike could take pleasure in the reading, and it accustomed the young people to good English and to a concentration that is seldom demanded in these days. It also encouraged the art of good reading, one of the most delightful of arts which does not receive its due cultivation in the present-day school. Dickens, Scott, and Jane Austen are probably best appreciated by young people when they are read aloud; while the more solid books, such as Macaulay, Carlyle, &c., would get a hearing if they were read in extracts with explanatory comments if necessary. An hour's reading in the family circle three or four times a week would mean acquaintance with a considerable number of books, and might perhaps help to stem that desire for outside pleasures and excitements which is a marked feature of the age, and a feature which many people deplore as leading to weakening of family life and interests.

What can the schools do? First and foremost, they must cease to regard literature as an examination subject, and great works of art as material to be 'got up' for a precise purpose, and then cast on one side. Of all the subjects taught at school I make bold to say that for girls at least, no matter what their rank, literature is the most valuable, for literature is life. Whatever is noble and beautiful in life is to be found in literature; it contains all lessons we can possibly wish to teach our pupils, and these in the most beautiful form. No one who has been nourished on a noble literature in her school-days can be without a certain degree of culture and a certain comprehension of life which are not of necessity given by the study of elementary mathematics, science, or even languages. Thus the literature of one's own country should be the basis of all studies; and no girl ought to leave our secondary schools without a fair acquaintance with some of the works of the greatest writers in all departments which are suited to her understanding. We ought not to expect a girl of eighteen to have read Locke, Bacon, Hobbes, or Hooker, but one might certainly demand something beyond two or three plays of Shakespeare. To know the best that has been thought and written by the noblest minds is to possess the key of an immortal kingdom from which, alas! at present too many of our young people are shut out.

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FLORENCE B. LOW.

THE REVIEWING OF FICTION

IT is doubtless a delicate and invidious proceeding on the part of a novelist to venture to criticise the methods of Press reviewers of his particular branch of literature. Such a novelist must, in all probability, be content to be regarded as suffering from an attack of spleen, produced by wounded vanity. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the present system of reviewing works of fiction is far from being satisfactory either to novelists or to the general mass of novel-readers. I may, perhaps, be allowed to place the case of the novelist before that of the novel-reader ; since reviewing, if the novelist be a conscientious writer, should be the means whereby he may learn the error of his ways and enable him to use the criticisms on his work as stepping-stones to lead him to more artistic heights. But, where doctors disagree—and I contend that a reviewer of fiction should be nothing if not a species of literary doctor—how is an unfortunate novelist, especially if he be new to his craft, to realise with any degree of certainty his artistic and literary weaknesses ? and from what professional adviser is he to learn to remedy his maladies ?

We are frequently told that well-known authors, who are sure of themselves and of their public, do not trouble themselves as to what reviewers may or may not say regarding their methods and their work. I venture to disbelieve the statement. I am confident that the ledgers of the various press-cutting agencies could tell a very different tale ; and that there exist few writers, well known or the reverse, who are of so lofty and serene a spirit as entirely to ignore the attitude of the Press towards their work. If such there be, it is probable that they are to be met with rather among the ranks of the poets (who are accustomed to be misunderstood) than among writers of fiction.

It would not, I imagine, be difficult for any fairly well-known novelist to point to criticisms of his books, extracted from leading organs of the Press, in direct contradiction one to another ; and, if I mistake not, we have Mr. Punch's word for it that the same critic has before now been known to perplex an author and his public by expressing contrary opinions in different journals as to an author's work. Indeed, it once happened to the present writer to see a very

flattering review of one of his novels in the columns of a leading London organ deservedly authoritative on literary matters. This, however, would have been more satisfactory to the feelings of the author had the same paper not published, a few days subsequently, another review of the said novel than which nothing could have been more depreciatory ! I have mentioned this journalistic incident merely because it bears upon, and might be applied to, the whole system of the reviewing of fiction as that system at present stands. It is, of course, of little moment that a newspaper, however authoritative, should publish two contradictory criticisms of the same work. The point which I would insist upon is that contradiction is one of the principal features of Press criticism of fiction at the present time. A novelist, as I think, should surely be strong enough to desire to be shown his own defects, and conscientious enough towards his art and towards his public to wish to seek counsel and assistance from professional critics whose duty and privilege it should be to lead the public taste. As matters stand, however, the perplexed novelist is liable to read in one leading organ that he has written a work which places him 'in the front rank of living writers of fiction,' and in another that he is ignorant of the very rudiments of the art of novel-writing.

It is not probable that my own experiences differ very greatly from those of the majority of my fellow novelists ; and I hope to make it clear that I am venturing to criticise a system, and by no means to criticise reviewers, from whom I may honestly say that I have been fortunate enough to receive quite as many kindly and encouraging words as the reverse. In my own case, I am not ashamed to confess that, in the earlier days of my literary efforts, I was simple enough to think that I should derive benefit from all public criticism, however adverse or disagreeable to my vanity such criticism might be. It was not long, I regret to say, before it became an amusement to me to place reviews of my work side by side, in order to note the contradictory opinions expressed by those who should have been my guides and counsellors ; and not mine alone, but also those of my possible readers.

The question naturally arises as to why an author, or for that matter the public, should be more convinced of the justice of eulogistic Press criticism than of a criticism which is condemnatory. The truth is that neither praise nor blame on the part of the Press carries the same weight, either with author or public, it formerly was wont to do ; and this fact is in itself one of the unfortunate results of the ill-organised system of criticism in the Press. The author, being always human, and sometimes conceited, is apt to swallow praise without questioning its justice, and is content to pursue his way convinced that he is 'in the front rank ' of living writers, and superior to most dead ones. The immoderate and unequal expression both of praise and condemnation is, it may be suspected, accountable for the failure

of modern reviewing to effect any appreciable influence other than that of a transient and often deceptive nature on the art of the novelist and on the taste of his patrons, the public. How many times do we not read of the appearance of an 'epoch-making' book, and how many of these novels so described are read a second time? How often, again, do we not see a novel pitilessly condemned because it offends against the traditions of English fiction, or because its author is an unknown quantity to the critics, which wins its way to success in spite of all?

It is often argued that the immense output of modern fiction must of necessity render the work of reviewers superficial and incomplete. I would suggest that the Press is itself largely responsible for the arduous labours of its reviewers, and that it holds the remedy in its own hands. All, or nearly all, novels sent out by publishers for review are accorded notices more or less lengthy in the columns of our newspapers. The efforts of novices, or of little-known writers, are, it is true, often relegated to the tender mercies of a subordinate reviewer, or perhaps to those of a friend of the editor. Here, again, we have an injustice to the writer of the novel, to the publisher, and, last but not least, to the public, which looks, or should look, to its favourite newspaper for guidance as to what novels to spend its money upon. Unanimity of opinion on any work of fiction is, it need scarcely be observed, arrived at and matured by time, and by time only; nor would it be in any way desirable that criticism on current fiction should always be unanimous in tone. But there is surely a wide difference between such unanimity and the confusion of judgment and critical appreciation which may be said to be the distinguishing marks of reviewing at the present moment. Press criticism of fiction, as now conducted, is little else, as a rule, than the individual opinion of reviewers who may, or may not, be qualified to judge of the merits or demerits of a novel passing through their hands. It is very rarely indeed that an author does not do himself more harm than good by attempting to appeal against the autocratic verdict of a reviewer, however unfair that verdict may be. It is equally obvious that no author would be likely to possess so tender a conscience as to feel himself in duty bound to protest against eulogy which his artistic sense might tell him was undeserved. It follows, therefore, that both author and public may be, and often are, misled both by hostile and by eulogistic notices in the Press, unless such notices bear evident signs of being the result of conscientious and capable investigation of that author's work. In the case of every other branch of literature and art, criticism is, with rare exceptions, entrusted to critics who are recognised authorities on the particular subject dealt with by the producer of the work criticised. Works of fiction alone are, in countless instances, relegated to the superficial and hasty judgment of reviewers who, as often as not, lack that authority which should render them

competent to record their opinion in the public Press. A novel dealing, we will say, with foreign life is reviewed perhaps by a critic who has no knowledge of the people and of the country in which the scene of the book in question is laid. How, it may be asked, is such a critic to be a sound and reliable guide either to author or public? It is not necessary, however, to take instances of novels dealing with exotic subjects in order to show the unsatisfactory bases on which so much of our modern criticism is founded.

A very large, perhaps a predominant, proportion of English novels of the present day treat of the intimate social life of what is vulgarly called the 'upper ten thousand.' How many, even among our most distinguished novelists, are there who have been able to describe this life with any tolerable approach to accuracy? What terrible social solecisms do not the lords and ladies of the average novel, their unnamed relatives, and even their servants commit! How unintentionally funny are the descriptions of the country-house life of the 'smart'; the visits of young ladies to the family seats of the mighty, where they are either brought into contact with morals savouring of those of the poultry yard, or pass their time in a social atmosphere which may possibly be that of suburban villas, but decidedly not that surrounding high-bred gentlemen and ladies. It is a curious thing, but it is nevertheless a fact, that there are not at the present time half a dozen novelists writing who, when attempting to delineate characters and manners appertaining to a certain section of society, do not fall into laughable and, unluckily, often into offensive blunders on almost every opportunity. It would be interesting, by the way, to learn the opinion of the costermongers and factory girls, and other favourite types of 'slum' fiction, as to the faithfulness of their portraiture presented by many of the novels professing to describe their social manners and habits. It is much to be hoped that they are not such victims to unintentional caricature and misrepresentation as is the 'aristocracy' at the hands of the modern English writers of fiction.

And the reviewers? The reviewers, it is necessary to suppose, are not much more at home in the 'smart' world than are the novelists whose works they have to review. Hence it comes about that even authors and authoresses whose reputation is world-wide are allowed by the critics to offend with impunity, and are supposed by the outside public to know intimately that society of which they write with such assurance. 'This brilliant social exposure,' says one reviewer: 'This second "Vanity Fair,"' says another; and how many critics are there who can boldly tell the distinguished author that he, or she, has made well-bred people say, do, and think things entirely foreign to their nature and caste traditions? It may be argued that a novel is written, and read, to amuse the public, and not to instruct or raise the public taste. I do not imagine that George Eliot, for example, whose profound knowledge of the Warwickshire agricultural classes

and 'squirearchy' brought to her those powers of character-drawing and insight into human nature in which she has not only no equal, but no competitor worthy of the name among the English novelists of to-day, would have consented to such a limitation of her art: not to mention other writers of fiction who have passed away within the last few years, but whose work remains to us as a testimony to what the art of fiction may, in capable and conscientious hands, become.

The duty of the reviewer, it would seem, is now confined to criticising not so much the literary and constructive merits of a novel, as its chances of pleasing the public taste. It is true of course that, for form's sake, references to the literary style and other technicalities are, as a rule, included in the Press notices. The greatest stress, however, is almost invariably laid by the reviewer on the presence or absence of a 'good plot;' as though the greatest works of fiction had not, in probably the majority of cases, been woven round plots of the slenderest dimensions. If it is possible to have a novel of excellent literary and artistic merit, as well as of sustained interest, without what is usually termed a strong plot, it is, unluckily, equally possible to have a novel with a 'rattling good story' which is at the same time a contemptible piece of fiction. The pity of it is that, unlike the novel-readers of even a quarter of a century ago, the public of the present day is for the most part little attracted by any other feature of the novels it reads than the bare story these may have to tell.

Publishers, very wisely from their point of view, naturally concern themselves primarily with attempting to supply the public with what the public wants; nor would it be justifiable to expect them entirely to confine their output of fiction to works calculated to raise the standard of literary taste among novel-readers. That there does exist, nevertheless, a large proportion of the public that prefers good material to rubbish, and does look for some other quality in its fiction than mere plot or sensation, is shown by the lists kept at many free and lending libraries of the works in most frequent request.

Why, then, should this class of reader not, so to speak, be kept up to date by the reviewers of current fiction in the Press? and why, as is undoubtedly the case, has it so profound a distrust of present-day criticism that it turns its back upon modern novels and goes for its fiction to a past generation? The answer, as I think, is obvious. The reviewer, like the publisher, is obliged by force of circumstances to confine himself to praising extravagantly that which he believes is likely to gratify the public taste of the moment, and to censure as extravagantly that which he suspects will not do so. Hence, I believe, the confusion regarding the true merits of the vast majority of novels which appear by the thousand every year; and hence, I may add, the disillusion, not only among the educated public, but among authors themselves, who, of whatever standing they may be, cannot and should

not afford to dispense with so healthy a tonic as sound and authoritative Press criticism.

It is clear, as I have before observed, that a review of a novel, as the system of reviewing now stands, is merely the individual expression of the opinion of one critic who may or may not be a competent judge of the work he criticises. It is true that signed reviews appearing in certain organs carry with them an indisputable weight. These are, of course, written by critics of known competence. But how many authors may publish for years without earning the recognition implied by one of these reviews, and how often, it is fair to add, is the public not surprised to see an enthusiastic review of this authoritative nature bestowed on a novel absolutely undeserving of such official recognition? Let it be distinctly understood that I am not venturing to question the good faith of reviewers; nor am I proposing to assert that on the staff of certain journals, which it would be invidious to name, there are not experienced and dependable critics whose opinion every novel-writer and every novel-reader would do well to take seriously. It is this latter class of reviewer which, I venture to think, most novelists having the interests of their art, and therefore their own interests at heart, and at all events the majority of the educated mass of novel-readers, would like to see exercising its authority in a loftier and more serene sphere than that of journalism. I do not mean by these words to imply that journalistic criticism must necessarily be of a less impartial nature than any other; but it will not, I think, be denied that such criticism is liable to be influenced by public opinion of a transitory character. Moreover, as I have already stated, the great mass of fiction with which reviewers have so constantly to deal makes well-considered and thoughtful criticism a luxury only to be rarely accorded.

I trust that it will not for a moment be supposed that I am attempting so absurd a task as to venture to advocate the abolition of Press criticism of fiction. On the contrary, my object in this article is to plead for greater powers for that criticism—for a wider, a more definite and more weighty authority. How, then, is such an authority to be conferred, and from what source is it to proceed? I suggest that it would at once greatly lessen the arduous labours of reviewers of novels for the Press were it possible to organise a species of 'clearing-house' for works of fiction; and submit that some such process as this would also tend to give the public a more weighty opinion as to what to read and what to ignore than the Press can, under existing circumstances, supply. I believe, also, that such an institution would be of real value to authors of novels, inasmuch as these would be obliged to consider not only whether they could please their publishers, but whether they were turning out work which a higher tribunal than either publishers or Press should stamp with its hall-mark as being

worthy to be placed on the fictional market, and to be admitted to the subsequent honours of reviewal in the public journals.

It will no doubt be objected that any such process as this would entail an immense amount of additional work to the already harassed critic ; and that, given the vast and ever-growing output of fiction, no newspaper could afford to cope with a scheme which would oblige it to increase its permanent staff of reviewers. But who is responsible for this vast output of fiction ? In the first place, undoubtedly, the publishers. It would be interesting to know the percentage of novels appearing in the course of the year the authors of which had paid for their publication. I am not, of course, meaning to imply that any leading firm of publishers would demean itself by taking payment for the production of a novel which it knew to be a bad piece of work, foredoomed to failure. But all publishers have not a great reputation to sustain ; and that there are firms which do not hesitate to take payment from authors is notorious. It may be argued that many first novels have been produced under these doubtful circumstances, the authors of which have subsequently become famous ; and that the novel so launched would, had its writer been better known, have been eagerly accepted on terms favourable to the author. These last novels, however, are probably so few and far between that they may be left out of the argument. The fact remains that every year witnesses an ever increasing flood of fiction that serves no useful purpose, unless it be that of putting money into the pockets of publishers whose love of enterprise is greater than their respect for literature.

What, it may be asked, would be the fate of perhaps 80 per cent. of these novels if they were not advertised in the Press by means of reviews ? However condemnatory may be the criticisms of the leading journals which may condescend to notice such novels, there are invariably others ready to praise and recommend them ; and these laudatory notices of course figure largely in the publishers' advertisements. But what if the entire Press should agree to ignore all works of fiction sent in for review which did not bring with them to the editorial offices a guarantee that they had duly passed an initial stage of examination, and had been declared worthy of the notice of the journalistic critic ? And what if the circulating libraries declined to subscribe to any but works of fiction thus hall-marked ? It might, I think, reasonably be supposed that some such purifying process as this would tend considerably to reduce the flood of undesirable matter ; that it would diminish the work of the reviewer ; and that both the art of the novelist and the taste and literary discernment of the novel-reading public would gradually be raised.

The untrained author, male or female ; the fashionable lady, anxious to be considered intellectual ; the boys, and more especially the girls, who, with little knowledge of the world, and none at all of the construction of the English language, at present offer us their

wares for the production of which an amenable publisher has been 'guaranteed against risks,'—all these would be constrained to realise that novel-writing is not the pastime of the idle ; that it is not given to all to be able to construct tales the characters in which live, move, and have their being ; that, in short, the making of novels is an art which, like all other arts, demands of its votaries study, patience, perseverance, and courage in the face of adversity and defeat. Were some such salutary check as I have named imposed on would-be authors of fiction, it might also perhaps act as a check upon that class of publisher who is largely, if not entirely, responsible for the overcrowded state of the fictional market with unwarrantable goods. These firms would scarcely risk spending money on advertising novels which had no chance of receiving notice in even the most obscure of provincial journals, and they would therefore be less inclined to receive permanent 'paying guests' into their lists.

I am fully alive to the many and grave difficulties which would attend the organisation of any such tribunal as I have suggested. In the first place, how could such a tribunal be constituted ? and how should distinguished and experienced critics, such as alone should be eligible to form so responsible a committee, be expected to add to their already existing labours ? The French system of recognition of literary merit by a tribunal of official critics has never, I am aware, found favour in this country. And yet, with all its evident drawbacks, this system has contributed not a little to the maintenance of the literary and artistic standard of French fiction at a level unapproached by the vast majority of the novels turned out in England in such numbers at the present time. The material used by French writers of fiction, and the sources from which, in too many cases, they descend to draw their inspirations, do not affect the artistic excellence of the work they produce ; while their general high standard is, it can scarcely be doubted, largely due to that ambition which every French author, albeit secretly, cherishes in his heart of seeing his work eventually recognised by the official critics in his country. In France, moreover, the practice of reviewing works of fiction in the Press is the exception rather than the rule. For this very reason, perhaps, the moral tone of French romance, finding no guidance in the organs of public opinion, is considerably lower in level than is the literary and artistic standpoint reached by the majority of French novelists. In this country, however, the morality of our fiction is safeguarded to a great extent by the Press ; and, on the whole, it is not to be deplored that it should be so. If there be an objection to our system as regards this particular matter, it lies probably in a tendency to confine our novelists within traditional limits, and to cause departures from these limits to be too hastily censured as inartistic or offensive. But, I venture to ask, would it be too much to expect of our Press that it should also safeguard the public from other abuses on the part of

novel-writers, and on the part of publishers who are responsible for permitting such abuses to see the light of publication ? I do not suggest that we should copy our French neighbours and institute a body of 'immortals,' neither do I propose that any such body as the French Academy should be formed in our midst. We turn out our fictional wares on too large a scale in this country for a similar institution to meet the emergencies of the case. 'Immortality' in France has been known to tend to mediocrity as well as to excellence. There is no reason to suppose that it would not do the same in England.

Would it not, however, be possible for our Press itself to institute, I do not say an Academy of Belles-Lettres, but a body chosen from among its most capable critics, whose office it should be to sift the tares of fiction from the wheat, and whose opinion on the technical merits of novels submitted to it should form as it were the passport of those novels to the subsequent notice of the Press, without thereby limiting or influencing in any way the free expression of subsequent Press criticism ? I make my suggestion with all possible reserve. Moreover, lest I should be supposed to assume that my own attempts at fiction would be accorded by my imaginary tribunal the honour of being passed as worthy of notice in the Press, I hasten to add that I am far from assuming any such thing ! At the same time, I do not hesitate to say that some system of responsible criticism would be to me, as a writer of fiction, of far greater use and benefit than are individual, and therefore irresponsible criticisms, often at variance with each other, which are the outcome of our actual system of reviewing. I am confident that I am by no means alone among novelists in holding these sentiments ; and, if I may judge from the sentiments I have heard freely expressed among novel-readers, I feel convinced that very many of these would welcome some more authoritative and satisfactory method of reviewing novels than that which is at present offered to them by an irresponsible Press.

It is not for one like myself, who can have but a limited conception of the extent to which the many and varied commercial interests of necessity connected with the production and diffusion of fiction might be affected by any measure of a revolutionary tendency, to attempt to demonstrate a method by which a mere suggestion, such as I have ventured to put forth in these pages, might be turned into a practical working organisation. Setting aside the attitude of publishers towards my 'clearing-house' proposal, the interests of those arbiters of the fate of the modern novel, the great circulating libraries, would have to be taken into account. Few subscribers to these libraries will have failed to notice that when they ask for a good novel which happens to be in great demand, they seldom get it without delay ; whereas their book-box, when returned to them, is found to contain novels of the existence of which they were hitherto in ignorance. The fact has a certain significance. If, as I

have said before, the libraries were to decline to subscribe to novels judged 'unworthy to be noticed by the Press, this attitude on their part would at once tend to stem the flow of rubbish passing under the colours of fiction. Whether the commercial interests of our great circulating libraries would justify them in taking such a course, I am naturally unable to say. Before concluding this article I trust I may be allowed to advert to certain features in the reviewing of fiction which cannot in any sense come under the head of legitimate criticism. I am aware that these features have no direct bearing upon the main thesis of my paper; nevertheless, I am emboldened by the fact that professional critics themselves have on various occasions censured in the Press the practices to which I would take the opportunity of referring in these pages. I allude to the habit, which is certainly increasing rather than diminishing, affected by many reviewers, of hurriedly disembowelling (I can find no more suitable term) a novel and presenting the mangled remains of its story to their readers. That this method of reviewing has its advantages to a newspaper critic, who has lying on his table some dozens of novels awaiting his attention, can readily be understood. I contend, however, that criticism of this kind is unfair both to authors and to the public. It is no uncommon thing to read a 'review' in which the workmanship of a novel is absolutely ignored, and the chief episodes in the plot are torn from their surroundings and crudely set forth to disguise the fact that the reviewer has not had the time to write a few lines of genuine criticism. Then, again, we have the reviewer who takes an isolated sentence from a scene in a novel, severs it from its connection, and gibbets it as a proof of the author's weakness in grammar, construction, or the like. Such methods, unfortunately, are not always confined to reviews appearing in journals of the second rank. They are not criticism, and they can effect none of the salutary influences that intelligent criticism should exert upon both authors and public. This type of reviewing is, as I have observed, not diminishing, and it is only fair to reviewers who adopt it to conclude that they are obliged, owing to the amount of work they have to manipulate, to have recourse to it.

In venturing to set forth my suggestions whereby the reviewing of fiction in the public Press might possibly be placed on a basis more satisfactory to the public; more beneficial, because more authoritative, to authors; and more advantageous, as I should hope, to the hard-worked reviewers for the Press, I can only trust that I may not have written anything in these pages which might lead my readers to suppose that I arrogate to myself any right to speak representatively on my subject.

RICHARD BAGOT.

CHURCH AND STATE IN RUSSIA

ACCORDING to the text-books, Russia is governed by an absolute hereditary monarchy; according to the newspapers, the Empire is ruled by an insufficiently controlled, and therefore practically irresponsible bureaucracy; according to a shrewd remark of Prince Bismarck, Russia is an empire ruled by favouritism, and it is necessary to know the character of the Czar's temporary favourite in order to understand the policy of the country. All three descriptions have a good deal of truth in them, but they fail to take into account a most important political factor; for, if we look beneath the surface of things, and follow the outward phenomena to their ultimate cause, we find that the Russian Empire has been erected on so deep, so broad, and so strong a theocratic foundation that Russia may perhaps be described as a theocracy. Although Russia is organised and ruled in a way different from that of the ancient Jewish theocracy, or that of modern Tibet, the Russian Government is undoubtedly theocratic in practice, whatever it may be in theory; for Russia is the only civilised country in the world which is ruled by a man who is at the same time Emperor and Pope, who wields both the sword temporal and the sword spiritual. As this strange and most important aspect of that empire has so far been almost completely neglected by Western observers, it seems worth while to study the relations between Church and State in Russia.

The Czar of Russia calls himself 'Samoderzec Vesrossijskij,' which is usually translated 'Autocrat of all the Russias.' However, the Greek word 'Autocrat' means in Russia more than absolute monarch. It means a monarch whose power is not derived 'from the grace of God,' as is that of Western monarchs, but it is self-created, derived from himself, in the literal meaning of the word 'Autocrat.' Hence the title 'Autocrat' is totally different from that of 'Emperor by the grace of God.' It means self-empowered ruler, and is a title which belongs properly solely to God, Who alone derives His power from Himself. This strange and unique title of the Russian Czars is particularly significant if we remember that Russian culture came from Byzantium, that Greek was well understood in Russia at the time when the title was chosen by Peter the Great, and that it was deliberately

assumed by that powerful and masterful monarch with the full knowledge of its significance.

Peter the Great has created the military, civil, and ecclesiastical organisation of modern Russia. Therefore, we must go back to the time of Peter the Great, if we wish to understand the relations between Church and State in Russia, and we must follow the historical development of these relations.

When Peter the Great assumed the title 'Self-empowered Monarch of All the Russias' he did not mean it to be an empty attribute, for he strove with savage energy to secure for himself and for his successors not only the supreme power over his country, but all power, temporal as well as spiritual. His energetic policy naturally brought him soon into collision with the Russian Church.

Up to 1702 the Russian Church had been ruled over by Patriarchs, at first by those of Constantinople, and, from 1588 onward, by those of Moscow. The fact that the Church had a quasi-sovereign head and independent existence was, for many reasons, distasteful to Peter, but especially because the Russian Church barred, to some extent, the way of his reforms through its stubborn and bigoted conservatism. At a time when in other countries the Church led an independent existence, furthered science, literature, and art, fostered education, elevated the masses, and opposed the tyranny of arbitrary rulers with vigour, the Russian clergy was merely a force of conservatism which was solely occupied with barren formalism. The Russian Church was self-centred and self-absorbed, and the monasteries, which in the West were centres of learning and culture, were in Russia merely huge caravanserais of monks; for the monasteries strictly followed the rules of St. Basilius, which restricted monks to religious ceremonies, prayers, and contemplation. Hence, advancement and progress could not well be expected to emanate from these institutions. It is true that the written Russian language had been introduced by monks from Byzantium, and that a purely ecclesiastical literature had sprung up. However, the clergy was absolutely reactionary in the main. They saw in religion not a spiritual force and a force of culture, but merely a set of forms and observances, and in the Church only an instrument of power and of government. Therefore the Russian clergy used the power which it had, especially under weak monarchs, pitilessly in propagating a soulless formalism, in destroying all original culture and all individualism in Russia, and in fighting passionately against freedom of thought, against education, against all modern culture, and against all progress. As Kaveline truly says, 'the first servitude of Russia was an intellectual servitude, which was enforced and exercised by the Church.'

When Peter the Great came to the throne, he found the people steeped in mechanical observances, miscalled religion, and found the Church a body which had neither social nor moral influence over the

masses, which was a dead-weight to the progress of the people and a stumbling-block in the path of his reforms. He also soon discovered that the clergy and its most devout followers were the most determined opponents to the progress which he had so much at heart. How greatly, up to Peter's time, all culture had been neglected, chiefly in consequence of the attitude of the Church, may be seen from the fact that, towards the year 1700, there were only two printing-presses in Russia, one in Moscow and one in the Petchersky convent, in Kieff, although the first printing office had been opened in Russia as early as 1563. However, this pioneer establishment was abolished by order of the clergy, who regarded printing as an invention of the devil, and the printers, John Federoff and Peter Matislavez, had to fly for their lives in order to escape prosecution for sorcery. Arabic numerals, which were introduced into Europe already in the twelfth century, were not used in Russia until the seventeenth century, &c.

How incredibly narrow-minded, bigoted, and absorbed in formalism the Russian clergy and its devout followers used to be may be seen from the fact that questions such as whether the 'Allelujah' should be sung twice or three times in certain parts of the Mass, whether the name of Christ should be written 'Issus' or 'Jissus,' whether the Cross should have four points or eight points, caused lasting schisms in the Russian Church. The Archbishop of Novgorod solemnly declared that those who did repeat the word 'Allelujah' only twice at certain points in the Litany would sing themselves to their own damnation, and a celebrated ecclesiastical council put such matters as the position of the fingers when making the sign of the cross on the same level as heresies, by formally anathematising those who acted in such trifling outward forms in a manner contrary to its decision.

Peter the Great compelled his subjects to adopt European dress, and to cut off their enormous beards, a measure which at first sight would appear almost too trivial to deserve notice. But these regulations provoked the horror of all orthodox Christians in Russia. One of the Patriarchs of Moscow asked with dismay: 'Where will those who shave their chins stand at the Day of Judgment? Will they stand among the righteous, who are adorned with beards, or among the beardless heretics?' To the Russians of the time, the possession of a beard seemed, incredible as it may appear, an adjunct indispensable to salvation, and serious revolts were caused by conscientious orthodox believers, who would rather sacrifice their lives than their beards.

For the question whether two or three fingers should be used in making the sign of the cross, or whether a good Christian might cut off his beard, countless Russians died as martyrs during the reign of Peter the Great. Baron Korb, who at that time was in Russia as a member of the Austrian Embassy, reports on this point:

Who could imagine it to be of so great moment for the worship of the true faith whether one should make the sign of the Cross with two or three fingers, or with the whole hand raised? . . . Many struggled against the Patriarch's law as impious and irreverent towards the Almighty, and numbers preferred to fall beneath the axe of the executioner rather than abandon the ancient way of forming that sacred sign. It would have been a far more useful and a far more wholesome labour to organise schools, to appoint masters for the instruction of youth, to teach the ignorant, to lead back the erring to the right road to salvation; but, as they are to the last degree unskilled in divinity and heartily despise all learning from abroad, they envy enlightenment to those that are to come after them.

Whilst the unspeakable atrocities of Ivan the Terrible had provoked hardly a protest on the part of the priesthood, Peter's enlightened reforms led to numerous conspiracies and to several outbreaks of open rebellion. These outbreaks were caused partly by the unreasoning bigotry which the clergy had created, and which pervaded the Church and the people; partly did they spring from the fact that the clergy saw itself threatened in its ancient privileges and in its secular power by the introduction of foreign culture. Therefore European civilisation was solemnly anathematised by the clergy, and was declared to be opposed to orthodoxy and to Christianity. In fact, Peter the Great was made to appear as the Antichrist personified to his misguided subjects. Archbishop Yavorsky, although a friend of Peter, was one of the most important reactionary leaders of that time.

The crass ignorance of the clergy and the fanatical determination with which they opposed not only his reforms but also himself, and inveigled the masses against him into open revolt, caused Peter to determine that he would absolutely destroy what power the clergy possessed, and make himself the master and head of the Russian Church. With this object in view, he forbade in 1700 the election of a new Patriarch, and, when the Church had been without a head for twenty years, he abolished, in 1721, the Patriarchate altogether, and fundamentally altered the constitution of the Church and its character by his spiritual regulations. The chief innovation of 1721 was that the government of the Church was no longer entrusted to a single man and a priest, but was vested in a college of ecclesiastical dignitaries, the Most Holy Governing Synod, which was presided over by the Chief Procurator, a nominee of the Czar.

At first sight, the Most Holy Synod appears to be a supreme and independent ecclesiastical committee which is thoroughly representative of the great body of the Church, and may therefore be expected to govern the Church in the interests of the Church. It looks to the casual observer as if this organisation assures government of the Church by the Church and for the Church, to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln's celebrated saying. However, the Most Holy Governing Synod is presided over by an Imperial official, not necessarily a clergyman,

who, according to Peter the Great, was to be 'a man of daring, and, if possible, a soldier,' in order that he should be able to maintain strict discipline amongst the clergy, rule them with a hand of iron, and, if necessary, reduce them by force to blind obedience to the Czar. Under Nicholas the First, Count Protassov, the Procurator of the Most Holy Governing Synod, was a colonel of Hussars. The late Procurator of the Synod was Mr. Pobiedonostsef, who had filled this position with marked ability and success ever since 1880. He had not sprung from the Church, but was a trained lawyer, who, as university lecturer on civil law, had shown his great mental acumen, and who, in various official positions, had proved his zeal, his energy, his devotion to the Government, and his conservatism.

The number of the members of the Most Holy Governing Synod is not fixed. There are permanent and temporary members, and high dignitaries of the Church may be called upon at a moment's notice to make their appearance in order to assist in forming a decision on some point or another. Owing to this fluctuating and arbitrary composition of the Council, and the way in which the Imperial Procurator exercises his authority over its members, the Most Holy Governing Synod does not govern in reality. It serves merely a decorative purpose, and its chief duties are to endorse the decisions submitted to it by its official head, and to give to these decisions some appearance of being arrived at by the Church and in the interests of the Church.

Owing to this largely arbitrary composition, which always can be changed at will so as to suit the convenience of the Government, represented by the Imperial Procurator, and in consequence of the power which is wielded over that Council by its permanent official head, who represents the Czar, the clerical members of the Most Holy Governing Synod neither represent the Church nor do they control it. In fact, they have practically no power at all, nor have they any rights, excepting that of confirming the official decisions which have been taken by the Government, and which are submitted to them by the Procurator, not for discussion, but for approval and confirmation. Not only have these dignitaries of the Church no power, but they cannot even bring pressure to bear on the Government, or formally state their views, unless these be approved of by the man of energy who has been appointed for the special purpose of keeping the priests in order and in subjection. Therefore the body of the Russian Church has no independent existence, and has no representatives of its own. It has merely to follow the directions which it receives from the Government, and a conflict between Church and State is as unthinkable in Russia as a conflict between the Post Office and the Government would be in England; for, rightly considered, the Russian Church is a Government department.

As the Church is deprived of all independent action and of all independent thought, through the lack of a representative central

authority, no opposition to the Government can come from the Church as a whole. But the clergy might conceivably formulate wishes distasteful to the Government, press for reforms, advocate an independent policy, or even oppose the Government through its bishops, and centres of clerical independence or disaffection might be formed in the provinces of Russia. However, the bishops also have been made absolutely powerless by the Government, and they have learned to consider themselves as high State officials who are nominated, removed, punished or dismissed by the Government, and who must on no account have, or utter, an opinion of their own. Besides, they cannot conscientiously undertake anything which may be in opposition to the will or the wish of the Czar and his Ministers, unless they are prepared to break the solemn oath which they have to take when taking office. By this oath they solemnly abjure all independent thought and action, and swear implicitly to obey the self-empowered Monarch of All the Russias and his Government. This oath is so extraordinary, so important, and so strange a declaration, and enforces such an absolute submission of the Russian prelates to the secular power, that it seems worth while to consider its principal provisions, for its importance upon the relations between Church and State in Russia can hardly be overstated. The bishop has to swear :

I solemnly promise and swear that I will and must serve faithfully and without dissembling his Imperial Majesty, my true, natural, and most gracious Sovereign, the self-empowered Ruler of all the Russias, and that I will and must serve equally and faithfully and without dissembling his Majesty's successor, whoever he may be ; that I will be obedient to him in everything, without sparing my life unto the very last drop of my blood, in order to preserve and to defend with utmost exertion of mind and body all his Majesty's rights and privileges, both those which are determined by law and those which are not yet so determined ; that I will strive my utmost to do all that may be useful in the faithful service of his Imperial Majesty and his exalted Government ; that as soon as I hear of anything that may harm, prejudice, or prejudicially affect the interests of his Majesty, I will not only at once report such a matter, but will endeavour in every way to oppose and to frustrate it ; that I will strictly keep every secret which is entrusted to me by the Government, and that I will fulfil faithfully and conscientiously the duties which have been confided and given to me ; that I will act in accordance with the general instructions, regulations, rules, and decrees which I have received, and those particular instructions, regulations, rules, and decrees which from time to time I may, in the name of his Majesty, receive from my superiors ; that I will not act in contravention of my oath for my own advantage, being influenced by relationship, friendship, or enmity ; that I will act in this manner, and that I will conduct myself in such a way as befits a faithful and dutiful subject of his Majesty, so that I can be responsible for all my actions at all times before God Almighty in His dreadful judgment, so help me God.

I confirm and sanctify this my solemn oath by kissing the words and the Cross of my Saviour. *Amen.*

From the foregoing text of the bishops' oath, it is perfectly clear that the high dignitaries of the Russian Church, who have been trained

by the Government in Government schools, who have been promoted by the Government and appointed by the Government, and who are constantly controlled by the Government and ruled over by the Most Holy Governing Synod, are as incapable of independent thought, utterance, or action as is the Most Holy Governing Synod itself. By his oath, the bishop solemnly abjures for all time all intellectual and conscientious liberty in temporal and spiritual matters, and he vows that he will ever be an obedient instrument in the hands of the Czar and his Ministers. In this manner, both the central authority of the Church and all the bishops are trained to blind, passive obedience, they are shackled with unbreakable bonds, and they therefore act in all matters like a regiment of well-drilled soldiers.

• Peter the Great was not satisfied with breaking up the independent organisation of the Russian Church, and transforming it into a Government department by creating the Holy Synod, abolishing the Patriarchate and muzzling the bishops, but he meant to use the power of the Christian religion as the most effective instrument that could be devised for securing for himself and his successors the absolute and unrestrained position of a self-empowered ruler over his subjects. Therefore he made absolute and blind obedience to himself and to his representatives not a civil duty, but made it a fundamental, if not the highest, duty of the Christian.

During the reign of Peter the Great, a catechism was published, of which the most important contents are, of course, the Ten Commandments. As the Ten Commandments in their original form do not, unfortunately, contain an injunction to honour and blindly obey the Czar of Russia and his officers and officials, that duty had to be interpolated by skilful interpretation and elucidation. This difficult task was achieved by expounding the inner meaning of the Fifth Commandment in the following most extraordinary manner :

FIFTH COMMANDMENT.

Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land.

Q. What is required in the Fifth Commandment?

A. It is required of us to honour and respect, not only our natural parents, but those that are in the dignity and place of parents and have any degree of authority over us.

Q. Who are those that can justly demand this respect from us, and what honour and reverence is due to them respectively?

A. In the first place, kings and magistrates who rule over us in the Lord are to us in the place of fathers, whose duty it is to defend their subjects and seek what is best for them, both in temporal and spiritual matters, and therefore must have a watchful eye to ecclesiastical, military, and civil affairs, that men do conscientiously execute their respective employments; and thus, next to God, they have the highest fatherly dignity.

Subjects are in duty bound, as obedient sons, to manifest their subjection to kings as follows:—

(1) They must love and honour them; never name them but with sentiments of profound respect.

- (2) Offer instant prayers to the Almighty for their health and long life.
- (3) Obey their just commands without murmuring.
- (4) Offer their lives cheerfully to defend them against their enemies, against rebels, and against traitors to their person and government.
- (5) Pay cheerfully the taxes and other customary impositions.

Next to kings and sovereign princes, spiritual governors, senators, judges, generals of armies, and other officials are likewise vested with the fatherly dignity.

The duty of ecclesiastical governors is to lead the people in the way to salvation. The civil magistrates should distribute justice without respect of persons. The generals must promote military discipline and inspire the soldiery with Christian courage.

Inferiors must love and respect their superiors, pray for them, and cheerfully obey all their just commands.

The third order of men that are invested with fatherly authority are natural parents, namely fathers and mothers; for though, according to nature, they claim the first place, yet in civil society the persons above mentioned, who are promoters of the public good, deserve greater honour than they do.

According to the foregoing translation, it appears that 'Honour thy father and thy mother' means, in reality, honour the Czar and his officials, and for a devout orthodox member of the Russian Church the obligation of paying his taxes cheerfully is a more sacred Christian duty than that of honouring his natural parents. In this remarkable and probably unique interpretation of the Fifth Commandment, the subject's duties towards the State are exhaustively and almost exclusively dealt with, but the filial duties of the Christian are dismissed with a casual and almost contemptuous reference at the very end of the chapter. It is said in the Bible, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' The Russian Government has ingeniously substituted for this maxim another one, namely, 'The fear of the Government is the foundation of religion.'

Of course, it might be objected that this catechism was composed in the rude time of Peter the Great, when Russian culture was still undeveloped, and that this catechism has been superseded long ago. Therefore it is worth while to compare a modern version of the catechism with that of Peter the Great, especially as by such a comparison we may see at a glance what progress religious thought and general enlightenment have made in the meantime, and what alterations have occurred in the peculiar relations existing between Church and State in Russia.

If we look into the Russian Catechism of 1839 we find, indeed, a remarkable change. For the Russians of the time of Peter the Great unreasoning force was adequate for ruling the uneducated, brutalised, and benighted populace, and the simple assertion of the Catechism that the real meaning of the Fifth Commandment was 'Blindly obey the Czar and the officials appointed by him, and cheerfully pay your taxes,' was deemed sufficient. In a more enlightened century, when Western ideas had penetrated deeply into Russia, and when education

had begun to spread throughout the Empire, a more subtle reasoning was considered necessary in order to convince the subjects that the first duty of Christians lay in their blind obedience to the Czar and his agents. Therefore we find now, under the heading of the Fifth Commandment, the following most interesting explanation :

Q. How does the Holy Scripture speak of the honour due to the Sovereign ?

A. 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God' (Rom. xiii. 1, 2). 'Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake' (Rom. xiii. 5). 'My son, fear thou the Lord and the king' (Prov. xxiv. 21). 'Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's' (Matt. xxii. 21). 'Fear God, honour the king' (1 Pet. ii. 17).

Q. How far should love to our Sovereign and country go ?

A. So far as to make us ready to lay down our life for them¹ (John xv. 13).

After a passage in the modern catechism in which the duties towards our natural parents are considered, the chapter in which the Fifth Commandment is treated continues as follows :

Q. Besides those who are our superiors, whom must we honour, after parents and like them ?

A. They are those who, in the place of parents, take care of our education, as governors in schools and masters; they are those who preserve us from the irregularities and disorders in society, as civil officials; they are those who protect us from wrong by the power of the law, as judges; they are those to whom the Sovereign entrusts the guardianship and defence of the public safety against its enemies, as military commanders; lastly, they are masters so far as relates to those who serve them or who belong to them.

Q. What does Holy Scripture prescribe as to our duties with regard to authorities generally ?

A. 'Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour' (Rom. xiii. 7).

Q. How does Holy Scripture speak of the obedience due from servants and serfs to their masters ?

A. 'Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart, as unto Christ; Not with eyeservice, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart' (Eph. vi. 5, 6).

'Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward' (1 Peter ii. 18).

Q. How ought we to act if it fall out that our parents or governors require of us anything contrary to the faith or to the law of God ?

A. In that case, we should say to them as the Apostles said to the ruler of the Jews: 'Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye' (Acts iv. 19). And we should be ready, for the sake of the faith and the law of God, to endure the consequences, whatever they may be.

¹ This passage reads, according to the reference, in the English Bible as follows: 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' The discrepancy between the two versions appears startling.

Q. What is the general name for that quality or virtue which is required by the Fifth Commandment?

A. Obedience.

Evidently the learned bishop who compiled the catechism of 1839 had read his Bible to some advantage, for by a judicious combination of passages and a few slight but important alterations in the text he is able to prove from Holy Scripture to all unthinking Russians that 'Honour thy father and mother' really means, 'Implicitly obey the State and all its officials, for that is the foremost duty of man.' According to the Russian Catechism the Fifth Commandment has been especially given in order to enjoin all Russians to obey blindly all those who are in authority, and to obey, even if obedience be in flagrant opposition to legality, to justice, to morality and to religion, as a careful perusal of the foregoing passages clearly proves. Orthodox Russians are told by their Fifth Commandment that they must obey all who are in authority, and not question whether their actions, done in consequence of the command which they have received, are lawful or unlawful, moral or immoral, in accordance with religious teaching or utterly opposed to it.

In 1721 Peter the Great made the Church a Government institution by depriving it of its independence and putting a Government official, preferably a general of cavalry, at the head of the ecclesiastical establishment. In 1764 Catherine II. made the Church a Government tool by confiscating all Church property and by ordering that henceforth the whole of the clergy should be educated, trained, and appointed by the Imperial Government. Nicholas I. carried the policy which his great predecessors had originated to its logical conclusion by increasing the dependence of the Church upon the State still further, by introducing the strictest supervision over the ecclesiastical training establishments, and by narrowing the scope of the Holy Synod to the smallest compass. The drastic reforms of 1721 and 1764, which fettered the Russian Church hand and foot and made it in every respect a puppet in the hands of the State, were borne by the Russian clergy almost without a murmur and with indifference, for they were not disturbed in that soulless formalism which they had substituted for religion. Besides, they had become accustomed to high-handed treatment at the hands of the worldly powers.

The Russian clergy had hardly ever possessed much influence in the State, and had always been an obedient instrument, ready to serve the purposes of the secular power. The Russian princes who formerly exercised an independent sway in Russia and the popular assemblies in certain towns which possessed a considerable amount of self-government appointed or dismissed bishops and other high dignitaries of the Church according to their fancy, and until a comparatively recent time priests were as liberally imprisoned, knouted,

deported, mutilated or even executed, as were the other subjects of the Czar. Priests and monks were as much considered as officials by the Russian Government as were the most humble tchinovniks. Only the uniform was different, and that difference did, in the eyes of the Russian authorities, not justify any difference in treatment.

Not only the members of the Most Holy Governing Synod and the bishops, but the whole minor clergy also are constantly watched, controlled and directed by the Government. The bishops exercise power and maintain the strictest discipline in their districts as the servants of the State, as they are bound by their oath, and an additional supervision over the clerical rank and file is exercised by the Holy Synod. According to credible authority, ecclesiastical services are as strictly censored as are the newspapers, and model sermons are sent to individual popes, and these have to deliver to their flock the message sent to them by the Government exactly in the same manner in which the Government postman has to deliver his letters. It also appears that, by order of the Holy Synod, the priests have to report to the police all important information which they may receive in confessions. According to Tikhomirov, 'such reports have to be made in all cases where the priest believes that the penitent has not abandoned his criminal intent.'

Owing to these extraordinary functions and the control which the clergy, jointly with the local police, keeps over the consciences of the inhabitants, and especially over the lax church-goers and Dissenters, it appears that, as some Russian authorities say, the ecclesiastical department of the Russian Government is a gigantic police establishment which at the same time fulfils the duties of the detective, the *agent provocateur*, and the denouncer. That such a system leads to many abuses of the very gravest kind on the part of those who are in authority, and who may make use of their power for motives of private advantage or personal spite, need hardly be stated.

In consequence of the peculiar and manifold duties which the Russian clergy have to fulfil, their position and the spiritual authority of the Church have become gravely compromised, even with many of the most devout Christians and most patriotic subjects. Therefore the Government found it necessary to counteract this undesirable tendency and to increase the prestige of the Church and its hold on the people. With this object in view, all Russians are taught :

- (1) That the Russian Church is the only true Church in Christendom.
- (2) That salvation and heaven are exclusively reserved for the members of the Russian Church, whilst damnation awaits all heretics.
- (3) That the Russian Church is perfect, free from error and absolutely infallible.

If we refer to the modern catechism, we find the passage in the

Articles of Faith, 'I believe in the Holy and Apostolic Church,' expounded as follows :

Q. What great privileges has the Catholic Church ?

A. She alone has the sublime promise that *the gates of hell shall not prevail against her*; that the Lord shall *be with her even to the end of the world*; that in her shall abide *the glory of God in Christ Jesus throughout all generations for ever*; and consequently that she shall never apostatise from the faith, nor sin against the truth of the faith, nor fall into error.²

The assertion that the Russian Church is perfect and infallible is not by any means restricted to the catechism, but is constantly and emphatically repeated. In a missive of the Eastern Patriarchs on the Orthodox Faith we read, for instance :

We undoubtedly confess as sure truth that the Catholic Church cannot sin, err, nor utter falsehood in place of truth: for the Holy Ghost, ever working through His faithful ministers, the fathers and doctors of the Church, preserves her from all error.

Cultured Russians, and even the most patriotic, treat the pretensions of the Russian Church with disdain, especially as these pretensions are all the more astonishing in view of the peculiar relations which exist between Church and State in Russia; for even the most casual observer in Russia is aware that the Church, far from being a Divine and independent institution, is a paid Government agent, and has abased itself to be in all things the tool of the State. The following two extracts, which are thoroughly representative, show how highly-educated Russians, who cannot possibly be suspected of disaffection or of lack of patriotism, think of the Russian Church and of its relations with the State. The celebrated historian, Solovieff, wrote :

It is asserted that the Russian nation is a Christian nation, and it is even emphasised that it is *the Christian nation par excellence*, and that the Church is the real basis of our national life. This, is asserted in order to maintain that we alone possess a Church, that we alone have the monopoly of faith and of Christian life. Thus the Church is made the unshakable rock upon which Russia is built up, and it is made the idol of a narrow-hearted Particularism and the tool of a selfish policy.

The ardent patriot, Aksakov, condemned the policy whereby the State has fettered, abused and abased the Church, and has made religion a mockery, in still more unsparing terms. He wrote:

If we rightly consider its organisation and activity, our Church is a kind of administrative office, or a huge Government department, which uses all the artifices and all the tricks known to the German bureaucracy in tending the flock. The Church is organised like a Government department, and the servants of the Church are counted among the Government officials. Hence the Church easily assumes an official attitude and becomes the servant of the State. Thus the Church has been deprived of her living soul. She does not

² The italics are in the Russian original.

answer the ideal of a living spiritual power, but has become cold, passive, purely formal. With the worldly force, worldly ideas have penetrated into the Church. Hence her priests have lost all understanding for the real tasks of the Church. We have 'advanced' priests who clamour for more and ever more Government regulations and restrictions, wherewith to control our religious life, who demand an ecclesiastical code of rules and regulations, although the existing Imperial code contains already more than a thousand paragraphs relating to the Church, wherein the functions of the police in the domain of faith and of religious belief are laid down in detail.

Our code declares that the Government is 'the Protector of the doctrines and of the orthodoxy of the dominant Church and the guardian of good order within the Church.' This its guardian is prepared to proceed, sword in hand, with the utmost rigour against any infringement of the rules of orthodoxy. Thus the doctrines of the Church are maintained, not by the working of the Holy Spirit, but by the working of the penal laws of the Empire. But where there is no living force within, only a shallow formalism and the outward appearance of the Church can be maintained, and that only by force and deception.

Half of the members of the Orthodox Church belong to it only from fear of punishment. Thus hypocrisy replaces truth, terrorism supplants love, and dishonesty defends faith.

In Church matters, as in other things, appearances are of supreme importance with us. Therefore we gladly close our eyes to the scandal and hide from the world the disease which, like a canker, eats the vitals of our faith and of all religious feeling.

Nowhere is the fear of truth greater than it is within our Church, nowhere are minds more base and servile, nowhere is pious fraud more frequently used than there where fraud should most be abhorred.

If we should believe our defenders of the faith, the Russian Church consists of a huge and untrustworthy mob, which has to be controlled by the police, who, whip in hand, drive the straying sheep into the fold. . . . A Church which has become part of the State has become part of the kingdom of this world. She has renounced her mission, and will share the fate of the kingdoms of this world; she has no justification for her existence, and is condemned to death. . . . The sword spiritual—the Word—has become rusty, and is eclipsed by the sword temporal, wielded by the State; and our Church is surrounded, not by hosts of watchful guardian angels, but by hosts of watchful policemen and gendarmes who protect our dogmas and our consciences.

Ever since the time of Peter the Great Russia has been treated by her rulers like a conquered country, and the people have been used by the Government like beasts of burden, or like a subject race. In other European countries the State is based upon harmony between the ruler and the ruled, and the government is carried on by the co-operation of the professional administrators and the people. In Russia the position is totally different. There is no connecting link between the official classes and the masses; they act like two different nations living in the same land, and the former rule the latter as a race of proud conquerors might treat tribes of savage aborigines. The Russian Government has not naturally and gradually been evolved from within, but has been forced upon the people, one might almost say, from without. Hence it has no natural hold upon the people, and the people, on the other hand, possess not the natural instinct to defend and to uphold a Government which to them is but a hard

taskmaster. The subjects of other countries are emphatically 'political beings' in the sense of Aristotle. They love the institutions under which they have grown up, and are prepared to defend to their utmost the State which upholds these cherished institutions. Such a feeling is almost non-existent in Russia, excepting in the narrow circle of the governing classes, which alone have a voice, and therefore a practical interest, in politics.

The inner strength of the State rests on the unity of purpose among its inhabitants and on the concord between ruler and ruled, but Russia has neither. The Czar rules over many races which speak many languages, which have different interests, and which often have practically nothing in common. Besides, concord between ruler and ruled cannot be said to exist in a State where there is no freedom of assembly, no freedom of speech, no freedom of thought, where all newspapers and books require the approval of the authorities, where the citizens are constantly watched by spies and informers, where the masses have no articulate voice, and where, therefore, the opinion of the people cannot possibly be known. Russia, rightly considered, is not a nation but a congeries of nations, or rather of tribes, for the Polish, the Finnish, and all other former nations which have been subjected to Russia have been deprived not only of their national leaders but also of their national characteristics.

It would be manifestly impossible to hold together and to rule this immense congeries of totally dissimilar tribes, who are dispersed over an immense area, unless they are welded together by some firm bond of unity and of allegiance. As the natural bond of similarity, of common interests and common purposes, is missing, an artificial one had to be provided, and the official Church was made to serve that purpose. Therefore the autocracy strove with the greatest energy, and strives still, to increase the hold of the Church upon the people, and a gigantic official propaganda of proselytism was undertaken among the Russians who did not belong to the Orthodox Church. That this propaganda sprang not from religious motives, but was purely and solely political, may be seen from the fact that the Russian Church is the only Christian Church in the world which has made practically no attempt whatsoever to convert the heathen in foreign lands. The proselytising zeal of the Russian Church is absolutely restricted to Russian subjects.

By inducements of every kind, by force and even by fraud, millions of non-Orthodox Russians have been converted to the official faith, whilst all attempts of Russians to leave the Government Church or to revert to their former religion have been made punishable offences. People may walk into the Orthodox Church, but they must not walk out; joining the Roman Catholic or Protestant religions has been forbidden, and children of parents of different creeds have to be brought up in the Russian Church, &c. In this manner the Orthodox Church

has gained millions of new adherents, and enormous exertions were made by the Government and its agents to make the Church indeed 'the unshakable rock upon which Russia is built up,' as Solovieff puts it. Here we have the reason why the Russian Government is trying to crush, and is, from its own point of view, compelled to crush, all independent nationalities in the Empire, and especially those nationalities which have a religion of their own, and which refuse to come into the common fold. Here we have the reason why the ikon-worshipping Russians are docile, obedient, and ever ready to sacrifice their life for the Head of their Church, the Czar, whilst disaffection reigns in the non-orthodox parts of Russia, such as Poland, Finland, Armenia, and the districts inhabited by Dissenting sects.

The policy of intolerance and oppression which Russia has consistently pursued for so many years in those parts where the people belong to a Church of their own has usually been attributed to the fanaticism of M. Pobiedonostsef, who has often been described as Russia's evil genius. However, M. Pobiedonostsef was only the humble instrument of a superior and almost irresistible force. In fact, it may be asserted that any other Procurator of the Most Holy Governing Synod would have had to follow the same policy of intolerance and oppression, for he also would be driven on by the superior and almost irresistible force which drives Russia onward on the path of intolerance and oppression. That superior force which imperatively commands the persecution of all non-orthodox Russians is not the fanaticism of an individual nor the ambition of a statesman or of a ruler, but the dire necessity of the State.

Russia has, for two centuries, been governed like a savage country, and the State has been able to rule the people with an almost complete disregard of duty, of humanity and of justice because it was constantly supported by its faithful henchman, the Church. As the State proceeded on its career of conquest, spoliation, and oppression, upon which it had embarked since the time of Peter the Great, it had to lean more and more heavily upon the Church for support, and year by year the Church has become more and more indispensable to the State. Thus it has come to pass that the Russian State can now no longer exist without the support of the Church; for if the Church should lose its influence upon the masses, the Russian State would fall down like a house of cards. Therefore independent religious thought is a more dangerous enemy to the Russian Empire than is Nihilism with its ineffective weapons, or would be any combination of foreign Powers. Hence it comes that all independent religious thought has to be crushed and annihilated in Russia. The Church, after having been a weak reed to the State, has now become its strongest pillar. After having been its creature, it has become its master. Though the Russian Church is a State Department, it has acquired a dominant position in the State, and the policy of the Church has,

by sheer necessity, become the policy of the Czar and his Government. Without ostentation and display, the Russian clergy, not the Russian bureaucracy, governs the country and directs its policy.

However, a great danger threatens the Church Dominant. The Russian Church, with its mediæval formalism, its outward show and its inner emptiness, captivates the unthinking masses with its pomp and ceremonies, but it has no prestige with the cultured and the reflecting, who see in it merely an organ of administrative government. Therefore the educated and the thinking Russians are drifting away from the Church in enormous numbers, and Aksakov's assertion, 'Half of the members of the Orthodox Church belong to it only from fear of punishment,' appears to be not far from the truth. Education and enlightenment are fatal to the reign of the Russian Church. Intolerance can only be supported by ignorance. Hence Church and State combined resolutely and unconditionally oppose, and are compelled to oppose, the spread of education and of enlightenment in Russia.

Foreign observers who are not sufficiently acquainted with Russia's real position glibly recommend that that country should enter on the path of progress and reform, that education should be spread, that greater liberties should be granted to the people, &c. But freeing the mind of the Russian people means destroying the basis of both Church and State in Russia. Therefore progress and reform, which can be founded only upon the enlightenment and the education of the masses, need not be expected for a long time in that country, notwithstanding the periodical appearance of Liberal reform programmes. Russia may 'be reformed, but she cannot be reformed from below. Hence popular liberties will remain a make-believe until such time when the ruler of that huge Empire ceases to describe himself as 'Samoderzec Vscrossijskij.' Russia's malady is perhaps not so much absolutism, favouritism, or her bureaucracy as her Cæsaropapism.

J. ELLIS BARKER.

THE NATIVE AND THE WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA

A TWENTIETH-CENTURY PROBLEM

‘See to the question, for it is the greatest problem you have to face.’—Sir ARTHUR LAWLEY, Governor-General, Johannesburg, 28th of November, 1905.

THE European traveller is not long in South Africa when he finds that the native question is the supreme problem that interests and involves everyone. Not that many of the people he meets will admit any difficulty in its treatment, or doubt as to its solution, provided that the country is let alone, that outside interference is avoided. But this is just where the trouble arises. Great Britain carried on a great war to secure her flag in South Africa, and she can hardly be expected to retire voluntarily from the scene when important principles that strongly interest and affect her people are being dealt with. And yet this is what is demanded by South Africans—by all sections of the white inhabitants. Their claim is that a free hand should be given to the country to settle its native question in its own way. It may be that, politically speaking, it would be wise for Great Britain to accept the position offered to her—to be satisfied that her flag waves from Cape Town to beyond the Zambesi, and to surrender all right of interference with, or even to give ethical advice to, the million and a quarter of heterogeneous European people who claim the right to run the country in their own way. Of course, if Great Britain accepts this position, she must give up many cherished ideas, many deep-rooted beliefs. She must recognise that the battle she fought was not for equal rights for all men ; was not for the uplifting of the native ; was not for the principles of the Christian religion ; that it was merely to bring under the flag an immense country with a troublesome past and a doubtful future : a country whose destiny was to be controlled, on lines absolutely independent of home opinion and sentiment, by the handful of very capable white people who now dominate the land. This was scarcely the intention of the British people when they freely spent their blood and treasure to extend their dominion and keep their flag flying. Often, however, the most successful politician

is he who knows when to accept a position that was foreign to his original intentions, and accepts it with alacrity and grace.

There is little difficulty in ascertaining the facts of the situation in South Africa as between European and native. The total number of whites in the various English Colonies south of the Zambesi does not exceed 1,250,000, while the coloured races number over 5,000,000, a proportion of nearly five natives to every white person. The whites are mainly collected in a few populous centres, the coloured people are scattered broadcast over the land in crowded locations, in the mining districts and on farms. No part of inhabited South Africa is without them, and all the lower manual work is carried on by them. As is always the case where an inferior race lives side by side with a superior, the latter soon looks upon unskilled labour as a degradation. Were there no coloured races in South Africa, it is probable that it, or at any rate a considerable part of it, would be a white man's land in the same sense as is Australia or California: that is, white men would undertake all the work necessary for the industrial development of the country. A field for permanent settlement by working men and farm labourers would thus be afforded. As long as all unskilled work is carried on by natives this cannot be. But the native is in South Africa in large and growing numbers, and there is no possible scheme that will get rid of him. Under these circumstances the only class of immigrants that can come with safety to South Africa are persons with professions or trades, or who seek for employment by reason of their knowledge of some particular business. Were emigration to Australia or North America similarly restricted, these countries would never have had such a remarkable development. The emigrant who is attracted to a country by the high wages that are paid for special skill is apt to go with an *animus revertendi*, and such a person is in no real sense a colonist.

We have, accordingly, in South Africa a small white and a large coloured population, the white dependent for its prosperity on the labour of the native, who is increasing at a relatively more rapid rate. This state of things may and does exist in other parts of the world without raising the peculiar problem that we have in Africa. It exists in India, but there the white man is not a permanent factor in the population of the country, which he governs from his own land in his own way, and to a large extent independently of local opinion. On the other hand, we have a similar state of affairs in Brazil, but there no distinction of colour or race is made. Every inhabitant stands equal as regards political and social rights and privileges. The country is governed from within, by the people, not from outside, and the race problem can hardly be said to arise.

As soon as a community so situated acquires the right or duty to undertake the responsibility of self-government, the question of the relation of white and black has at once to be faced. So long as the

Crown Colony system is in force, the difficulty does not occur. But Cape Colony and Natal already have responsible government; and although Rhodesia and Bechuanaland are not yet in a position to ask for it, the demand from the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony cannot be refused much longer. Almost everybody regards a federation of all the South African Colonies as the natural course of political development. We are, accordingly, brought face to face with the native problem with its many difficulties. Is the native to be treated as a citizen with all a citizen's rights, as in Brazil, or is he to be regarded as a class apart, an inferior being, in social and political serfdom?

From a practical point of view the question of native rights arises on three main issues: The granting of (1) equal political rights with the white man where the native is similarly qualified; (2) the right to acquire and hold property in land; and (3) equal social rights with the white man. The first of the three issues will arise when the constitution of each Colony comes up for consideration or alteration; the second is becoming important now in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa; and the third in the enactment of local by-laws and other similar regulations that place the native under special restrictions, such as that of having to walk in the roadway and not on the side-walk when within municipal bounds.

In the year 1896, when I first visited South Africa, the native question had arisen into great prominence. When I revisited the country some months ago, its magnitude showed signs of obscuring all other questions. Boer and Briton agree that it is *the* problem of the immediate future. At a banquet in Johannesburg on the 28th of November last, Sir Arthur Lawley, the retiring Lieutenant-Governor, spoke earnestly of the native question, expressing the view that the racial was the only obstacle that darkened the future of South Africa. The raising of the natives immediately to the level of the whites would, he said, be an acrobatic feat of evolution of which humanity was incapable. 'The natives in element are good if they are moulded aright; if not, they are a potential menace to the whole of South Africa. See to the question, for it is the greatest problem you have to face.'

Practically speaking, among whites in the Transvaal three main classes of opinion have to be taken into account—the Dutch, the British, and the mine-owners'. Each looks at the matter from his own point of view, with regard to his own interests, and all are practically unanimous in their conclusions. 'If South Africa is to be a white man's country, he alone must rule. The native should be treated with justice, but he must not be allowed to take part in the government of the country, he must not get political rights.' This is the opinion of the great majority of white South Africans outside the Cape Colony and of many within it. The Europeans in the Cape Colony are, however, much more favourable to the concession of

political rights to the native than in any of the other South African Colonies. There he has, under the constitution, equal rights provided he is properly qualified. The native not alone votes at the election of members to the Legislative Council, but in many constituencies he holds the balance of power. The result is that politicians of both parties work for his vote on the usual party-government lines, and promise him privileges that are considered unwise and injudicious by both Boers and Britons in the neighbouring Colonies.

When in South Africa I discussed this, the paramount problem of the country, with men of all races, of all shades of opinion, of every class in the community with whom I came in contact, and the information I thus acquired enabled me to see very clearly the difficulties of getting a practical or even a possible solution, if we are to keep on the lines of political, social, and moral opinion as they have developed in Europe and the United States of America during the last half-century.

In the Cape Colony opinion is much more liberal to the natives than in the other Colonies. This is due partly to the fact that during the last generation they have been exercising political rights without much inconvenience to the whites, and yet a feeling is growing that some change must be made that will place the coloured man in a different category from the white. It is felt that the existing system that puts the qualified native on a political level with the white man will present a real difficulty when the question of the federation of the South African Colonies comes to be discussed, as it is certain that the majority of the other Colonies will refuse to come into a federation in which the coloured man has the same political rights as the white.

The solution at present put forward by liberal opinion in the Cape Colony is what may be called the Maori system of New Zealand, that the native races should be allowed to vote for special representatives in the Legislature, who would be elected by them independently of white opinion, and that thus the intermixed voting of white and coloured persons would be avoided. Probably a majority could be got for this solution of the representation question in the Cape Colony; but it would not be accepted in the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, or in Rhodesia, where strong objection is made to giving the natives any political rights whatever.

The views expressed to me by a man of admitted authority on the native question in Cape Colony, a man of great knowledge and experience, are worth quoting, as they represent what may be regarded as the most enlightened opinions on the subject from the traditional British point of view. The native, he considers, should be allowed to get a good education that would allow him to compete in business, and take part in local and church government up to a certain point, but that the line should be drawn at social equality. The white and coloured races should develop their social affairs on strictly separate

planes. No social intercourse should be admitted between them which might lead to intermarriage and the production of a race of half-breeds. The thoughtful natives do not desire such intercourse. They see that it would not be for the advantage of either race. Many natives will become educated, and acquire wealth, and even be employers of white labour; but even under these circumstances there must be no social equality: the industrial superior must be the social inferior. This may appear hard, but the predominance of the white man must be maintained. This social segregation is also defended on the ground that the white man has had centuries of civilisation behind him, the black man but a generation, and no one can tell whether he may not revert to the simple life that is called barbarism. In dealing with this subject the particular must always be sacrificed to the general, the individual to the community. If there were no natives in South Africa it would do well as a white man's country; but the natives are there in the proportion of five to one, and the white man must accept the situation.

These views were endorsed by a leading politician and minister in the Colony as representing the most enlightened opinion on the subject. This plan of separate representation is favoured by men who are admittedly friendly to the native, and even by some thoughtful natives themselves. On the other hand, one of the ablest Government officials in South Africa objected to the scheme, when I mentioned it to him, on the ground that the native is not willingly going to surrender important rights already conceded to him. He cannot be kept permanently in an inferior position, and as he gets education and training he will certainly assert himself. The man, however, who holds these views is dubbed a 'negrophilist,' which in South Africa is equivalent to calling him a 'faddist,' and thus, in the familiar fashion, by attaching to him an epithet, the value of his opinion is conveniently discounted.

There are, as I have said, three sections of opinion to be taken into account in South Africa: the British, the Dutch, and the mine-owners. The British on this native question are somewhat divided. Probably in the Cape Colony they would largely adopt the views I have outlined, and give to the natives certain limited political rights while putting them socially in a separate category. In the more northern Colonies they, however, join with the Dutch and the mine-owners in the view that if the white man is to possess South Africa there must be no paltering with the question of political power. That must exclusively be confined to the man of European descent, and the coloured man must be excluded from all share in the government. Nothing could be more definite than the opinion of all three classes of white opinion on the matter in the Transvaal and in Rhodesia. The Boer, all admit, learned long ago how to treat the native. He regarded him as a useful servant, as he did his horse or his ox, but it

never entered into his imagination to give him any share in the government. Both British and Dutch look forward with considerable apprehension to the possible future action of Great Britain on this question. They are aware of the existence of what they term 'Exeter Hall' views and their influence on elections and governments. The propagation of these views they largely attribute to the influence of the missionaries, who accordingly are looked upon with dislike and suspicion as persons who teach the natives undesirable opinions as to their rights, and keep alive absurdly 'sentimental' views among the voters of England and Scotland. 'All missionaries,' said a very representative mining magnate to me in the Transvaal, 'should be sent north of the Zambesi. They do nothing but harm to the native, who, before he heard of heaven and hell, was a good enough sort of man; but since he has been informed of the existence of these places, his tendency is to go to hell.'

The opinion of all white sections in the Transvaal is practically unanimous on this subject. A native of the British Isles, who now occupies a high and honourable representative municipal position in the colony in which he has lived for many years, said to me, 'The native question overshadows all others. If political rights are given to him great and serious trouble will arise. It is the one question that will unite the whites, who are all agreed that no political rights should be given to the native when outside his location.' A capable representative of the mining interests and capitalists held similar views. The Kafirs, he said, 'are too well off as it is. The high pay that they got during the war demoralised them, and they will not work except for absurdly high wages. Their rapid increase in numbers owing to polygamy is a great danger, and steps should be taken to minimise this risk by taxing a man for each wife he keeps after the first.' It is certain that the rapid increase in the numbers of the natives is adding greatly to the danger of the situation. In former times the Kafirs were kept down by the ravages of war: now the *pax Britannica* has resulted in a great increase in their numbers and they are growing much more rapidly than the white inhabitants of South Africa.

The effect of the war on the Kafir is generally deplored by those in South Africa who need his labour. He was then paid so well for his services that he now scorns moderate wages. A Dutch farmer from the Eastern Transvaal told me that in his district Kafirs ask 3*l.* a month wages, and if you offer them 30*s.* they simply smile and say 'That is not money.' Then the spirit of comradeship shown by the private soldier to the Kafir, it is alleged, made him 'cheeky' and over-independent.

The opinions of the men who form the real backbone of white settlement in South Africa—the farmers, traders, and residents who intend to make the country their permanent home—are clear and

decided on this question. They may appear crude, unscientific, and retrograde, but they are sincere and formed with a thorough knowledge of the difficulties and necessities of the case. Such men begin and end all discussions on the subject by the assertion that if South Africa is to be held as a white man's country there must be no hesitation in dealing with the natives. No political rights must be conceded to them. They must be educated only with a view to the needs of their white employers, not with regard to their own desires or aspirations. No humanitarian or outside interference should be permitted. It would, it is admitted, much simplify matters could the natives be eliminated, as in Australia; but that is not possible, both because of their numbers and fecundity, and also because the country now has need of them. They are most useful if treated as the white employers desire, and if their education and development be strictly limited. Some would make it penal to educate the native at all, and would expel all missionaries from the country. They take the view that to educate a man is to give him aspirations, and that a man with aspirations is distinctly less useful as an industrial factor in a country where bone and sinew are more needed than intelligence. The last can be obtained from the white man, and it is trenching on his domain to allow the native to compete with him. This view of the question, crudely but accurately expressed, may seem to those imbued with the ideas of Western civilisation to lead directly to the degradation of man. It ignores all the theories on which are based our conceptions of the progress of the human family. It draws a line between races. It fixes a great gulf between the superior and the inferior. Humanity is no longer one family, but a collection of species incapable of amalgamation. In fact, in South Africa I have frequently heard men speak of 'human beings and Kafirs.' Many will boldly deny that the black man is any more a human being than is a baboon. A very large employer of native labour said to me that the Kafir is by nature different from the white man; that he is deceitful, thievish, and secretive; that no white man can understand him or discover his real purpose. Periodically, he said, the Kafirs hold 'schools' in which the doctrines inculcated are (1) that no native must ever inform against another to a white man, and (2) that it is the duty of every native to get all that he can by fair or foul means from the white man. 'The Kafir is by nature a liar and a rogue, and has a different standard of conduct and of morals from the white.' It would, of course, be interesting to hear the Kafir on this subject. It is possible that he might assert that the white man has not infrequently robbed him; that he has on occasions tricked and deceived him; that he has sometimes conspired against him. But this way of regarding the matter is in South Africa looked on as trifling with the subject, as doctrinaire, and as quite beside the question.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who by many in South Africa is yet looked back

to as a philosopher as well as a great man of action, propounded the doctrine of 'equal rights for all *civilised* men south of the Zambesi.' Rhodes, it must be remembered, was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, where the qualified native has political rights. Many of his followers, when now faced with his doctrine, agree to it, but assert that the qualification 'civilised' must exclude all coloured men from equality of rights for an indefinite period. 'No man, they say, can possibly be civilised in a couple of generations. It has taken Europeans centuries of growth before they have attained to their present civilisation. The native who is emerging from barbarism must undergo a similar period of probation. Certainly he cannot be civilised in our time. Many South Africans who see the difficulties in maintaining this line of argument are content if they can postpone the impending cataclysm to a period beyond their time and possibly their children's. Forty or fifty years hence, they say, the native may begin to show himself 'civilised.' Then it will be time to consider the question of 'equal rights.' Of course the weakness of this position is that the native may not be content to wait. But that is another question.

There would be little difficulty in carrying into effect this policy with respect to the natives in South Africa were the aborigines to submit quietly to whatever treatment their white superiors thought fit to deal out to them. But herein lies the difficulty. The Kafir is beginning to think for himself. He has newspapers published and written by himself. He has able teachers and orators. He has good business capacity. For many years Great Britain has sent into the country Christian missionaries to teach the native that in the sight of God all men are equal; that Christ died for all men; that to acquire a right to political and religious equality, on earth or in heaven, it is only necessary that the coloured man should adopt civilised habits and lead a Christian life. 'But now,' says the Kafir, 'when we come up to your requirements you deny us our rights. We have accepted your Christianity, we have adopted your civilisation, and yet you say we are not to have equality. What is the use of our being equal with the white man in the sight of God if we are to be inferior to him in the sight of man? You have deceived us.' The result is that a sense of injustice is being engendered, and this is never desirable where the aggrieved are in a position to strike back, to make themselves felt. No wonder that the Transvaaler desires that the missionary should be expelled from the country, and that inconvenient and manifestly inapplicable doctrines of the equality of man should cease to be preached to the native.

But the missionaries are not the only people to blame for giving the native unsuitable ideas. One of the grounds of adverse criticism made powerful use of before the war by the opponents of Boer government in the Transvaal was the treatment of the native. He got no rights, it was said, and frequently was illtreated. Consequently it

entered into the head of the Kafir, who knew more than was imagined of the great political controversy that raged between his white masters, that the victory of Great Britain meant an improved position for him. England, he came to think, was on the side of God and the missionaries, and now he thinks that she should act up to her principles—a most inconvenient demand under the circumstances. The Kafirs consider that they have a grievance. They say openly in the kraals of the Western Transvaal that they expected when they became subjects of the Great King to have equal rights with his other subjects. They pay to him heavy taxes and yet are denied the rights of citizenship. They are evidently not aware that the man, whether white or black, who asks that peoples should be governed in accordance with the rules of logic, or who thinks that principles and promises made for particular purposes should be subsequently redeemed, has learned little from the history of civilisation, and asks for what it is often impossible to concede.

It is noteworthy that the more intelligent officials entrusted with the direction of native affairs approve of what in South Africa is considered a pro-native policy, that is a policy which recognises the right of the African to some control of his own affairs. They do not, so far as I am aware, favour the granting to him of the franchise on equal terms with the whites, but they consider that he should either get a separate representation in the Legislative Councils where such are established, or that separate districts or reservations should be set aside for natives where they can develop their own government organisation. A Native Commissioner in the Transvaal, a man of thought and intelligence, said to me that until a fair solution of the political and land questions as they affect the Kafir is arrived at, there is bound to be trouble. He thinks that the best settlement of the political question is to preserve the tribal government of the natives and endeavour to direct it on good lines, and not to attempt to detribalise, which is the policy advocated by many. The natives are still largely organised in tribes under their chiefs, who rule them in accordance with recognised customs. Instead of attempting to break up this tribal organisation, it should be encouraged by getting every native to register under his tribe, no matter where he may be temporarily residing, and every native so registered should be entitled to take part in the tribal government. No rights of a political nature need be given to a native outside such tribal rights. This would prevent him from interfering in the affairs of his white neighbours, and would give him the right to manage his own affairs undisturbed by the white man. As tribal government is now developing, the power of the chiefs is rapidly being limited and steadied by the rising power of the headmen who form the tribal council, and thus the exercise of the tyranny that formerly made the government of the Kafir chief so objectionable from the European point of view is prevented.

Whether the native should be allowed to acquire land in his own name, or at all, is becoming a question of much importance in the Transvaal. It is asserted that if he be permitted to do so he will purchase large farms, for the purpose of planting on them his fellows, and that soon again he will possess the land. As the Kafir acquires wealth—and many of them have even now a considerable amount of ready money—it is almost certain that he will spend it in this way, and it requires little imagination to convince us that, with a large native population firmly seated in legal possession of land and fulfilling in respect of it the obligations of citizenship, the difficulty of treating them as a class disentitled to the rights of citizenship will be greatly increased. The danger is now the greater in that at the present time, owing to the ravages of war and disease and the resulting poverty, many Boers are prepared to sell their farms whenever a good price is offered. The question has been recently raised in the Land Transfer Office of the Transvaal, where a native purchaser of land sought to get the transfer registered in his own name. The matter was referred to the legal advisers of the Government, but no definite rule seems to have been laid down except that the temporary expedient has been adopted of registering all purchases of land by natives in the name of the Native Commissioner in trust. Anyone acquainted with the law of trusts, however, is aware that this is no way out of the difficulty, which will have to be faced without much further delay. The suggestion has been made that the best solution would be to schedule certain districts of the country that are admittedly little suited for white habitation, such as the country of the 'low veldt,' comprising the Zoutpansberg and other large areas of the Transvaal, and permit coloured people freely to acquire the title to land in such districts while excluding them from the more healthy parts of the country that are suitable for the European races. This solution, which is favoured by many experienced and thoughtful officials connected with the Native Affairs Department, would also be approved of by leaders of opinion among the Boers.

I was naturally anxious to find out the views held by Boer leaders, whose opinions on this question are, for several reasons, perhaps of greater real importance than those of any other section of the European peoples in South Africa. I accordingly discussed the subject with some of them, who certainly showed statesmanlike appreciation and political foresight of a high order. One Boer leader said to me: 'Perhaps the most serious question in South Africa is that of the natives. It hangs over every other. The Boers from the beginning saw its importance, and deliberately adopted a policy of not putting the native on an equality with the white man, an absolutely necessary policy if South Africa is to be a white man's land. The true policy is to secure the various native tribes their locations and their own districts and countries such as Swaziland, Basutoland, &c. Allow

them to live there in their own way, no whites to be allowed to interfere with them. On the other hand, if they come into the white man's districts they must do so on white man's terms, and have no share in the government. They are well off on farms. They get high wages and spend little, and are, monetarily speaking, very prosperous. The natives are still on the borders of savagery; you cannot civilise a people in a few years, or in a generation. When they become civilised, then a new policy can be adopted. Now the proper policy is to treat them kindly and justly, but not on the basis of political equality. To give them votes would be a great mistake. It would merely open the door to bribery and corruption. It would enable rich capitalists to go to a native chief and bribe him to get his people to vote a particular way. We can see how the thing works in the Cape. At the last election the Progressive party went to the constituencies where the native vote was strong and promised various impossible things to secure that vote, and the Bond was just as bad. The temptation is too great. The proposal of the Native Affairs Commission to give to the native a separate representation is equally objectionable, for the Kafir does not understand or appreciate representative government. The native is growing more rapidly than the European, and if we are not careful in fifty years South Africa will be a country in which no white man can live. It will have a teeming population of coloured people who will oust all others. Even now educated coloured men from America are coming over and preaching to their fellows that Africa is for the Africans. This is why we object to the Chinese immigrants. You may bring them in with the best intentions, but, say what you will, you cannot get them out again.¹ We have an example in the Indians in Natal. The whites, who were in a great minority as compared with the Kafirs, brought over Indian coolies, they said, to do special work only, and now those Indians outnumber the whites. All who value the Transvaal must unite to keep out the Chinese. It is a terribly serious question for those who mean to live in the country.'

Another very astute and intellectual leader of Boer opinion in the Transvaal—and they have many men of remarkable political ability and fairness of mind—said to me: 'The Boer is not against the concession of rights to the natives, but he does not want South Africa to become a black man's country, as it will if equal rights be given to all.' Personally, he said, he did not object to the civilised native getting political rights. He recognised that you cannot with impunity sit on the safety-valve, and as the native contributes a considerable share of the revenue of the country he will naturally want

It must be remembered that it will cost the mine-owner at least six pounds a head to repatriate each Chinaman at the end of his term. The temptation will be great to save this expenditure by conniving at the escape of the Chinaman whose time has expired.

a share in the government. But rights must be given with discrimination. The Boer, he alleged, was never unjust to the natives. He, as a boy, was brought up with the Kafir boy as his playmate, and such a state of things must establish a bond of sympathy between the races. The missionary has always misrepresented the attitude of the Boer towards the native. My friend added that he thought it would be a mistake to frame any cut and dried scheme for dealing with the question of native rights. As circumstances alter, policy should be altered. Look at the mistake made in the United States of America in establishing after the war a cut and dried system of native enfranchisement which is found to be unworkable. .

Such are the views of the more statesmanlike Boer leaders. Naturally the less educated countryman is somewhat cruder in his methods, and joins with the mass of white opinion in regarding the native rather as a means of production than as a human being entitled to rights.

There is, however, a well-founded apprehension that the native may prove troublesome, and that unless something is done to satisfy him he may resolve to fight his own battle, and force rights for himself. Were he to rise in arms it is admitted that the results would be very disastrous. The Kafir has learned much during the late Boer War. He knows intimately how the white men fight. He understands the use of arms, and he has a thorough knowledge of the country. Many white men well acquainted with the state of feeling in South Africa are convinced that a native rising is probable. Some who belong to that class of physicians who have faith in blood-letting—the remedy is simple and does not require much thought or skill—will tell you that such an outbreak would be most desirable. It would cause trouble and injury to many, but it would scotch native aspirations for a time, and *après nous le déluge*.

The fact that the native in all the South African Colonies contributes largely to the revenue is admittedly a difficulty in the way of those who object to the concession to him of political rights. In the Transvaal he now pays a poll-tax of 2*l.* per annum. This, together with pass duties, &c., yields a revenue of over half a million a year. It will naturally be argued that a class that contributes so substantially to the support of the country should have some voice in its management. This ground of claim for representation is the stronger, as one of the most important matters for decision by the Governments of the various Colonies is the incidence and amount of native taxation. A considerable body of opinion would largely increase direct taxation on the native as an inducement to him to work under conditions that at present do not attract him. The answer to this argument given to me by many leading men, including a member of the Legislative Council of the Cape whose division included a large native population, is that the native has got a sufficient benefit for the taxation

that he has to pay in the security that he enjoys under the white man's rule. Look, it is said, at the conditions under which he lived in former times, when he was subject to gross tyranny from his chiefs, under whose rule his life and property were never safe. The benefit from this change in conditions is considered to be a sufficient ground for not giving to the native any political rights. Some one present at the discussion suggested that this argument would also be a sufficient answer to the Transvaal citizen when he also demands political rights, as he is now protected from what he alleged was gross tyranny. It could be applied to a great variety of cases in all countries. It would mean that the grant of a benefit in the past is a conclusive answer to all demands for political rights in the future. But then such considerations, in South Africa as elsewhere, are looked upon as foolish and doctrinaire.

It is, perhaps, too often assumed that native peoples have as great a sense of the benefits of civilised government as have the inventors and organisers of such government. Those best qualified to judge, those who look below the surface in dealing with subject peoples and know their views, are convinced that often it is not so: that native peoples, whether in India, Egypt, or South Africa, really prefer their own government, carried on in their own way, with all the objections that attach to such governments from the point of view of Western civilisation, to a system to them strange, alien, and out of touch with their wishes, their habits and their customs. What we regard as tyranny is often looked upon by the peoples subject to it as open to little real objection.

We are now, I think, in a position to realise what is the problem that has to be solved with respect to the native races in South Africa. It is really a very simple one: What is to be the place of the coloured man in the future political and social organisation of the country, on the assumption that South Africa is to be a white man's land? Is he to be treated as a possible fellow-citizen, or as of a class apart, useful and necessary in the economic development of the country, but unfitted by nature and environment to take part in the higher social life and in the political organisation of South Africa?

The solutions presented of this problem are various, but they may perhaps be codified into four, namely:

(1) Give the coloured man the same social and political rights as the white man, as he shows himself, or becomes, qualified. This is, roughly, the system at present prevailing under the constitution of the Cape Colony.

(2) Deal with him as on a separate plane of civilisation, and give him different social rights and a different political representation from those of the white man, who will, under all conditions, secure for himself the determining voice in governing the country. This plan is favoured by many responsible men in touch with the natives.

(3) Isolate him as far as possible in reservations of his own, and there let him work out his own methods of government, giving no share in the government of the white man's country to those who come outside their reservations. This solution is put forward by many thoughtful leaders of Boer opinion, and by various officials in the Native Affairs Department.

(4) Give him no political rights whatever. Treat him as fundamentally inferior to the white man, and not to be thought of as on an equality with him. This is the view held by many capitalists and mining men, as well as by probably a majority of Europeans who live permanently in the country and see the threatening danger from the black man and can suggest no remedy on any lines of equality of race.

None of these suggested solutions, however, is satisfactory. The first, based on the doctrine of the equality of the human race, perhaps will most readily appeal to home European opinion, where men formulate theories and base on them policies which are considered good for other people, and do not affect themselves. Such, at any rate, is the view of the South African, who answers such a proposal by saying that the native is not really to be classed as a human being, and that to give him political rights will prevent the country from being a white man's land. That the native has rights under the present constitution of the Cape Colony is considered very unfortunate, and until a constitutional change is made a federation of South African States need not be discussed.²

The second suggestion, which has been adopted in the Report of the Native Affairs Commission, would put the native on a different plane from the white man, and give him a separate representation, but still a voice in the government. It is considered as objectionable by many as the first proposal. It will, it is argued, leave open the door for intrigue and corruption, and it will be difficult, if not impossible, to fix the proportions in which representation should be given. If in numerical proportion to the whites the native will soon have the balance of power, and if cut down so as to secure the dominance of the white, then there will always be just grounds for discontent and agitation on the part of the coloured man.

The third suggestion has much to commend it, but it has the objection that no one can be sure that gold, or diamonds, or desirable land may not be found in whatever district may be set aside as suitable for native reservation. Basutoland has been carefully preserved to the natives up to the present with most satisfactory results, but when Lerethodi, the paramount chief, died last August, an agitation was raised in the Johannesburg papers and elsewhere for the removal of the restrictions that prevented white men from prospecting in the

² The 1905 constitution for the Transvaal expressly limits the franchise to white men.

country and opening it for development. It is intolerable, it was argued, that a country suspected of possessing rich minerals should be closed to prospectors and mining speculators, who would introduce civilisation and give the natives a desire for luxuries that would oblige them to work.

The policy that would give the native no rights is good enough so long as he is content to admit racial inferiority, and makes no attempt to obtain political rights. But how long will that be when we find that he has already his well-edited newspapers, his capable and educated organisers and speakers, and is getting into touch with his American coloured brethren, who suggest to him that the claim of Africa for the Africans is not unreasonable or unnatural?

The more we think over the subject and the more we know about it, the more likely are we to come to the conclusion that so clear a thinker as Mr. John Morley arrived at with respect to the same question in the United States—that it is the nearest approach to an insoluble problem that can be conceived. As we listen to the arguments advanced by men of all classes and shades of opinion in South Africa and realise that probably with them will lie the destiny of the land, we can hardly help coming to the conclusion that the question will only be solved by the operation of the law of evolution, the struggle for existence, the survival of the fittest. The doctrine of the equality of man, of natural right, although it has done much for mankind, does not get rid of the inexorable law of development. The more we study human history and experience, the more do we realise that the concession of what are generally regarded as the natural rights of man only, as a rule, takes place when the people who demand them have sufficient force to compel. There is hardly an instance in which the doctrine of the rights of man, of liberty and equality, has, in any fundamental case, been put into application except where the forces were too strong to withstand opposition. The French Revolution resulted in the freedom and enfranchisement of the peasant because he was strong enough to wrest power, and the British citizen had also to struggle hard and long before he obtained the political rights he considered he was entitled to. Civilised communities are easily swayed by splendid conceptions so long as the application of the idea does not directly endanger their own prosperity or interfere with their own convenience. Thus slavery was abolished in Great Britain and in the United States by the action of those who owned no slaves, and against the protest of those who did, and yet few will assert that the latter were less educated or civilised than the former. The noblest principle is usually allowed to lie dormant, and is considered inapplicable and doctrinaire, wherever its practical application is likely to interfere with or threaten the dominance or prosperity of the determining section of the community.

The concession of political and social rights to the negro in the

United States was due to that part of the population that did not personally suffer, that was not itself affected. Of course, individuals worked nobly and untiringly to arouse sentiment and to move opinion, but it remains true that the people who carried emancipation were themselves not really affected. A community or a section of a community will frequently undertake tremendous struggles and engage in strenuous conflicts to maintain principles that in their application affect others rather than themselves.

When we come to apply the doctrine of the equality of man to a problem such as is presented to us in South Africa, we are at once confronted with a volume of argument that cannot be airily set aside, that will prove that the doctrines that Western civilisation had come to regard as axiomatic and fundamental are only so when applied to the white portion of the community. The various arguments that for generations were used to oppose the granting of the franchise to the proletariat in England and other European countries are, with suitable variants, brought forward to fortify the contention that the native should not have an equality of rights with the European. The cynical observer may note that the Russian Jew, who in his native country is denied political rights for reasons similar to those now urged against the Kafir, is in South Africa considered fully entitled to political equality merely because he is a white man.

The true reason for the denial of political rights to the native is, however, never concealed in South Africa. It is preached everywhere, and by all classes of opinion, that if South Africa is to be a white man's land the native must not be enfranchised.

The struggle that lies in the future will show whether the Kafir is capable of compelling the application to his race of the doctrine of the equality of man, or whether, as is asserted, he is by nature an inferior being. This is on the assumption that outside interference is avoided, and that Africa is to be governed by African opinion.

To provide a satisfactory solution for the situation that exists in South Africa is probably beyond the wit of man: the interests are too various, the consequences are too sharply defined.

But I do not think that there can be much doubt as to the future. We are entering on a period of struggle and controversy. The power of the native to force a consideration of his claims will become greater and more menacing. He will produce leaders of more or less political capacity and instinct. Concessions will from time to time be given to him, sometimes freely, sometimes grudgingly, mainly with the object of warding off dangerous combinations and to get out of serious situations. But this means constant agitation, embittered controversy, and an unsettled history. There is the possibility that we may find the country plunged into a savage Native War that will have the effect of drawing Boer and Briton more closely together against the common enemy, but which will cause much suffering, bitterness,

and savagery. In a war between civilised men and uncivilised the tendency is for the civilised to adopt the methods of the uncivilized. The result of such a war would probably be to place the native for a time in a position of dependence and servitude, but it would also throw back the progress of the country. It would hasten the day when men's minds will be forced to turn to the great question of the future: Is South Africa fitted by nature and circumstances to be a white man's land?

W. F. BAILEY.

*LOCAL AUTONOMY AND IMPERIAL UNITY:
THE EXAMPLE OF GERMANY*

IN Dr. Moritz Busch's diary, entitled *Bismarck in the Franco-German War*, we find under the date of the 23rd of November, 1870, the following entry :

About ten o'clock I went in to tea, and found Bismarck, Bohlen, and Hatzfeld still there. The Chief was engaged with the three Bavarian plenipotentiaries in the salon. After a quarter of an hour or so he threw open the folding doors, put his head in, looked round kindly, and when he saw that there were several of us, came up to us, and sat down at the table with a glass in his hand. 'Now,' said he, excitedly, 'the Bavarian business is settled and everything signed. We have got our German unity and our Emperor.'

Thus ended the negotiations which Bismarck had week after week patiently carried on at Versailles within earshot of the cannonade of the siege of Paris. Bavaria had been the last of the German States to hold out against the proposed confederation of Germany. On the 19th of January, 1871, in the Palace of Versailles, William, King of Prussia, was proclaimed German Emperor, Kaiser, lord of every span of German territory outside of the confines of Austria. The constitution established in 1871 has now lasted for thirty-four years, and under it Germany has been able to avoid external war and internal dissension. It is worth while to recall how this constitution was brought about, what results it aimed at accomplishing, and what were the means adopted for their accomplishment.

Before Bismarck began his work as Chancellor there lay outside of Prussia and Austria a heterogeneous collection of independent German States, over thirty in number. Of these some were almost as large as Ireland, others almost as small as the Isle of Man. Some were governed by kings, some by grand dukes, others by dukes, and the rest by petty princes. Legislation was carried on in some by a single chamber, in others by two chambers, a higher and a lower. In some the system of election was direct, in others it was indirect. In some the composition of the upper chamber was rigidly exclusive, in others it was fairly popular.

In religion the divergence among the States was as great as in their area and constitution. Some were as Catholic as Ireland, some

were as Protestant as Scotland or Wales. In spite of these differences it might have been possible to bring about a general confederation of all the States but for the fact that adjoining them lay not one great German Power, which would naturally be the head of the confederation, but two great German Powers, each bent on baffling the pretensions of the other to become its head. Years of futile diplomatic war between Prussia and Austria had in the year 1862 apparently not brought the German States any nearer to an effective confederation. For a short time King William of Prussia, in despair of reaching a satisfactory solution, was almost prepared to consent that the Emperor of Austria should be declared hereditary Emperor of Germany, provided that the King of Prussia was declared to be hereditary Commander-in-Chief of Germany. Such an arrangement could not have survived the first strain to which it was sure to be subjected.

Bismarck nourished no illusions. He saw that Prussia would never be permitted to organise a lasting German confederation while Austria continued to be a German State, and he saw that Austria, so long a dominant, if not the dominant, power among the German States, would not voluntarily abandon her position. Consequently war between Prussia and Austria was inevitable; nor did it seem possible to avoid a war with France. A jealous and dominant neighbour, she was not likely to look calmly on while Prussia, a comparatively weak Power, by uniting the weak and divided German States in a solid confederation, was setting up on the very borders of France an empire which for purposes of war would be almost irresistible.

In 1862 Bismarck was appointed Chancellor. He at once began to plan the series of apparently unconnected moves in that mighty game of political chess which, beginning with the invasion of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, did not end till 1871, when at Versailles William, King of Prussia, was proclaimed German Emperor—a game played all through without haste, without rest, and, it must be added, without scruple. The years from 1862 to 1864 were employed in preparation. In 1864 Bismarck was ready to act.

The contested succession to the Duchies was a subject of dispute conveniently open. Bismarck succeeded in persuading the Emperor of Austria that the interests of Austria would be served by his joining with Prussia in the invasion of Schleswig-Holstein and in driving out the Danes. The Danes were driven out, and then came the question of the division of the spoils. By securing the co-operation of Austria in the invasion of the Duchies Bismarck had protected the Prussian rear from attack, he had successfully wrested Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, and, moreover, he had provided himself with a very handy cause of quarrel with Austria, of which he could avail himself as soon as he felt sure that the Prussian Army had reached such a state of efficiency as to make victory certain in a war with Austria.

He had no intention of yielding to her a single acre of the Duchies. From the first he had marked them down as a useful addition to Prussia, and to Prussia he, accordingly, in the end added them.

Meanwhile diplomatic skill was able to protract negotiations between Prussia and Austria until the Prussian Army was fully prepared for war. Then by diplomatic ingenuity Bismarck contrived to put Austria in the position of being apparently the aggressor. On the 12th of June, 1866, Austria declared war against Prussia. On the 23rd of June the first Prussian army crossed the frontier, and on the 3rd of July the Austrian army was absolutely routed at Sadowa. Just as the last guns were fired, and as the King of Prussia had given the general order to cease the pursuit of the flying enemy, Moltke and Bismarck came up to him. 'Your Majesty,' said Moltke, 'has won not only the battle but the campaign.' Upon which Bismarck added, 'The question at issue is then decided. Now we must try to establish again the old friendship with Austria.' On the field of Sadowa he was already planning Sedan. The road to Vienna now lay open and defenceless to the victors. Austria had at once to arrange to make peace on the best terms which she could obtain from Bismarck. On the 20th of July it was agreed that a truce was to begin on the 22nd. On the 26th of July the preliminaries of peace were signed at Nikolsburg. The treaty for peace known as the Treaty of Prague was not signed until the 23rd of August. It is important to bear these dates in mind in order to understand Bismarck's next moves. By the treaty Austria abandoned for ever all right to interfere in the affairs of the German States, and thereby she removed the main difficulty, which had hitherto prevented the establishment of a united German confederation. Meanwhile other difficulties had arisen.

The battle of Sadowa had startled Napoleon. It was the first revelation of the military strength of Prussia. The Schleswig-Holstein campaign of 1864 had been carried on against Denmark, a second-rate Power, and it had been carried on by the aid of Austrian as well as of Prussian troops; but in the Prusso-Austrian campaign Prussia had pitted herself against one of the first Powers of Europe, and had with almost incredible rapidity shattered the finest army which she had ever put into the field. If a military nation on the borders of France, and capable of such an achievement, were allowed to add to its military strength by welding all the armies of Germany into one and placing it under the leadership of Prussia, then the very existence of France would be imperilled. Such was Napoleon's reasoning. If he had been free to act, plainly his policy would have been to frustrate Prussia in every attempt to form any confederation of the German States, whether such confederation was to comprise all the German States or only those known as the North German States, *i.e.* those lying to the north of the river Main. In order to see why he was not free to follow this policy we must go back a little.

Of Bismarck it may be truly said that he never made an important move without having carefully considered what his next move was to be. In the beginning of June 1866 he knew that immediate war between Prussia and Austria was certain. He had every confidence in the victory of Prussia, and he at once prepared to put himself in a position to make the best use of the victory when gained. On the 10th of June, 1866, *i.e.* two days before the declaration of war by Austria, Bismarck had sent to all the German States his plan for the future confederate constitution, of which plan the following were the main points : (a) Exclusion of Austria ; (b) creation of a confederate marine ; (c) division of the supreme military command, Prussia taking the north and Bavaria the south ; (d) a Parliament to be elected by the people on the basis of universal suffrage, and empowered to deal with matters of common interest to the several States, *e.g.* regulation of commercial intercourse, currency, Customs, &c. The matters thus placed under the control of the central Parliament, and consequently withdrawn from that of the several State Legislatures, were to be sharply defined.

The publication of this plan was made known to Napoleon. How is it that he made no protest against it ? The explanation is simple. He was wholly in ignorance of Prussia's strength ; he felt certain that if war broke out between Austria and Prussia the latter would be crippled. He took elaborate precautions to secure that a confederacy of the German States under *Austrian* leadership should not follow upon the Austrian victory ; but he never thought of the contingency that victory might fall to Prussia, and not to Austria. Sadowa upset all Napoleon's plans. He did not know where to turn for safety. One of his Ministers advised him to place 100,000 troops at once on the Rhenish frontier, and then to impose terms on Prussia ; another pointed out that his army was wholly unprepared, and that if he got embroiled in war with Prussia the defeat of France was certain. Prince Napoleon wrote to the Emperor : 'It lies in the interests of France, of course, that Germany should remain divided, but this can be secured only by moderation, mildness and tact. Threats and violence would ruin everything.'

Finally the Emperor contented himself by preparing draft terms of the peace which he proposed between Austria and Prussia, and which terms were on the 14th of July, 1866, telegraphed to the Emperor of Austria and to the King of Prussia. This draft contained the following articles :

Austria shall acknowledge the dissolution of the old German Confederation, and not oppose a new organisation of Germany, in which she shall have no share.

Prussia shall establish a union of North Germany which shall include all States north of the line of the Main.

She shall hold command over the troops of the same.

The German States south of the Main shall be free to form among themselves a South German Union [which shall enjoy an international independent position]. The national connection between the Northern and the Southern Union shall be regulated by free and common consent.

These articles, omitting the words above put in brackets, were finally embodied in the Peace of Prague, signed on the 23rd of August, 1866. More than once during the progress of the negotiations that peace was in great danger from the importunate demand for an increase of territory on the part of France.

On the 8th of August Bismarck had for once lost his calmness and control. He summoned Von Moltke and put to him the startling question : 'Can you carry on successfully two wars at the same time, one against Austria, and one against France ?' And Moltke said, 'Yes, provided that both wars be conducted on the defensive.' Moltke's proviso adjourned the invasion of France from 1866 to 1870. Bismarck, in alluding to this interview, said, 'Moltke's plan is, then, for the defensive in Bohemia and for the defensive on the Rhine ; this might keep up a long time and bring still other interventions down on us. If Moltke had proposed first to finish up Austria thoroughly, and then to drive out the French, even if in the meantime they had reached Berlin, I could have understood it better ; but played on defensive lines the game is too high for me. We will try to make peace.'

For the present Bismarck had to be satisfied with the establishment of a confederation of the North German States. He acted with characteristic promptitude, knowing the dangers which any delay might entail. The following account is taken from Von Sybel's work, *The Founding of the German Empire* :

On the 4th of August, 1866, the first step was taken towards the realisation of the North German Confederation. In a circular despatch Bismarck informed the States that had been invited to join on the 16th of June that, with the exception of Saxe-Meiningen and Reuss (elder line), the acceptance had been universal. He also laid before them, on the basis of the correspondence that had taken place in that connection, the outline of a compact of alliance, requesting them to communicate their decision as quickly as possible. The compact designated as the object of the alliance the maintenance of the independence and integrity, as well as of the domestic and foreign security, of the States that were to be parties to it. This object was to be definitely settled and established by a confederate constitution on the basis of the Prussian outline of the 10th of June, 1866, with the co-operation of a Parliament to be summoned by the States in common. The troops of the Confederates were to be under the supreme command of His Majesty the King of Prussia. The elections to the Parliament were to take place at the same time with those in Prussia, on the basis of the Imperial law of 1849. Plenipotentiaries from the States were to meet at Berlin to prepare the constitutional draft that was to be laid before the Parliament in accordance with the principles declared upon June the 10th.

In this document there appeared again, and most unmistakably, the characteristics of the Prussian policy at that time : firmness and moderation, and the policy of achieving limited but lasting results. Nothing could be clearer than that at that moment Prussia possessed the power to impose upon all the

smaller States her arbitrary will. But such thoughts were far from both King and Minister.

Not one syllable was changed after the great victories in the offers and promises that had been made before the war.

In 1866 Bismarck had been partially foiled. He had aimed at bringing about a confederation of all the German States, both north and south, under the presidency of the King of Prussia. He had been obliged for the moment to appear to rest content with a confederation of the Northern States only. Austria as an obstacle to his plans had disappeared. France remained. The next three years were devoted in North Germany to recasting the armies of the several German States on the model of the Prussian army which had proved itself so formidable in the war with Austria. Treaties were entered into between the North German Confederation and the most important of the Southern States, with a view of making their armies available for co-operation with that of the North German Confederation if and when a foreign war should break out.

While Moltke and Roon were perfecting the machinery for waging the war, Bismarck was preparing to force it on. He managed his diplomacy so skilfully that at the desired moment the declaration came not from Germany, but from France. The story of the altered telegram from Ems is familiar to everyone. It is not a pleasant story. In private life it would not read well even in police-court proceedings; but the alteration had the effect which Bismarck desired. On the 15th of July, 1870, Napoleon the Third declared war against Germany. It is needless to follow the details of this terrible war, from which after seven months Germany emerged victorious at every point. The last obstacle to a united confederation of all the German States had been blown into the air. France could offer no further resistance to the scheme for which Bismarck had played so long and for such appalling stakes. He was now free to complete his work.

Bismarck was not the inventor of confederation for the German States. As far back as 1849 an attempt had been made to establish this confederation. The constitution-makers of that time were men full of theories—Radicals, who in their zeal for the abolition of anomalies were ready to pull down the thrones and abolish the Parliaments in all the States, in order then to construct new Government arrangements which should be as symmetrical as the blocks of houses in Chicago. Their reverence for uniformity was as deep as that of the Abbé Sieyès himself, whose paper constitutions were, as Carlyle points out, so nearly perfect that they had only one defect—‘they would not march.’ Bismarck was eminently conservative and eminently practical. He recognised that States were aggregations of human beings, and not of mechanical atoms. He cared nothing for theoretic symmetry. By confederation of all the States he aimed at creating a living and

healthy organism, and not a beautifully balanced machine. Centralisation might be inevitable in order to attain the paramount objects of the proposed constitution, but it was never to be an object in itself. On the contrary, the substitution of central control for local legislation was to be regarded as an evil—a necessary evil, perhaps, in certain cases, but still an evil. Local Parliaments he considered to be powerful aids to Imperial stability. If they did nothing else, they served as lightning-conductors for popular impatience.

When Bismarck came to prepare his scheme of confederation he gave effect to his beliefs. He found the individual States each with its system of government, its sovereign, its legislative systems differing each from the other with astonishing variety, and instead of abolishing them and transferring all their functions to a central authority, or instead of trying to recast all these systems on one single model, he simply left them as he found them. They might not be ideally perfect, but each State had preserved its own system, and Bismarck arranged that each should continue to preserve its own system. He transferred from the State Legislatures, or, to use an expression less confusing to English readers, 'the local Legislatures,' no subject-matter of legislation save such as for the purpose of attaining the paramount objects of the constitution must of necessity be placed under the control of the central Legislature. Now, what were the paramount objects of Bismarck's proposed confederation? They will be found in the terms of the Constitution of the 16th of April, 1871, by which it was declared that all the States of Germany 'form an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people.'

First, and above all, 'the protection of the realm,' national defence. To this every other consideration must be subservient. How was it to be secured? By organising the armies of all the States on such a system that in time of war they should form one homogeneous army. Plainly, to attain this object centralisation was essential. The armies must be trained according to one, and not according to several, systems. There must be a hierarchy of authority, from the subaltern officer in the smallest State to the commander-in-chief of the armies of all the States. By the constitution the King of Prussia was declared to be hereditary German Emperor, and as such he holds the supreme direction of the military affairs of the Empire. He represents the Empire internationally; he can, without consultation with any authority, declare war, if the war be purely defensive; he can make peace; he can enter into treaties with other nations; he can appoint and receive ambassadors. An offensive war he cannot declare without the consent of the Federal Council, the functions of which body we shall shortly describe; nor without their consent can he make treaties in relation to any matters which are regulated by Imperial legislation.

Before describing the legislative bodies of the State and of the Empire or Confederation respectively, it may be well to consider

what are the countries in which these bodies actually work, and this, we think, can best be done for English readers by comparing in point of area and population the German territorial divisions with corresponding divisions of the United Kingdom.

First comes Prussia, with an area of 134,000 square miles and a population of thirty-four millions. Prussia is to Germany what England is to the United Kingdom. She is by far the largest territorial division of Germany. Although the area of England is only 50,000 square miles, her population is close on thirty-one millions, as against the thirty-four millions of Prussia.

Next in extent comes Bavaria, which comprises 29,000 square miles and which supports a population of over 6 millions. Bavaria most nearly resembles Ireland, which contains 32,000 square miles and which has a population of 4½ millions. The analogy between Bavaria and Ireland in the matter of population was more close some thirty years ago than it is now. In the year 1871 the population of Bavaria was considerably under 5 millions; it has now risen to over 6 millions. In the same year (1871) the population of Ireland was nearly 5½ millions; it has now dropped to less than 4½ millions.

Würtemberg is almost identical with Wales both in area and population, the area of each being 7,500 square miles, and the population of Wales being 1½ million, while that of Würtemberg is just 2 millions.

In addition to these three States—Prussia, Bavaria, and Würtemberg—there are included in the Confederation twenty-two other States, all less in area than Würtemberg; but one of which—viz., Saxony—has a larger population. The populations of the others vary from 1,000,000 down to 43,000. Altogether the population of the Empire or Confédération amounts to 56 millions, of which, as we have seen, Prussia contains 34 millions, not far from two-thirds of the whole. For the purpose of comparison it may be noted that the population of the United Kingdom is just 42 millions, of which, as we have seen, close on 31 millions, or rather more than two-thirds, are contained in England.

In Berlin, the capital of Prussia, two absolutely distinct Parliaments hold their session—the Prussian Legislature, or local Parliament, and the Federal or Imperial Parliament. The Prussian Legislature is in many respects modelled on the British Parliament. It consists of two houses, the Lower corresponding to our House of Commons, the Upper, or Herrenhaus, corresponding to our House of Lords. The assent of the King and of both Houses is requisite for all laws. Financial projects and estimates must first be submitted to the Lower House, and they must be accepted or rejected *en bloc* by the Upper House. The King has an absolute veto on all laws, as in England. The Lower House consists of 433 members, elected not

directly, but indirectly. Every Prussian of twenty-four years of age is entitled to vote as an indirect elector. The persons returned by such vote, as direct electors, then elect the representatives to sit in the Lower House. The Upper House consists of the princes of the Royal Family, mediatised princes, heads of the territorial nobility, and life peers, or peers even for a more restricted period nominated by the King. This Parliament, or local Legislature, deals with the internal affairs of Prussia. It can no more interfere with the internal affairs of Würtemberg or Bavaria than the local Legislature of Bavaria can interfere with the internal affairs of Prussia.

The Executive Government of Prussia is carried on by a Ministry of State, the members of which are appointed by the King and hold office at his pleasure. The Ministry is divided into nine departments: Presidency of the Council, Finance, Public Works, Instruction, Agriculture, Justice, Interior, Commerce, War.

In Berlin, side by side with the local Legislature of Prussia, but wholly distinct from it, sits the Imperial Parliament of Germany. Its constitution differs from that of every Parliamentary institution with which we are familiar. It consists of one chamber—the Reichstag—the members of which number 397. They are elected by universal suffrage and by ballot for the term of five years. The number of members to represent each State is fixed. Thus Prussia sends 236 members, Bavaria 48, Saxony 23, Würtemberg 17, Hesse 9, and each of the smaller States numbers varying from 6 to 1. The Reichstag is in the eye of the public the Imperial Parliament. Its sittings are open, and from its debates the public learn the arguments for and against any proposed Imperial measure. No measure can pass into law unless it receive a vote of an absolute majority of the Reichstag. A measure may, however, receive such a vote and still not pass into law, because by the constitution it must in addition receive a similar vote in the Bundesrath, or Federal Council. This body is peculiar to Germany. It consists of fifty-eight members appointed by the Governments of the individual States for each session. Thus Prussia appoints seventeen members, Bavaria six, Saxony and Würtemberg four each, Baden and Hesse three each, Saxe-Weimar and Brunswick two each, and all the rest of the States one each. From these figures it will be seen that while in the Reichstag Prussia has a representation amounting to nearly two-thirds of the entire number of members, she has on the Bundesrath, or Federal Council, a representation of less than one-third. The theory of the framer of the Constitution was that the Reichstag should represent Germany, and that the Bundesrath should represent the individual States of Germany.

That the Bundesrath regards itself as the guardian of the rights and privileges of the individual States will be plain from a single instance. One of the States, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, has a somewhat

antiquated constitution. It has no elective system. Its sole public body is a mediæval assembly of nobles and burgomasters. To the Reichstag it was distasteful that in the nineteenth century any State of the German Confederation should lag so far behind in the race of 'progress.' Accordingly, the Reichstag several times passed a resolution declaring that 'every State in the Empire should have a Parliamentary assembly.' On each occasion this resolution was rejected by the Bundesrath, not because the constitution in question met with their approval, but because they were not prepared to admit the right of any outside authority to interfere with the internal affairs of any individual State. If the constitution of Mecklenburg was defective, then it was for Mecklenburg herself to amend it, and not for the Imperial Parliament to subvert or alter it.

The Bundesrath cannot be called a 'House of Parliament. It is rather a council. It meets with closed doors; it publishes no reports of its proceedings. Its sanction is, however, as necessary as that of the Reichstag for the passage of any law, and therefore it wields great power.' It is the supreme administrative as well as consultative board of the Empire, and as such it appoints twelve standing committees, viz.: for the army and fortifications; for naval matters; for tariff, Excise, and taxes; for trade and commerce; for railways, posts, and telegraphs; for civil and criminal law; for financial accounts; for foreign affairs; for Alsace-Lorraine; for the constitution; for the standing orders; and for railway tariffs.

Each of these committees must consist of the representatives of at least four separate States of the Empire, a matter of considerable importance when it is remembered that the Federal Parliament of Germany has no Cabinet, no Federal Ministry. The Standing Committees of the Bundesrath take the place of a Federal Ministry. Bismarck was severely taken to task for not creating a Ministry as part of the Federal constitution. His defence was that he wished to preserve the freedom of the individual States; that if a Federal Ministry were to be established the members of it would always be virtually appointed by the President, who would almost certainly be a Prussian, and that as a result the individual States would soon come to regard the Ministry as the representatives, not of the individual States, but of Prussia alone, and that, consequently, the smaller Governments would be thrown into opposition to national unity.

It has been pointed out that in the case of the Prussian local Legislature the King of Prussia has an absolute veto. As German Emperor he has not an absolute veto upon measures passed by the Reichstag and by the Bundesrath; but he is not wholly powerless in their regard, because by the constitution all such measures, in order to take effect, must be promulgated by the Emperor.

Before entering upon a discussion of the matters which come within the cognisance of the Federal Parliament, it may be well

shortly to describe the constitutions of the two States—Bavaria and Würtemberg—which we have selected because of the analogy of their area and population with those of Ireland and Wales respectively. Curiously enough they have the further analogy of religion; for we find that in Bavaria Catholics form seven-tenths and Protestants three-tenths of the population, while in Würtemberg the figures are exactly reversed. In Bavaria the sole executive authority is vested in the King; his Ministers are, however, responsible for all his acts. The legislative power is vested in the King and in a Parliament consisting of two Houses, an Upper and a Lower House. The Upper House consists of eighteen princes of the Royal Family, two Crown dignitaries, the two archbishops, forty-seven hereditary councillors, the President of the Protestant Consistory, and seventeen life members appointed by the Crown. The Lower House consists of 159 representatives, elected indirectly, as in the case of the Prussian Parliament. Every elector must be of at least twenty-one years of age, and must have paid direct taxation for six months. A member of the House must be a Bavarian, must be aged at least thirty, and must also have paid direct taxation to the State of Bavaria.

The Ministry of State is divided into seven departments: viz., of the Royal House and Foreign Affairs, of Justice, of the Interior, of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, of Finance, of Communications, and of War.

The Legislature of Würtemberg, like that of Bavaria, consists of two Houses, an Upper and a Lower. The Upper is composed of the princes of the Royal Family, of the heads of twenty mediatised princely houses, and of a number of members nominated by the King hereditarily or for life. The Lower, or House of Deputies, consists of thirteen members of the nobility elected by the Ritterschaft, or Equestrian Order of the kingdom, six dignitaries of the Evangelical clergy, three dignitaries of the Catholic clergy, the Chancellor of the University of Tübingen, seven deputies of 'towns' and sixty-three of 'districts,' elected by ballot by all citizens of over twenty-five years of age. All the members are chosen for six years. The debates of both Houses are public. The Ministry of State comprises six departments—viz., of Justice, of Foreign Affairs, of the Interior, of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, of War, and of Finance. The Department of Foreign Affairs administers also the railways, posts and telegraphs.

Such being the constitution of the Central Federal or Imperial Parliament and of the local Legislatures respectively, let us see what are the matters of legislation which come within the province of each. In the local Legislature, within the boundaries of its own individual State, is vested the control of all matters relating to: (1) education; (2) religion; (3) police; (4) land tenure; (5) local government; (6)

direct taxation ; and, in the case of the larger States—*e.g.*, Bavaria and Würtemberg—the management of railways.

By the constitution the independent administration of the railways within its own boundaries is left to the individual State, but the Central or Imperial Parliament is empowered to legislate on railway matters within certain limits. For example, it can decree and carry out the construction of lines declared necessary for military purposes, and can construct them in the territory of any individual State even against the will of the local Legislature of that State, and thereupon such local Legislature becomes bound to administer such lines as part of the common system. In other words, the central authority, for the purpose of the paramount object of the constitution—national defence—can, in a single instance, override the will of the local Legislature of an individual State, but it cannot keep up daily interference in the affairs of that State. Practically, it may be stated that the local Legislature of the individual State is free to work its railways in accordance with its own judgment and energy, for the promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants of its own State, without the slightest regard to the opinions or prejudices of the Imperial Parliament.

In Germany private railway enterprise is almost unknown ; nine-tenths of all German lines are State railways, the property, not of the Empire, but of the individual States. In these States are vested not alone the property, but also the control of the railways. That such control should have been vested in the local instead of in the central authority is a very significant fact. No one was more keenly alive than Bismarck to the importance of centralisation in all matters relating to the organisation of the armies of the Confederation. In modern warfare, especially in Continental warfare, railways form a very material part of military equipment, and therefore there must have been present to Bismarck's mind a very strong argument to induce him to consent to their being vested in the individual States, and not in the Empire. The argument was, shortly, this : that the close and cordial co-operation of the States with the central authority in the time of war could be best secured by immunity from central interference in time of peace ; the more completely the local Legislature was compelled to bear the brunt of responsibility for the everyday life of the individual State, the more eagerly the people would rally round the Imperial standard in time of stress. It is true that some years after 1871 Bismarck suggested that the States ought to consent to vest the control of the railways in the Imperial Parliament, but the States offered such a sturdy opposition to the proposed change that he abandoned it.

Bavaria has control not alone of her railways, but, by a further concession made to her by Bismarck, she has substantial control of her army. In time of peace the King of Bavaria is commander-in-chief of the Bavarian Army, and he has the appointment of the officers

of that army up to the rank of major. It is only in time of war that he yields his command to the German Emperor, the hereditary commander-in-chief of all the German armies. Bismarck's concessions to Bavaria did not end with giving to her control of her railways, and, in time of peace, control of her army. He gave to her, as a further concession, control of her Excise in relation to her principal products—brandy and beer. This last concession was furiously denounced in Berlin by the pedantic worshippers of political uniformity, who predicted that confusion and disaster must follow so monstrous a departure from political precedent. Time has falsified the prediction. It is probably in relation to this concession that Bismarck, in a conversation at Versailles immediately after he had arranged the terms of convention with Bavaria, said to his Secretary Busch :

The newspapers won't be satisfied, and a historian writing in the ordinary spirit may very likely condemn our Convention. He may say, 'The stupid fellow might easily have asked for more. He would have got it; they would have had to give in to him; his might was his right.' I was more anxious that these people should go away heartily satisfied. What are treaties worth which people are forced to sign? I know that they went away satisfied. I don't want to press them or to take full advantage of the situation. The Convention has its defects, but it is the stronger on account of them. I count it the most important thing which we have accomplished during recent years.

This statement by Bismarck, made on the spur of the moment, gives the key-note of his policy in relation to the German States. He was no believer in paper unions; a union to be effective for good must be based upon mutual interest. He yielded to Bavaria concessions which to shortsighted formalists seemed folly, but which time has proved to be wisdom. They have resulted in a cordial and continued consent to the union.

Bismarck's foresight was shown in another concession which he made to the individual States. He admitted their right to send diplomatic agents to foreign Courts. For this admission he was at the time much blamed. 'They will,' said the formalists, 'make use of their diplomatic agents to plot against you.' 'Well,' replied Bismarck, 'if they wish to plot against me they will plot whether they have agents at foreign Courts or not. They will soon get tired of the expense of keeping up these agents.' And so it has proved; most of the States have long since ceased to employ diplomatic agents. Free permission to employ them has resulted in their abolition.

In the matter of education each individual State has the most complete control over its own system. Bismarck no more aimed at a central control of education, primary, intermediate, or university, in the several States than he aimed at compelling the inhabitants of all the States to speak with a Berlin accent.

Catholic Bavaria and Protestant Würtemberg, with absolute control of their educational systems, have been able to solve difficulties

which seem almost insurmountable when a central authority intervenes in matters which concern not the Empire, but the individual States. In Würtemberg, according to the last official return, there is not an individual in the kingdom above the age of ten unable to read or write.

The limits of space at our disposal debar us from giving a more detailed account of the Imperial and of the State Legislatures, but enough has been said to show that, while providing the necessary machinery for centralisation where centralisation was essential, Bismarck's aim was to interfere as little as possible with the freedom of the local Legislatures.

Von Sybel, courtier-like, gives to his King the credit of building up the confederation of Germany. The world will probably continue to regard Bismarck as the *réal architect* of the edifice; but, to whomsoever the credit of the work is to be awarded, Von Sybel's statement shows that we have rightly interpreted the opinion of the framer of the constitution on the subject of 'Local Autonomy as a Factor in Imperial Unity.'

Discussing the old Confederate Diet, Von Sybel says of King William of Prussia :

He regretted the actual state of things, which utterly prevented the only organ of the nation as a whole, the Confederate Diet, from accomplishing anything of common advantage. And, finally, he was indignant over the wretched Confederate military constitution, which converted defence against external foes into a suicidal illusion.

He determined to provide some remedy for these evils, but in other respects to disturb in no way the independence of the individual States nor the right of his fellow-sovereigns in the Confederation. Thus his prudence and moderation succeeded where the National Assembly had failed. Advised by his great Minister, he found the basis for a well-balanced adjustment between the ideal and the actual, between unity and individualism.

GEORGE FOTTRELL.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. CCCXLIX—MARCH 1906

THE FLOOD—AND AFTER

MR. HERBERT PAUL'S diluvial metaphor, to illustrate the General Election of 1906, is no whit extravagant. 'The flood came and destroyed them all,' or nearly all. Nor may one dispute his conclusion, that the calamity which has overtaken the Unionist party is largely owing to their own misdoing. He is entitled to exult, and the vanquished do not grudge him his prean' of victory, though the performance had been more musical if he could have refrained from punctuating his overture with personalities. The practice of exposing prisoners of war to jeers and insult has been discarded, with other methods of barbarism, by civilised nations. Metaphor, however, is almost proverbially dangerous as a substitute for argument, and Tariff Reformers may draw good augury from Mr. Paul's scriptural parallel, in which the part of Noah is assigned to Mr. Chamberlain. It is recorded that special provision was made for Noah's safety, because he 'was a just man and perfect in his generations.' Moreover, he lived to see the waters subside and the earth replenished.

The morrow of a great disaster is a mournful affair, but it is not too early to take account of the cause of defeat, and to estimate the

resources that remain for carrying on the campaign. The *cause* of defeat, not the *causes*, for we may write off the contributory agents which helped to turn the defeat into a rout—revenge for the Education Act, Chin-Chin-Chinaman, the triumph of pictorial mendacity, and even the pendulum, which may be noticed only to be dismissed as inevitable. As Mr. Balfour aptly said (at Leeds, was it ?), one cannot reason with a pendulum. It is a constant factor in every General Election—*hodie mihi, cras tibi*. The last time that the pendulum had full swing, unaffected by exceptional factors such as the Home Rule alarm in 1886, and the war enthusiasm of 1900, was when the Conservatives went to the wall in 1880. The extent of the turnover in that election was as follows :

1874 PARLIAMENT.		1880 PARLIAMENT.	
Conservatives	851	Liberals	349
Liberals	250	Conservatives	243
Irish Nationalists	51	Irish Nationalists	60
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Majority of Conservatives over Liberals		Majority of Liberals over Con- servatives	
101		106	

Perhaps the swing has been more violent this time through having been so long delayed ; but it would be foolish to attribute the Unionist overthrow of 1906 to this cause alone, or even mainly. Granted that what goes by the name of Free Trade has scored a great victory, Mr. Herbert Paul can scarcely have had faith in his own words, when he wrote that 'not in our time will Protection show its ugly head again, disguised as Tariff Reform or under any other *alias*.' He can hardly have imagined that those who differ with him on the fiscal question hold their convictions so lightly—are of a moral fibre so feeble—as to lay down their arms after the first onset. If that were so, it were an idle task to examine sources of Unionist weakness in the past, or to busy oneself about plans for the future. Anyhow, Mr. Paul has received his answer in Mr. Balfour's letter to Mr. Chamberlain on St. Valentine's Day, wherein he has at last definitely proclaimed that 'Fiscal Reform is, and must remain, the first constructive work of the Unionist party.' Now we know where we stand ; until these stirring words were published, it seemed as if the whole Unionist strategy was to be one of passive waiting until dissension should break out in the enemy's camp—a contingency neither improbable nor one to be neglected by a sagacious commander ; but to have made it the sole aim and hope of a great historic party would be in the last degree 'demoralising.' Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman can afford to shed considerable segments of his following before running any risk of being placed in a minority. Besides, it is not very creditable to make waiting for a dead man's shoes one's sole occupation ; unprofitable, moreover, while that man enjoys peculiarly robust health.

Albeit Mr. Herbert Paul conceives that Tariff Reform is a dead horse, he has devoted a considerable part of his article to flogging it. His arguments will appear less convincing to the dispassionate readers of a review than he may have found them before an excited gathering of Northampton electors. If what he has written is a fair sample in style and substance of what can be urged in favour of letting things alone, then may Tariff Reformers be of good courage, for such defences as these can never stand a siege. Mr. Paul seems conscious of their weakness, for he has recourse to misrepresenting the policy of his opponents, and traducing their motives. He dismisses the elections for the City of London and Birmingham as devoid of all bearing upon the main issue before the electors ; yet it was not very long ago that the Liberal host was proud to count these great business communities as their advanced guard. Mr. Paul protests that the good sense of the City was 'swamped by a crowd of stockbrokers'—a pretty considerable crowd to account for a majority of 15,000 ! Were there no stockbrokers forty years ago, when the City returned four Liberal members, as it had done continuously since the Reform Act of 1832 ? The phalanx of London Liberalism was first broken in 1868 by the election of Mr. Bell for the City, Mr. W. H. Smith for Westminster, and Lord George Hamilton for Middlesex—heralds of the Conservative reaction in 1874. As for Birmingham, it is almost ludicrous to account for the emphatic verdict of a great business community as a mere personal compliment to Mr. Chamberlain. Trust the people ! is the Liberal shibboleth ; but when the people, or any important section of them, give a deliberate reply unpalatable to Liberalism—go to ! They are either a pack of 'greedy speculators,' as Mr. Paul terms the City electors, or a set of puppets under control of a clever fellow-townsman.

It is one of the features peculiar to the fiscal controversy that the opponents of reform seem unable to credit its advocates with honesty of conviction in the expediency of strengthening the sentimental bond of empire by the tie of common interest. Mr. Herbert Paul, at all events, can discern no motive in the policy of Tariff Reform except a selfish one. His generalisation is simple, if somewhat crude. 'To greedy speculators and to needy landlords Protection is undoubtedly attractive.' Now I never have speculated, but I confess to being a landlord depending entirely on agricultural rents. I have been elected to Parliament seven consecutive times as a Fair Trader and Tariff Reformer ; but never, in my most sanguine moments, have I deluded myself into the expectation that fiscal reform could be of the slightest direct benefit to agriculture, and, through agriculture, to my pocket. Does it seem incredible to Mr. Paul that there are men capable of strenuously advocating a policy in the interest of industries in which they have no pecuniary concern whatever ?

Let me give an example of the sort of thing that inclines one to

despair of the future of this country if the policy of *laissez-faire* is persisted in much longer, having first disarmed Mr. Paul's suspicion of my motives as a landowner, by explaining that I am neither a quarry-owner, nor have I so much as half a crown invested in any quarry. Neither do I own a single acre of land within forty miles of the town of Dalbeattie. This pretty little place of 3,500 inhabitants was, until a year ago, exceedingly prosperous, built entirely of granite raised from quarries around it, and containing shops dependent almost exclusively for custom upon the local granite industry. Two years ago, eleven of these quarries were in full work ; at the present moment all but one of them are closed, and that one is employing exactly one-fourth of the number of hands that were at work in it twelve months ago. The industry has been killed by free imports of manufactured granite from Norway. It is no case of bad trade. There is plenty of demand for good granite. At the present time there is a large building being erected in Manchester. The lowest British tender for the granite required came from Dalbeattie, between 3,000*l.* and 4,000*l.* The order went to Norway for about 20 per cent. less. So with the great bridge which is being built in Newcastle ; the lowest British tender for the granite was from Aberdeen, but it was underbid from Norway. The Aberdeen quarries would be in as bad a plight as those of Dalbeattie at the present moment but for protection of a peculiar and, as Tariff Reformers believe, an undesirable kind. The London County Council having invited tenders for the supply of granite setts under a contract to run for several years, received the lowest tender from Norway ; but the Labour members of the Council managed to secure the contract, on dearer terms, for Aberdeen. Similar influence was brought to bear recently upon the Glasgow Corporation, whereby a valuable contract was given to the Bonaw quarries, which remain at work in consequence. No such interference with economic principle has served the turn of the Cornish granite quarries, which have been closed and the men discharged ; the principal lessee of quarries in that county having protected himself by transferring his plant and machinery to Norway.

The reason why Norway is able to underbid Scotland and Cornwall in the price of manufactured granite is that the Norwegian quarry-men work longer hours than our men, and at a less wage—3 kröner (3*s.* 2*½d.*) a day instead of 4*s.* 6*d.* It is contrary to theory, but none the less true, that living in protectionist Norway is considerably cheaper than in Free-Trade Britain. Rather than work for a starvation wage, our people up with their tools and go to America. I was informed by a gentleman connected with the granite trade that he recently visited all the principal quarries in the United States, and that he found Dalbeattie men working in every one of them.

Thoughtful people are feeling honest and growing concern about rural depopulation. Can nothing be done to check it ? In the case

of Dalbeattie, a moderate tariff on manufactured granite would have kept an industrious community at work in rural environment at a healthy and well-paid occupation. Instead of which, most of the men have gone elsewhere to seek employment or to figure as unemployed. Those who remain are idling about the street corners, waiting for something to turn up.

Now with facts such as these under his eyes, is it not conceivable that a man may feel concern, totally independent of self-interest, at beholding the best bone and sinew in the country districts being drafted away to other lands? Is it natural—is it statesmanlike—to remain indifferent, hugging oneself in the belief that Cobdenism is the only gospel, and that every other civilised community is following an 'egregious fallacy' (to quote from Mr. Paul's sledge-hammer vocabulary) in its solicitude for the prosperity of native industries?

It has been diligently drilled into the intelligence of the present generation that the commercial supremacy which Great Britain once enjoyed, the commercial ascendancy which she still possesses, and which we are determined to make an effort to retain, were the results of her adoption of Free Trade. That falsehood has been repeated during the present winter from a thousand platforms by speakers, either themselves actually ignorant of the facts, or relying upon the absence of historical information among their hearers. It would be impossible to make a statement more at variance with fact. Great Britain distanced all other nations in industry by means of protection on such a scale that no sane man would dream of re-establishing. It is just a hundred years since Napoleon, foiled in his contemplated invasion of England, issued the famous Berlin decree prohibiting all the nations of Europe from commerce or communication with perfidious Albion. Impregnable by armed force, she should be humbled by crippling her trade. How mighty that trade was, how great the volume of her manufactures, built up under strict Protection, may be seen from the Madrid decree, which followed that of Berlin :

Great Britain has exercised over the sea and over the commerce of the world an exclusive dominion. Her numerous manufactures, disseminated over the world through all countries, are like sponges, imbibing the riches of those countries without leaving them more than an appearance of commercial liberty.

Those decrees failed of their effect : the 'boycott' broke down, because England had secured, not only ascendancy in commerce, but a monopoly in some manufactures. Napoleon was compelled to honeycomb his system with special licences to admit British goods for the needs of his armies. The historian Mr. J. R. Green was no Protectionist—would not even have been a Tariff Reformer—yet he tells us that 'the French army which marched to Eylau was clad

in greatcoats made at Leeds, and shod with shoes made at Northampton.'

Before passing from Mr. Herbert Paul's essay on Tariff Reform may I, with great respect, venture to suggest that, before composing another, he should inform himself as to the nature of some of the processes he is discussing. About dumping, for instance, he appears to entertain very misleading views. 'Even a wicked foreigner,' he says, 'will not reduce himself to absolute beggary for the malignant pleasure of flooding British markets with cheap things.' It is not long since Mr. Asquith created some amusement among business men by asserting that any firm which persisted in dumping—that is, exporting manufactured goods below cost price—must end in bankruptcy. As this statement was repeated during the election from hundreds of Liberal platforms, it may not be superfluous to explain that the scientific dumper runs no risk either of 'absolute beggary' or bankruptcy. For dumping two conditions are necessary, namely (1) a high price in the home market, secured either by an adequate duty upon imports or by the cartel system, or by both; and (2) a foreign market free from all duty upon imports. As matters stand at present, Great Britain is the only dumping ground in the civilised world. Suppose an American firm to be turning out steel at the rate of 500 tons a week at a cost of 6*l.* 10*s.* a ton, which he sells in the home market at 7*l.* a ton, equal to a net profit of 10*s.* a ton, or 250*l.* per week. He finds that by doubling his output he can reduce the cost of production to 5*l.* per ton. He continues to sell 500 tons at home for 7*l.* per ton, and can afford to dump the rest in England at 4*l.* 10*s.*, thus losing 10*s.* per ton upon half his output. That he stands to win on the larger output may be seen from the following tables :

WEEKLY OUTPUT 500 TONS.	WEEKLY OUTPUT 1,000 TONS
Cost of production 6 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per ton	£
Cost of production 5 <i>l.</i> per ton	5,000
Sale of 500 tons at 7 <i>l.</i>	3,500
Sale of 500 tons at 4 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	2,250 <i>l.</i>
Nett weekly profit	5,750

It is clear that this business will remain good so long as British ports remain duty free, and American prices are kept up by a high tariff.

Mr. Herbert Paul, as usual, detects a sinister motive in those who apprehend injury to British industries from this process continuing unchecked. It is only 'rings' and 'corners,' he says, who object to it, because, but for the artificial cheapness ensured by dumping, 'they might have gambled in the food of the people, or in cotton, or in iron, and realised vast fortunes at the public expense. That is the true explanation of the frantic and furious energy with which dumping has been denounced.' Luckily there are Free Importers with whom one can discuss these problems without having unworthy

and selfish motives imputed to him. Not long since I asked the opinion of such a person, a leader among Free Importers, an experienced statesman, and one of the foremost financiers of the day, upon a transaction which came to my knowledge, whereby an order for 30,000 tons of steel rails had been placed by a British Colonial railway company with an American firm. The lowest British tender was for 6*l.* per ton ; the Americans secured the contract at 4*l.* 10*s.*, about 10*s.* below cost price. 'So much the better for the railway shareholders,' quoth my friend, 'they saved 45,000*l.* on the transaction.' 'Yes,' said I, 'but suppose dumping becomes general and the English industry is ruined, what will the 270,000 English and Welsh steel workers and their families do ?' 'They must turn to something else,' was the cold reply. There you have pure Cobdenism. Human beings, their wives and children, their homes and associations, are of no more concern than if they were a homogeneous fluid that might be turned out of one channel into another, or into no channel at all ; and all is well so long as we can score by saving something per ton on our material.

The head and front of our offending, that out of which most capital was made by Free Food candidates in the late election, is the proposal to put a small import duty upon foreign, as distinguished from colonial, corn. No need to repeat here the reasons for our confidence that a 2*s.* preference would suffice so to stimulate corn-growing in Canada as to enable us to rely, five years hence, upon that source for all our imported bread stuffs. No need to reiterate the assurance that it is an integral part of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of Tariff Reform and preferential trade that, should the duty cause any appreciable increase in the price of the loaf, a corresponding reduction will be made on dutiable articles of daily consumption. No need, I say, to repeat these arguments, because they are met by Mr. Herbert Paul, not by counter-argument, but by flat contradiction. The two-shilling duty, he says, 'would soon have been raised to 5*s.*, 10*s.*, 20*s.*, until . . . even the Tariff Reform League would have called a halt.' Not one single sentence in the abundant literature issued by the Tariff Reform League can be cited in support of such an injurious imputation. We have advocated all along, and continue to do so, just so much duty upon foreign corn as will give an appreciable preference to Colonial corn, and not one farthing more.

One minor point in connection with this bread-tax, as it is called, is generally overlooked. So far as it is paid by the consumer, it is a tax automatically graduated according to his expenditure. The single working-man pays it upon his own consumption alone ; the married working-man upon the consumption of his family ; but so soon as you come to employers of domestic servants, the head of the household pays the duty for all in his establishment. Upon the modest employer of a maid-of-all-work as upon the magnate with thirty or forty house-servants the burden adjusts itself exactly,

save in this particular, that the larger the establishment, the greater is the waste ; and how great that waste is few people care to ascertain, and would be somewhat scandalised if they did so.

In taking stock of the Unionist resources for the work of Opposition in Parliament, it would be foolish to minimise the extent of the catastrophe which has overtaken the party, but it would be pusillanimous to exaggerate it, incorrect to describe it as without precedent. In mere numerical proportion to Ministerialists, Unionists do not stand appreciably worse in the House of Commons than Conservatives did after the Général Election of 1832. That House consisted of 625 members, variously estimated as being made up of 481 Ministerialists against 144 Conservatives, giving Lord Grey's Government a majority of 337, and 452 Ministerialists against 173 Conservatives, making the Government majority 279. The mean of these two estimates yields a majority of 308.

In the present House of Commons of 670 members the Government may count 513 votes against 157 Unionists (156 deducting the Speaker), giving them a majority of 358 ; but this is reckoning Irish Nationalists and Labour members as Ministerialists, although they sit on Opposition benches. In what has been announced as the principal measure of the coming session—the Education Bill—the Irish Catholics will not be found in the Government lobby. If they abstain from voting, the majority will be reduced to about 278 ; if they go into the Opposition lobby it may fall to a round couple of hundreds. Not a very exhilarating prospect for Unionists, but

‘ O passi graviora ! dabit Deus his quoque finem.

Who could have forecast the rally of the Conservatives after the crushing defeat of 1832 ? Lord Grey's majority of 308 only kept him in office for two years and a half. In the General Election of 1835 the Whig majority fell to 108. The dissolution of 1837 brought it down to forty, and even that had dwindled to a bare baker's dozen before the Conservatives came in at the election of 1841 with a majority of 79.

Numerical inferiority, disabling as it is, was neither the sole nor the chief cause for despondency when Unionists reviewed their shattered forces after the elections. Domestically, the party was almost as ill at ease as the Conservatives were after Sir Robert Peel's *coup* in 1846. It is an admirable trait in our public life that men may sit upon opposite sides of the House, and spend the best part of their time in publicly denouncing each other's principles and thwarting each other's endeavour, yet continue in private as cordial friends as if they were in opposing elevens in the cricket-field. But it is very different when a great political party splits. Recrimination becomes inevitable, rancour only too probable. By the personal influence

which Mr. Balfour's fine qualities and amiable character have secured for him among his followers, by the ascendancy which he wielded as Prime Minister, and, it must be added, by the adroitness with which he adapted his public utterances to encourage the hopes of Tariff Reformers, on the one hand, and to allay the apprehensions of Free Fooders on the other, he managed to tide over the great secession from his Cabinet in 1903, and to avert a general rupture for a couple of sessions. Let it never be forgotten that there were weighty reasons for holding the party together. Critical imperial issues were trembling in the balance—the renewal of the Japanese treaty, the establishment of good relations with France, the settlement of South African affairs, matters which no public man of experience would care to throw down for discussion before an uninformed and, therefore, to a great extent, indifferent electorate—matters, too, which no Unionist would willingly entrust for adjustment to a party across whose record lie the shadows of Majuba Hill and General Gordon. But for considerations such as these, surely there was no excuse, tactical or other, for not accepting the defeat in committee on the 20th of July last, and appealing as an operative Cabinet direct to the country.

That occasion passed. The Government confirmed all that had been alleged about their weakness and disunion by avoiding an appeal to the country, and the affairs of the Empire passed into other hands. Now, surely, the time for mincing words was over; further attempts to veil internal differences and to avert defection were vain. Numbers of Unionist candidates still sat on the fence, only waiting for a clear summons from the leader to take their places in the main column. That summons never came, or, rather, when it came, no two men could agree upon its exact meaning. In the roar of battle only the clearest accents take any effect; dialectic nicety is blown to the winds. Many of those who announced themselves followers of Mr. Balfour would have been puzzled to define what that implied, whether they professed the 'unsettled convictions' with which he started, or advocated retaliation on lines to be settled hereafter, or believed firmly, to quote from the Merchant Taylors' speech, that fiscal reform 'is an increasing and not a diminishing need.' One candidate, who began by describing himself as a follower of Mr. Balfour, was denounced by his opponent as a Protectionist, a charge which he endeavoured to refute by placarding the walls with appeals to 'Vote for —, the Free Trade candidate.' Another announced himself in the Jekyll-and-Hyde part of a follower of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Balfour! Both were old members, and both were unseated.

Speakers addressing election meetings, especially in industrial centres, had one uniform experience. The mention of Mr. Balfour's name evoked no enthusiastic response—one had only to pronounce that of Chamberlain and the rafters rang. This was no indication of

disaffection to the late Prime Minister; it was only a sign that his attitude towards the great question of the day was imperfectly understood. Even those who had time to give anxious study to his speeches failed to recognise any definite objective. Not a single summons, but two voices was what they heard, alternating as the inspiration came from Hatfield or Highbury; whereas Mr. Chamberlain, even if he went to rash lengths in details, as some thought, made his meaning clear from the first to the most superficial understanding.

Unhappily, Mr. Chamberlain's was not the only clear summons heard in the Unionist ranks. The note of fratricidal war which the Duke of Devonshire sounded in 1903 was repeated in more commanding tones at the Dissolution. In December of that year his name and the names of Lord George Hamilton and Lord Balfour of Burleigh were attached to a manifesto issued to the electors of Lewisham on the occasion of a by-election, calling upon them to abstain from supporting the Unionist candidate, Mr. Coates, who was a strong Tariff Reformer. They received their answer in the majority of 2,000 for the man they banned. Since then worse has happened. Free Fooders have not scrupled—nay, let me not be unjust; they must have felt scruples—have not refrained from actually turning their arms against their Unionist comrades. They even claimed, in one instance at least, to be doing Mr. Balfour service in slaying a veteran Unionist. I refer to the action of the Chelsea Free Trade League. That body owns as President the Unionist Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and as vice-presidents the Unionist Lord James of Hereford and the Radical Lord Monkswell. The names of these three noblemen appeared in capital letters upon the following document circulated among Chelsea electors during the late election :

DEAR SIR,—In answer to questions sent to him by the League on the 13th of December, Mr. Whitmore has replied :—

- i. That he was correctly reported as having said that he was absolutely in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's policy.
- ii. That it was his intention, if returned to Parliament, to support such a policy as is set forth in Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Glasgow on the 6th of October, 1903.

It is therefore obvious that Mr. Whitmore is hostile both to Free Trade and to the views expressed by Mr. Balfour at Leeds and elsewhere. He is a supporter of what is in fact a policy of Protection.

On the other hand, Mr. Horniman has declared himself a convinced Free Trader, and is pledged to support the principles on which our present fiscal policy is founded.

The Electors of Chelsea have therefore a clear issue before them.

The Chelsea Free Trade League, which includes among its members a large number of Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists, has kept strictly aloof from party politics and has desired only to assist those to whom it has appealed at meetings, and otherwise, to arrive at a right conclusion upon a question so vitally affecting the commercial and social well-being of the people.

At this crisis, however, the League ventures to urge that it is the duty of all

Free Traders in Chelsea to oppose a candidate whose election will add to the forces arrayed against Free Trade. You are, therefore, earnestly advised to

VOTE FOR MR. HORNIMAN,
The Free Trade Candidate for the Borough

We remain, yours faithfully,

(Signed on behalf of the League).
1st of January, 1906.

SYLVAIN MAYER, } Hon
G. F. MORTIMER, } Secs.

That Lord Balfour, Lord James, and certain other Unionists should perceive greater danger to the nation in thoroughgoing Tariff Reform than they apprehend from other projects which the Unionist party was formed to resist, is legitimate enough; but that they should lend their names to sanction the falsehood that Mr. Whitmore was 'hostile . . . to the views expressed by Mr. Balfour at Leeds and elsewhere,' can only be explained as the result of the difficulty of understanding what those views were. Otherwise the manifesto must have been an electioneering trick such as, it is certain, these noblemen would never stoop to.

It has been urged that the action of Tariff Reformers at Greenwich justified the sternest forms of retaliation, but the cases of Chelsea and Greenwich are not on all fours. In Greenwich, as the result of the election proved, the majority of Unionists desired a Tariff Reformer to represent them. Lord Hugh Cecil, instead of seeking a constituency where Free Food principles prevailed, persevered in the attempt to get the Unionists of Greenwich to waive their convictions, and thus secured the return of a Radical. Has the Union, then, faded into the realm of myth? Is it an illusion of a nervous imagination? Not with Tariff Reformers. Its defence remains for them a living, urgent motive; and no single instance has come to my knowledge of an Unionist Tariff Reformer voting for or supporting a Radical candidate in opposition to an Unionist Free Foeder. On the other hand, thousands of Tariff Reformers voted for Unionist Free Fooders and 'half-sheet of note-paper men' when no more satisfactory alternative presented itself.

A great deal of mischievous nonsense has been talked about the imaginary 'drumming-out' of certain members from the Conservative or Unionist party. Even if such a design had ever been entertained by responsible members of the party, where is the machinery for carrying it out? It does not exist. Membership of one of the great political parties is within the control of every individual. If he is in the House of Commons he accepts or rejects membership by receiving or declining to receive the official Whips. If he is not in the House of Commons he proves his membership by supporting, or at least not opposing, candidates representing the articles, or most of the articles, in the party creed.

As shown above, there has been considerable departure from that simple rule of conduct during the late election. If peace and

good-comradeship are to be restored to the Unionist party, Unionists must refrain from supporting Radicals against Unionist candidates, otherwise most of us will go to our graves under a Liberal administration. If they cannot so refrain—if they consider the maintenance of free imports of greater moment than the other objects for which the Unionist party was formed, then they must take the course which their conscience dictates. But let there be no talk of drumming out. The great majority of the party earnestly desire a policy which Free Fooders are resolved to oppose, and cannot be expected to desist from pressing that policy in order to avoid the pain of parting with a few comrades-in-arms. As Mr. Chamberlain said in his high-minded letter to Lord Ridley on the 6th of February, 'Tariff Reformers sincerely believe in their principles, and cannot be expected to put them aside to suit the exigencies of party wire-pullers.'

Neither can Free Fooders be expected to sink their fiscal convictions in order to avoid differing from the general policy of the Unionist party; but if they are to continue Unionists, they must drop the internecine tactics of the past. One hundred years ago the reins dropped from the hands of the dead Pitt. For five years previously the Tory party had been deeply divided upon the question of Catholic Emancipation, and continued to be so for twenty years to come. Ministers rose from the same bench to denounce each other's opinions upon this question, and went into opposite lobbies to record their votes; but on all other questions they remained united. What was possible for a party in office to do is surely not impossible for a party in opposition.

But why should an Opposition define any constructive policy? First, because the great majority of the party, both in Parliament and in the country, insist upon it; second, because it is the only means of steadyng the nerves and arousing the enthusiasm of the party at large. 'The duty of an Opposition is to oppose,' was Lord Randolph Churchill's simple, but not very magnanimous, apothegm. It is not one to attract many proselytes, neither will it help to recover lost ground, for there are few things more wearisome than the perpetual carping of one party against another.

So at a door some dog, with hideous din,
Scrapes, scratches, howls and barks, till he gets in.

The country is more likely to appreciate discrimination in opposing Government measures. Opinions differ as to the Duke of Wellington's standing as a statesman, but no doubt was ever thrown upon his staunchness as a party man; yet he could not be induced to lead Opposition against a measure independently of its merits. 'I decline,' he wrote to the fiery Marquess of Londonderry in 1834, 'to make the Poor Law Bill a party question, or to oppose any provision in it of which, when I see it, I shall approve.'

If the Opposition is to win over the country to its constructive policy, that policy must be both attractive and capable of being

clearly explained and understood. Retaliation has proved to be devoid of both these essential qualities. Nobody has yet been able to explain how it could be developed into anything but an inexhaustible source of diplomatic friction, or lead to anything but a war of tariffs ; whereas the adoption of an all-round tariff on foreign manufactured goods paved the way to good understanding by providing a lever to secure reciprocity. Every succeeding explanation of retaliation left its outlines more hazy than the last, and haziness in the scheme to which had been assigned the first place in Unionist constructive policy proved fatal to the party at the polls. There was no haziness in the reply of the constituencies to Mr. Balfour's invitation to accept retaliation. So loud and fierce was the No ! that small surprise would have been created had he followed the precedent set by Mr. Gladstone after his defeat in 1874, and handed over the leadership for a space to a lieutenant. But, though unhorsed in the m^{ellay}, he has gallantly mounted another charger, and the party has formally and cordially hailed him as their leader. They recognise his dauntlessness in attack, his dexterity in debate, his accessibility to the humblest of his followers—all cardinal virtues in a leader of Opposition, and he has inspired them with fresh courage by declaring, at last, that he will lead in the direction in which they have determined long ago to march. The aspirations of the party in the country, reiterated year after year at the meetings of the National Union, hitherto politely ignored, have taken effect at length. The Unionist party is henceforth the party of Tariff Reform.

To those who admire and entertain true affection for Mr. Balfour, and they are very many, his emergence from temporary mist and ambiguity comes as relief from profound anxiety. They had dreaded a recurrence of such painful episodes as followed upon the Conservative rout of 1880. All men had a kindly esteem for the gentle Northcote ; all who enjoyed his personal acquaintance regarded him with affection. His statesmanlike qualities were unquestioned, yet he failed as an Opposition leader. The forward section of the party decreed his political assassination, and, strange as it may seem, Mr. Balfour's was the hand which wielded the dagger. The story is told by Mr. Winston Churchill in the life of his father.

The Fourth Party decided openly to condemn the want of energy and foresight which marked the leadership of the Opposition. The opportunity presented itself at a party meeting held in the Carlton Club on the 20th of August. The plan was drawn up by the four colleagues in convivial conclave at the Garrick Club. It was arranged that Mr. Balfour should, in the name of his colleagues, indicate the failure of Sir Stafford Northcote to lead the party in the House of Commons to the satisfaction of its more active adherents. In pursuance of this Mr. Balfour made a very clever speech, in which he contrived to deliver a most damaging criticism of Sir Stafford Northcote's methods, without mentioning his name or using any discourteous phrase. He obtained a considerable measure of assent from the meeting.¹

¹ *Lord Randolph Churchill*, vol. i. pp. 148, 149.

The meeting at Lansdowne House has dispelled all doubt as to the true position of the party ; and Mr. Balfour may count upon being followed with an ardour and fidelity such as only an intrepid and experienced leader can command.

One thing stands out conspicuously from the turmoil of the last few months, namely, the inflexible loyalty of Mr. Chamberlain to his leader. No individual has been so ruthlessly loaded with obloquy by the Radical press ; his strongly marked features have been the staple subject of hostile caricatures during the last two years. It was a natural result of the General Election that all eyes should turn towards the intrepid personality who held together in the Midlands a phalanx of Unionism, solid amid the surrounding wreck. When the newspapers indicated him as the future leader of the Opposition, Mr. Chamberlain spoke out with his usual decision. 'I most strongly repudiate the notion that this is or can possibly become a question of persons or leaders. From the beginning I have made it absolutely clear that in no circumstances would I be a candidate for the leadership of the Unionist party.' Disinterestedness is too rare a virtue in political life to be passed over without a word of recognition and warm encomium. Even the great-hearted Pitt found the allegiance he had undertaken to Addington too great a strain upon his forbearance. Mr. Chamberlain must be very differently constituted from his fellow-men if he escaped all temptation to yield to the forces which would have coerced a less resolute spirit into the leadership—forces not the less direct because no articulate invitation was addressed to him. Those who had accepted Mr. Chamberlain's guidance upon what he himself had made the dominant question of the day, had begun to despair of Mr. Balfour, who lagged, or appeared to lag, in the assault. It is true that there is nothing in Mr. Balfour's letter of the 14th of February which has not a place in some one or other of his previous public utterances ; but one had to sift the principles now clearly proclaimed out of a mass of discursive, interrogative, and sometimes conflicting parentheses, from which the ordinary reader or hearer could construct no firm conclusion. No better illustration of this could be given than an extract from the report of Mr. Balfour's speech on the 6th of February :

There are those who say it is impossible ever to have a general tariff. A general *ad valorem* tariff is a thing which even the present Government may be driven to, and, whether they are or not, no human being can doubt that it would be consistent with our remaining a Free Trade country, and would not be a question of principle. When I am told by another section of my friends that a small duty on corn is an absolute necessity, I say why lay that down as a proposition ? Are you sure that it is a necessity ? Are you sure that, when the question has practically to be dealt with, it will be dealt with by that machinery ? In the same way with a general tariff, do you mean that it is impossible to carry out what is called retaliation unless a general tariff is part of the scheme ? I refuse for my part to make that limitation, as I have refused to make the other limitation.

It must be confessed that this passage had a depressing effect upon Tariff Reformers. They felt that, although they might safely follow Mr. Balfour in the ordinary work of an Opposition, they must look to other leadership in constructive and inspiring policy. Mr. Chamberlain understood his old colleague better than they did. He had the patience which they lacked; he knew that powerful intellects work in different ways—that a good general may be justified in refusing to advance until the ground has been thoroughly reconnoitred. The dash upon Talavera was a brilliant and successful feat of arms, but it nearly cost Wellesley the loss of his army, and he never again attempted a similar exploit.

The general advance has now been made. With Mr. Balfour as Commander-in-Chief and Mr. Chamberlain as Chief of the Staff, the Unionist party enters upon the campaign with perfect confidence in its leaders.

It would be disrespectful to the Free Trade Unionists to leave them out of account in attempting a forecast of the position and work of the Opposition. Their abilities and personal standing give them an importance outweighing their insignificant numbers. Prophecy in party politics is more precarious than in most other things; but one who has no prophetic reputation to lose may venture to outline what seems most probable in the near future. The strength of the Free Food section of the Unionist party lies in the House of Lords; in the Commons it can muster no more than eleven votes—*nantes in gurgite vasto*. These votes will be cast against the main Unionist vote in every division upon fiscal matters. We may look for *rapprochement* between the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Rosebery and a fusion of their respective followers, similar in kind and effect to the relations between Lord Grenville and Lord Grey under the Liverpool administration. There is a good deal of analogy between the position of Lord Rosebery and the ex-leader of 'All the Talents.' Suppose this fusion to have been effected, the group will be a strength to the Opposition on all great questions except those relating to Tariff Reform. To follow their fortunes into the further future would be not only rash, but inept; but if Thucydides was just in his definition of the value of history as giving 'a true view of what has happened, and of the like or similar things which, *in accordance with human nature* ($\tauὸ\ ἀνθρώπειον$), will probably happen hereafter,' one may anticipate that this group, like the Grenvillites, will be absorbed in the two main forces of Unionists and Radicals. Their following in the country will consist of a limited number of persons of superior intelligence, but the mass of electors will continue to vote Blue or Red, without caring to discriminate between intermediate shades.

THE LIFE OF GLADSTONE

THE *Life of Gladstone* deserves the rare praise that belongs to the successful accomplishment of a most difficult task. No one but Mr. Morley himself could know how great were the difficulties of Mr. Gladstone's biographer. But a reader with imagination may guess that hardly any man who could be named has been so embarrassing a subject for biography. Some lives, like that of Lord Randolph Churchill, were an unwritten drama waiting for the pen. The great length of Mr. Gladstone's public career, and the vast changes in his surroundings, destroy all the unity necessary for drama. Episodes in his life are dramatic, but not the whole. That is rather a section of history marked by all the variety and disarray with which the multifarious elements of history scramble along, and which make history differ from drama, as the traffic in Piccadilly differs from a procession. But it was not open to Mr. Morley to write a history; his task was biography, with the consequence that all the arrangement and all the proportion had to be relative to Mr. Gladstone, and not to the intrinsic importance of events, or to their natural or most lucid order. The story of Mr. Gladstone's life had to be adequately told, but it would have been utterly impossible to tell, at anything like proportionate length, the story of all the men and all the matters with which Mr. Gladstone's life was interwoven. With transactions of the utmost moment, and of the utmost complexity, Mr. Morley had to deal both slightly and clearly. Nor are some of these transactions only important and complicated. They are also concerned with subjects which to unregenerate minds are very dull. The ungrateful reader does not always reflect how intolerably tedious the book would have been in less skilful hands, what a name of terror might have been the Budget of 1853, or with what an agony of yawns and groans and counting of pages he would have waded through the Irish Church, only, still breathless with the effort, to be engulfed in the blacker abyss of Irish land. But under Mr. Morley's guidance the journey involves no hardships and but little effort. Through pages of delightful prose, written not only clearly and instructively, but with charm and vivacity, the reader, handed easily from tuft to

tuft, and ignorant of the morass of boredom over which he skims, goes on his way rejoicing, without so much as a wet foot.

The book is in fact a masterly achievement in two great literary arts—the art of selection and the art of arrangement. Out of the mass of letters preserved at Hawarden, and the still more enormous mass of State papers and Parliamentary reports relevant to his subject, Mr. Morley has produced a book which is never obscure, never dull, always pleasant, and always sufficient. This is a great feat, and the more remarkable because in Mr. Morley's speeches there is often lacking what is so conspicuous here—namely, skill in arrangement. In the speeches the good things are not always well strung together. If he would bring to bear on his addresses to the House of Commons the same power of marshalling material as is here so brilliantly displayed, his oratory would vie with his writing in excellence. In this book, where there is so much to praise, only one thing seems to call for criticism, and this is to be found only in the last volume. The earlier pages of the book are written, not indeed with impartiality, but with only that temperate and proper partiality of a biographer for his subject which Mr. Morley rightly claims as a merit. But in the last volume, when Mr. Morley reaches the story of the contests in which he was himself a distinguished combatant, he displays the much less seemly bias of the political partisan. In the chapter on Majuba there are traces of the hand of the 'pro-Boer' of 1899; and when we come to 1886 and afterwards, we find the biographer thrust aside for pages together by an enthusiastic Home Rule pamphleteer: Mr. Gladstone is sometimes left to stand about awkwardly at the back of the stage, while Mr. Morley, leaving his proper place behind the scenes, comes forward to the footlights to declaim to a surprised audience on the wrongs of the Irish and the perversity of the Unionist party. But even this defect has its compensations. The same circumstance that makes Mr. Morley partial makes him also an extraordinarily interesting narrator. He writes with the bias but also with the information of one who played a notable part in the story he is telling. It is rare indeed to have history written with such exceptional literary skill by one who has such peculiar means of information. The third volume, therefore, though its vigorous partisanship sometimes makes it provoking, is perhaps even more readable than the calmer chapters of the earlier part.

The book is, in short, worthy of its subject. It enables its readers to become students of Mr. Gladstone's mind and character on the easiest and most pleasant terms. The popular edition which is now coming out will greatly extend the number of these luxurious students. And we may be glad of it; for Mr. Gladstone is, in an unusual degree among great men, an edifying and invigorating example. This is not because of his shining talents. The example of men with brilliant natural gifts is rather disheartening than invigorating to the ordinary

man. It seems hard and depressing that others should be, through no merit of their own, so immensely our superiors. This is the effect, for instance, of considering the abilities of Napoleon the First. 'Why have I not been born with powers like his—with powers which even distantly approach his?' the plain man asks. It is, indeed, not more unreasonable to be embittered by inequalities of talents than by inequalities of wealth, and we feel towards Napoleon as one of the unemployed may be supposed to feel towards the Duke of Westminster. But Mr. Gladstone would not, even in the most envious, excite these feelings. For, great as his natural gifts were, they were not the most eminent feature in his character. It is what he owed to will and self-discipline rather than the talents, notable as they were, with which he was born, that most impresses the observer. If one can imagine Mr. Gladstone without his power of concentration (as he called it), without that mental economy to produce which his power of concentration was the most important factor, how much of his greatness would remain? His oratory would be there; it might, even in less disciplined hands, have risen higher upon occasion, though not usually; but apart from his achievements as a speaker it is hard to say how much of his multifarious and forceful activity was due to natural, and how much to acquired power. The results were wonderful; but then Mr. Gladstone used every minute of his time, and made available for his purpose every atom of his intellect. His life was long, measured by years. It was double or treble the ordinary span, if only the moments devoted to furthering the deliberate purposes of life are reckoned. His force carried all before it, but it was because he had no paper battalions in his army. When the bugle sounded every faculty was in its place and at command, armed and clothed with all the resources of knowledge, and drilled, after Frederick the Great's fashion, to march 'like a pair of compasses.' This was moral rather than mental power. It was, that is to say, by moral control and discipline that he stood out among men even of the first class. Other minds have equalled or surpassed his in profundity, in penetration, in acuteness, in agility, in capacity for acquisition; a few, perhaps, in all these qualities taken together. But who can be named who had in them more power under orders, and available at any moment? It was in this that Mr. Gladstone was so rare.

This mental economy had divers effects on his mind. Nor were all entirely to the good. It gave him, I suppose, the simplicity and want of self-consciousness which were such notable features of his nature. He could never spare part of his mind to step outside and see how the rest of it looked. This gave him strength—for his whole force was thus available for his purpose—but it also imposed on him some limitations. To mention a fairly obvious one, his sense of humour seems to have been limited. He was not without it; fun he well

understood. But a large part of what we call humour essentially depends on self-consciousness. To give as an example a classical humourist, Charles Lamb ; it would be difficult to name a mind, able and virtuous, more remote from that of Mr. Gladstone. With Mr. Gladstone there was none of the 'self-pleasing quaintness' of the 'character of the late Elia.' Mr. Gladstone was not quaint in Elia's sense ; if he had been he would not have known it ; if he had known it, he would not have been pleased. Some funny things he could laugh at, but that humour which depends on a complex self-consciousness, on the mind laying itself in concentric circles, ring within ring, like a coiled serpent, had no place in his nature.

A more serious defect was the occasional apparent lapse from perfect candour which Mr. Morley notices. To this, as to some other dangers, he was made unusually liable by incapacity to know how things look to others. He acted simply according to his conscience, unaided by the power of correction which an acute self-consciousness supplies. He needed this the more that he had the great misfortune to outlive at a comparatively early age his most intimate contemporary associates. No one suffers more from an absence of self-consciousness than those who lack the frank and friendly criticism of intimate equals. And Mr. Gladstone's political friends of his later years were necessarily admirers rather than comrades.

But perhaps the most notable injury done to Mr. Gladstone by the simplicity of his mind was in respect to consistency. Inconsistency is less easy to a self-conscious mind. Change of opinion is commonly a slow process starting from small beginnings. In the self-conscious temperament the alarm is given early. Even with the most self-conscious the movement of conversion often has gone far before its subject is aware of it. Still, such a mind usually knows what is happening fairly soon ; and then all that may be called its conservative forces, whether of reason or prejudice, are in arms at once. They may fail ; the attack may be too strong ; but often the timely resistance succeeds and no change is made. With the simple-minded man, on the other hand, it is different. Before he is awake every stronghold is captured and his old opinions have to haul down their flag almost without a struggle. It may be said that consistency is a doubtful virtue ; that what should be desired is the candid and open-minded reception of all that claims to be truth ; that such candour and openness of mind must often lead to great modifications of judgment, and that these modifications can only be avoided, consistency can only be maintained, by setting obstinacy in the seat of candour. This has great force. But in respect to a party leader some other considerations must be remembered. A party leader's change of opinion is no mere private conversion, important only or mainly to himself. It is a great public act, involving consequences,

serious and painful, to many persons. Party is rooted deep. Its fibres spread on all sides, binding man to man, and weaving themselves in with many social and friendly relations. The follower of an inconsistent leader has therefore to achieve an imitative conversion or to rupture a hundred ties, none of which tears without a pang. This is so in different degrees for all the party, from the member of Parliament to the humblest worker in the constituencies. But for so many as make politics their profession the lot is harder still. For if they choose the higher path and prefer their conscience to their party, how are they to follow their calling? There is no room for them, on our system, between the two parties. They must, in middle or old age it may be, seek a new profession or they must come to accommodation with their life-long opponents. All this dislocation and consequent pain is involved in the inconsistency of a party leader. The public interest may justify it, may require it, as it may the sacrifice of other private claims. But every leader ought to shrink from it, unless the public interest does most imperatively demand it, and if he finds himself obliged to it, should spare no care to show what consideration may be possible to those of his followers who cannot change their minds at the same moment that he changes his. For he is their debtor; he is doing them wrong. Public duty may force him to it, but it is none the less a wrong to them; and whatever atonement he can make to them ought not to be wanting. All this should have been present to the mind of Mr. Gladstone in 1886. But he appears to have looked at the matter from an almost opposite point of view. In Mr. Morley's book there is not a sign that Mr. Gladstone ever felt that his sudden change of front inflicted upon those of his followers who remained opponents of Home Rule any undeserved hardships. Rather he seems to have regarded them as at the best perverse, if well-meaning; at the worst, base and unprincipled. To Mr. Hutton he wrote that he could 'never quarrel with you and Bright,' as though consistency of opinion were an infirmity to be viewed with indulgence when united with an exceptionally high character. And the unfortunate member for Leith, who hesitated till the last moment in the hope of keeping both his principles and his seat, he ruthlessly drove out of Parliament by the unusual expedient of standing himself. The vacillations of this poor man were doubtless blameworthy, but Mr. Gladstone's tone of righteous vengeance in narrating the matter is singularly unfitting, and should have rather given place to an expression of shamed sorrow at the 'pain and disturbance that he had caused. Here comes in the mischief of simplicity of mind. Mr. Gladstone could not see himself as others saw him, could not in imagination suppose himself a Liberal Unionist, and realise how things would look from that point of view.

Another aspect of the inconsistency of 1886 is even more censurable. Mr. Gladstone changed his mind not only on the merits of the

Home Rule question, but on all Irish affairs. It is doubtless common enough to allow one conviction to colour or transform other opinions more or less connected with its subject-matter, but such changes are not always logical. It certainly did not follow that because Home Rule was right, therefore what was called 'coercion' was necessarily wrong, still less that a Unionist Government were acting tyrannically in using the same methods of administration and judicial procedure which Mr. Gladstone's own Government had employed four or five years before. Least of all was Mr. Gladstone justified in changing his estimate of the morality of the Parnellites and of their Land League agitation; for here was a moral inconsistency which stands on a wholly different basis from a change of political opinion. That Mr. Gladstone should have altered his mind on the question whether Ireland should be governed by a Parliament of her own reflects only on his political judgment. But a change on a moral question indicates a far more blameworthy instability of mind. The wickedness of boycotting, of circulating murderous newspapers, of secretly compensating moonlighting ruffians, of paying for the defence even of murderer before the courts of justice, and of maintaining relations with, and accepting money from, Patrick Ford and the American extremists, was the same in 1889 as in 1882 and 1883. If these things were justified by the plea that they were revolutionary incidents, if the tyrant's excuse of 'reason of state' was to be accepted, why not in 1883, when Mr. Gladstone seems to have formed from official information very much the same judgment of Mr. Parnell and the League as the Special Commissioners afterwards formed on sworn evidence? Why was Mr. Gladstone the accuser in 1883 and the apologist in 1889? The only thing changed was Mr. Gladstone's opinion about Home Rule—a circumstance of no moral significance. It seems to me impossible to acquit Mr. Gladstone of serious blame, or to view without complacency the nemesis that overtook him in the disputes which followed the O'Shea divorce. It was then driven home to him that Mr. Parnell was the violent and unscrupulous man that more discerning readers of the Commissioners' Report knew him to be.

I have dwelt on these points because Mr. Morley seems almost unaware that there is any room for criticism on Mr. Gladstone's Irish inconsistencies, and because they appear to be illustrations of evils that are encouraged by concentration and simplicity of mind.

But concentration, though a great feature of Mr. Gladstone's character, and one which, with its advantages and drawbacks, is well worth study, was not the most potable quality of all. That is to be found in Mr. Gladstone's religious faith. This saturated and coloured every part of his mind. Although the matter is handled in the biography with seemly reserve, and although Mr. Morley apparently thought himself incompetent to deal with it even so fully as propriety

would allow, enough is yet said to make it clear that religion was to Mr. Gladstone both the first of interests and the most usual of habits. There was never a time in which it did not occupy the place of honour both in his intellect and in his affections ; nor was there ever an occasion on which he was not ready to turn with an instinctive ease to the support and consolations of devotion. Excitement and strain bring out what is most real in a man, and the more Mr. Gladstone was wrought up, the greater the burden upon him, the more apparent became the devout bias of his mind. Unquestionably here is one of the explanations of his unequalled courage. The conscious dependence on unseen help ; the inner vision which never was hidden from him that, great as were political affairs, there were much greater things going forward ; the Mosaic sight of the invisible, which is the strength of the religious character, gave him a steadiness of purpose and a dignity of bearing which no stress could subvert.

In religion, differently from politics, he made but one change of opinion ; and this change rather a development than a revolution. Like many others between 1830 and 1840, his mind moved from the standpoint of an old-fashioned evangelical to that of a High Churchman. And from this position, although he was constantly pondering theological questions during the last sixty years of his life, he never departed. It would be interesting to inquire how far in his and others' cases religious convictions affect political judgment. Some points are obvious ; Mr. Gladstone's abiding reverence for what was ancient, settled, and ordered cannot have been unconnected with his veneration for the Church ; and the impatience of evil and indignation at cruelty, which were the source of some of his most vigorous political action, were doubtless religious in their origin. But it is not easy to carry the inquiry very far. It is hard to determine whether Christianity makes rather for Liberalism or for Conservatism. The belief in the power of legislation to amend the greater sorrows of the world is perhaps now the distinctive feature of a Liberal as contrasted with a Conservative ; and this belief is partly stimulated and partly deadened by the influence of religion. Religion stirs up the heart against wrong and suffering, and rebukes the apathy or indifference which would pass by on the other side ; but contrariwise its affirmation that all the evil in the world originates in sin, and that only by the unique remedy for sin offered in the Christian revelation can human nature achieve happiness, tends to a conviction that politics must play but a subordinate part, outside the scope of which lies all that is of highest and keenest concern. A Liberal and a Conservative, alike religious, see a man lying dead drunk in the gutter : 'How shameful,' says the Liberal, 'to see the image of God thus degraded. Parliament must interfere.' 'What can save human nature from degradation,' answers the Conservative, 'save only Divine grace ? And an Act of Parliament is no sacrament.' It would seem Mr. Gladstone was in a degree

influenced by both these lines of thought. No one was less inclined to sit still with folded hands in face of wickedness, suffering or sorrow ; no one was more ready to set in motion the machinery of legislation where he thought it would do good. But it does not appear that he put the power of law in increasing happiness so high as some of his supporters and admirers have done. He has been indeed blamed for neglecting 'social reform.' And certainly every part of his life shows that he ranked political below religious work both in interest and in value to the world.

About a large number of political questions it cannot be said that, even in the indirect way above suggested, religious opinions have much effect on political action. Certain sorts both of Liberalism and Conservatism are, indeed, impossible to the religious temperament. The Radicalism that is envious and bitter, the Conservatism that is materialist and selfish—these creeds are alien from Christianity. And to neither of these schools of opinion did Mr. Gladstone ever belong. At one time a strong Tory, at another time a strong Liberal, no one ever suspected him either of selfishness or of envy. His judgment moved, but only within certain moral limits. There was a harmony and consistency in the tone of his political utterances, which was sustained in spite of variety of opinion, and was perhaps due to the unchanged religious outlook. Carlyle's often-quoted saying about not disagreeing except in opinion is applicable. Except in opinion, the Mr. Gladstone of 1840 would not have disagreed with the Mr. Gladstone of 1890. And in 1840 he must have listened to many Tory, and in 1890 to many Liberal speeches, with very qualified approval.

I have called Mr. Gladstone in conventional phrase a High Churchman ; but if the word be strictly understood, it is much more illuminating to call him a Catholic. For that is what he was, a Catholic, conscious and proud of his membership of the Apostolic and Universal Church, a patriot citizen of the City of God. He felt for the Catholic Church a zeal which resembled but transcended patriotism, and the power of this sentiment is traceable all through his life, both in great acts and in small. When in 1858 he kissed the hand of an Ionian bishop ; when he traversed England and Scotland, storming at the wrongs of the Balkan Christians ; when he denounced the errors of Vaticanism ; when on the threshold of death he strove to avert the papal condemnation of Anglican orders, it was as a Catholic that he felt and acted, it was as the sworn knight of the queen who is glorious within, whose clothing is of wrought gold.

This great sentiment appears to have influenced his political action in two most important respects, which deserve to be separately mentioned. To many people, including some whose sympathies are Catholic, these consequences will seem matter for regret, but none will dispute their importance. The first was that his Catholicism

gradually loosened his attachment to the principle of Church Establishments ; the second, that it made him the opponent of what it is now the fashion to call Imperialism.

Many men who are as ardent for Catholicism as was Mr. Gladstone remain strong supporters of the recognition of the Church by the State. And in his case the effect of his Catholic sympathies was rather negative than positive. They weakened his inclination to defend the established relation between Church and State, but they did not make him its opponent. The desire to pacify Ireland, the desire to please a section of Welsh opinion, were the direct causes of his adherence to disestablishment in Ireland and Wales. But the sense of the divine life of the Catholic Church does operate in many minds, and did in Mr. Gladstone's, to make her recognition by the State in any country seem a foolish superfluity, like a candle in the sunshine, and the control that usually (though not necessarily) accompanies that recognition, a fettering bondage. These considerations prepared him to assent to the theory that the establishment of a Church in a country against the will of the majority of the population is an injustice. This argument and its surprising application, not only to disestablishment, but also to disendowment, had no relation to his Catholicism. The function of that religious sentiment in the matter was exhausted when it had reconciled his affection for the Church with a design to abase and impoverish her.

The effect of Catholicism in modifying the strong Imperialist sentiment which in our time has so powerfully stirred men's minds is of more present interest, and, so far as I am aware, attention has never been called to it. There is, indeed, nothing essentially discordant between the two. Imperialism is nothing but patriotism of a high degree of intensity operating on the circumstances of the day. And love of country and love of Church may dwell as kindred in the same breast. Nevertheless, the ardent Catholic cannot feel towards his country as though he had never known something more august and more inspiring still. There can be but one first place in his heart ; to only one object can his highest enthusiasm and supreme faith be given. These great sentiments are like the humbler and warmer affections of the family. A man does not cease to love his brothers and sisters because he marries a wife. Yet there is a difference—not absolute, but proportionate. The old affection is not deposed or superseded, but it is outshone. It remains the same, but it seems less, for it is now side by side with something greater than itself. And this is wholesome. It is well recognised, it is proverbial, that the married have a better balance of emotions than the unmarried. In matters of affection they see things in their true proportion more justly, more calmly. The old maid wastes her heart upon a lapdog or a parrot, for her highest affections hunger for an object. The old bachelor, from like

want, petrifies into a cantankerous selfishness. Somewhat similar perversions are to be found in the high region of sentiment for Church and Country. The Catholic may be a good patriot—none the worse because his patriotism is in proportion, and therefore under the control of a cool head ; the man who knows no higher enthusiasm than for his country sometimes lets his patriotism run beyond all limits and becomes what is called a Jingo ; sometimes (it may be) the want of a perfectly adequate object for his noblest sentiments deadens his nature into selfish individualism. From this point of view one may conjecture that the decay of religious belief is among the causes for the fervour—sometimes the unreasonable and disproportionate fervour—with which Imperialist sentiment is entertained. Those high things which are the true and appropriate objects for our strongest and purest loyalty are out of sight ; the hungry instincts, seeking satisfaction as they can, fix themselves on the imperfect ideals of national greatness. This unnatural nourishment loads and distends them, and zeal is surfeited into fanaticism.

From all such dangers Mr. Gladstone was guarded. He cared for the Catholic Church with his whole heart ; and there was consequently in his outlook a certain cosmopolitanism. But it was not the cosmopolitanism of the man of the world in whom travel and excitement have bred a loose indifference, nor of the philosopher whom study and reflection have made zealous only for humanity. Rather it was mediæval in character. For in the Middle Ages there was a keen sense that the peoples of all Christendom were citizens of a Christian commonwealth, and wars were more clearly than now felt to belong to the same bad class as feuds, and forays, and duels, and assassinations—things, all of them, which Christians sometimes almost inevitably did, but of which they had generally every reason to be ashamed. The laxity of mediæval practice blinds us to the fact that in one respect the mediæval theory was higher than our own. They saw more plainly than we do that national distinctions were inconsistent with Christian doctrine. The brotherhood of men, with its logical consequences, was more nearly admitted in theory, though the disregard of its obligations was even more flagrant in practice. In our time a bishop has been heard to say, ‘I am an Englishman first and a Churchman afterwards’—a speech almost in express contradiction of St. Paul. And few Englishmen would allow, what is nevertheless true—that the distinction between nation and nation, like the distinction between bond and free, can be tolerated by Christianity only for a time, and is, like slavery, fundamentally inconsistent with faith in the Incarnation. But Mr. Gladstone’s sympathies overleapt national barriers, and Christendom was, in a real sense, his country. War had not, therefore, to him that redeeming aspect which it has to some—that, with all its horror, it excites and

expresses in the highest intensity the sense of nationality. Nor was he so much inspired as others by the world-wide greatness of the British Empire. Was his eye not familiar with a still grander vision?

It is time to bring these observations to a close. If any desire to read the biography has been excited in some of those who have not yet done so, it is enough. There will be found much to please readers of all sorts. The amateur of literature will be satisfied by a work of rare literary skill, the politician by a mass of stimulating material for thought, the psychologist by the opportunity of studying a character full of curious and inspiring interest. Most of all, the true son of the Church will rejoice to read of one whose ability, whose courage, and whose renown are for ever among the trophies of her glory

HUGH CECIL

EDUCATION AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT

AMONG the many causes which have pulverised, and almost annihilated, the party which supported the late Government, the Education Act of 1902 filled a conspicuous place.

Some have even suggested that it was from a sense of the unpopularity of that Act that Mr. Chamberlain's attention was directed to the discovery of a new and, as he hoped, a more popular cry. Undoubtedly at a time when Liberals were announcing their intention of appealing to the country in opposition to that Act, Mr. Chamberlain in a speech declared that it would be for his party and not for the Opposition to determine the issue on which the country should be invited to decide. Those who have attended meetings and watched local manifestations of public opinion have reported for some time that, especially in rural districts, no question created more interest than the question of the schools and of their management, and no demand was more popular, nor responded to more readily, than the demand that schools maintained by the ratepayers should be managed by them, and that schools which all were compelled to attend should be free from sectarian bias and ecclesiastical control.

In any dealing with the Education question, which is to give us a truly efficient and complete system, there will be need for much detailed legislation, and many points will have to be decided which cannot be followed or understood by a popular audience. But, before we can deal with the educational side of education, we must first deal with the political side.

Ever since 1839, when, at the outset of the late Queen's reign, the first tentative steps were taken to aid and develop our popular education, the claims of the Established Church, and the theological disputes connected with them, have embittered educational controversy, have prevented association between earnest men for the purpose of promoting what should have been their common object—the thorough education of the nation.

It is not necessary to recapitulate the history of more than sixty years. At the outset Lord John Russell carried his point by the bare majority of one, and was forced to abandon his proposal for a

national college for training teachers by the opposition of the bishops. The long conflict over the management clauses followed. Sir James Kaye-Shuttleworth, for the sake of some progress, capitulated to the denominational forces. The conscience clause was resisted and was not imposed till the Act of 1870. Even then a duality of school system was retained and emphasised by Parliament, and the safeguards enacted by Mr. Gladstone in that Act were gradually removed, by administrative action at the Board of Education, by the Act of 1876, and by many subsequent legislative and administrative provisions, until at length the Act of 1902 broke down the last barriers, and not only imposed on the ratepayers the compulsory maintenance of schools under private management, but actually deprived them of the right, conferred in 1870, of having the prior claim to meet any deficiencies as they might arise, and enabled the administrative discretion of the Board of Education to impose on them a charge for the furnishing, equipment, and maintenance of schools privately managed, not in sympathy with the feelings of the majority, and forced upon them against their will.

How the Board of Education attempted to use this power may be seen in the case of Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, where every attempt was made to bully the local education authority into submission, although, if the action of the Board of Education could have been challenged in a court of law, it would probably have been decided to be illegal. Plenty of other cases could be quoted of equally arbitrary, partial, and unjust conduct of the Board of Education during the last eight or ten years.

No wonder that the patience of the public was exhausted. The dishonesty of the Act of 1902 created a feeling of contempt; its oppressiveness created a feeling of resentment. The device of the bishops and of the House of Lords will not soon be forgotten, when, after the Government had provided in their Bill that the repair of denominational schools should fall on the managers, the House of Lords, by their 'wear and tear' amendment, threw part of this cost on the ratepayers, with the hypocritical words put in, to avoid a conflict with the House of Commons, 'that the cost should not involve any charge on the rates,' and the Government, by easy indulgence, allowed their supporters in the House of Commons, by the aid of a Home Rule contingent, to give this additional perquisite to their ecclesiastical supporters. The long history of sectarian disputes and ecclesiastical claims to stand between the community and the management of the schools where its children are educated, and which it supports from the rates and taxes, has satisfied Liberals that one solution, and one only, will give us a fair start, so as to deal with educational problems on educational considerations; and that solution is the absolute severance of the school maintained by the community from any external interference, and the securing that

throughout the length and breadth of the land publicly managed and publicly supported schools shall be within the reach of all. There are many educational questions beyond the political question of support and management, some of which demand a Parliamentary answer and others can be dealt with administratively. Many of them are of extreme importance, but their consideration can be approached more calmly, and with a greater probability of common agreement, if the great controversial question of management is once put out of the way. Moreover, simplicity in drafting and clearness in the issue are of great importance in getting a Bill through Parliament, and avoiding opportunities, I will not say of obstruction, but of protracted debate.

In dealing with the question of transferring the bulk of the elementary schools from private to public management, there are three important points that present themselves : (1) The rights of the present managers in reference to their school buildings, and the terms, if any, on which they may be required to transfer them. (2) What should be the action of Parliament in reference to religious or Scriptural teaching in their schools in future, especially in the transferred schools ? (3) Can any special treatment be accorded to those managers and parents who desire to stand outside the new public organisation ?

As to the first point, it must be remembered that the large majority of the voluntary schools are held in trust for elementary education. There are upwards of 13,000 such schools ; of these, less than 2,700 are in private ownership, and about 2,100 of them are Church of England schools.

It may be assumed that no legislation will interfere compulsorily with private property ; and should the owners of these schools refuse to co-operate in a public settlement, they will be free to sell them, to let them at such rent as may be agreed, or to retain them. But as a rule it will be found that these privately owned schools are among the smaller ones, and that many of them, especially the undenominational, are buildings largely used for Sunday-schools, old-fashioned, without playgrounds, and unsuitable for permanent use as day-schools.

But, taking them as a whole, it is doubtful whether there are more than 300,000 children in them, out of 3,000,000 in the voluntary schools generally.

The problem, therefore, is one having relation to schools held in trust for education. Now, the obligation on the trustees is to maintain the schools for elementary education, usually in connection with some ecclesiastical body. Many of these schools have been aided by Parliamentary building grants, but to none, as a condition of erection, has the continuance of annual grants been assured. Those built before 1850 had no annual grants ; those built from 1850 to 1870 had an expectation of annual grants which might, on an average,

amount to one-third of the yearly cost; those built between 1870 and 1876 had an assurance that the annual grants might amount to not more than one-half of the yearly cost. In the trust deeds of the National Society, after 1870, care was taken not to describe the school as a public elementary school, in which case the obligation to qualify for annual grants would have necessarily attached to the building, but the managers are permitted to conduct the school as a public elementary school. Should, however, the conditions attached to annual grants be too onerous, the school could be withdrawn from State aid and from State interference. Thus, so far from there being a binding undertaking between the State and the promoters of National schools on the one side to pay grants, and on the other to provide a school capable of earning grants, it is clear that the National Society, bearing in mind that the Code is an administrative document which may vary from year to year, deliberately preferred a form of conveyance and trust which left them free to conduct the school on their own responsibility, and outside of State aid and interference. From 1876 that obligation to find half the cost did not apply so long as the yearly cost did not exceed 35s., and it is only quite recently that the limitation of the grant to half the yearly cost has disappeared. Therefore it is competent for the State to modify the conditions of its yearly grants without any breach of faith with the builders of these schools.

Even if the State undertook to treat them on the footing of 1870, and to give grants not exceeding half the yearly cost, with a guaranteed minimum of 17s. 6d. a head, every one knows that the voluntary schools could not be maintained.

It seems, therefore, quite just and reasonable to enact that henceforward all schools maintained by the ratepayers shall be managed by them, or, in other words, that all schools asking for rate aid shall be 'provided schools.' Of course, it is quite competent for the managers of voluntary schools to say, 'We will, in that case, maintain our schools and carry out the whole of our trust, either as public elementary schools under such conditions of grant as Parliament may lay down, or as certified efficient schools.' But if they are unable or unwilling to do this, it is not competent for them to close their schools. They were pointedly reminded of this fact by the late Board of Education, who, in their memorandum of the 20th of December, 1902, stated :

Trustees and managers have no power to close schools.

(4) It is to be remembered that (except in the case of such privately owned schools as are the absolute property of the owner, and are subject to no trusts whatever) managers and trustees of elementary schools usually hold the school premises upon trust either themselves to carry on a school therein or to permit it to be carried on. It is, therefore, not open to either body, or even to both bodies acting together, to close the school as or when they please. An attempt to close the school capriciously or for insufficient reasons may involve the con-

sequences attendant on a breach of trust. If trustees or managers are unable or unwilling to carry on the school it is their duty at once to apply to the Board of Education (who for this purpose may exercise the powers formerly possessed by the Charity Commissioners) to be relieved of their trust or for direction in the matter.¹

Thus, should they close their schools, the Board of Education is vested with the powers of the Charity Commission to transfer the building to other persons ready and willing to carry out this trust, or the principal part of it. And this can be done by the transfer of the building to the public authority, although that authority cannot give denominational teaching.

This principle of setting aside, if necessary, the denominational part of the trust was established by the transfer clauses, section 23 of the Act of 1870, under which large numbers of denominational schools, Anglican and others, have been transferred to School Boards; and section 99 of the Act of 1870 expressly enables the managers of every elementary school to set aside any article in their trust deed which would debar them from obtaining Parliamentary grants.¹ It may, therefore, be taken for granted that if rate aid were withdrawn, and still more if Parliamentary aid were withdrawn or brought back to the proportion it bore when nearly all these schools were built, the managers would have no choice but to transfer them to the local authorities.

But some persons say, 'In that case, at any rate, the denominational managers should get some rent or money payment as an equivalent for the property they are handing over.' I see no justification for this. For thirty-three years, from the passing of the Act of 1870 to the coming into force of the Act of 1902, the Board of Education has steadily refused to allow any substantial money payment to be made for schools held in trust. The late Government had begun to undermine this principle, and allowed, in some cases, Church managers, on repayment of the building grant, to apply the value of a school site to general Church purposes. But in doing this they made themselves accomplices of a breach of trust. The money was given, the site was conveyed, for day-school education. The School Sites Act provides that if a building ceases to be used as a school the site reverts to the donor. A large number of Church schools have been built not from any love of Anglican principles, but to keep out a School Board and avoid the burden of a school rate; and yet it is suggested that these parishes should lose the benefit and use of the school building they helped to erect, unless they are prepared to pay a new subsidy to distinctive ecclesiastical purposes.

The ecclesiastical organisation will, in any case, gain a substantial advantage from the building when transferred to the community. They will retain the use on Sunday, and out of school hours, for

¹ Extract from Board of Education Circular, December 20, 1902.

church or parochial purposes, and the building will be kept in repair for them at the expense of the community. They will, of course, have no exceptional rights in the school during school hours, but will share as citizens and ratepayers, with their neighbours, in the management of all the schools. The fact that they are not satisfied with a common school system no more excuses them from bearing a share in the cost than the fact that a taxpayer disapproved of the South African war exempted him from the obligation to pay the war taxes. The price of living in a social community is the obligation to be bound by the will of the majority for the time being. But if the above arguments are accepted, we may now approach the second question: What rules should be laid down as to religious or Scriptural teaching, especially in these schools?

Some persons think that the State, 'whether nationally or locally, has no right to go beyond secular teaching, and that it is not the province of the State or of the municipality to determine what is religious truth, or to order how much or how little of it shall be taught. This principle used to be strongly held by Nonconformists, and it is still held and insisted on by the organisations which specially represent the opinions of the 'labour' section of politicians.

A considerable and influential section of Anglicans, now that they find the State unwilling to enforce their presentation of Christianity, are approaching the same conclusion, and they feel and proclaim the unfairness of allowing the local Education authority to give, at the public expense, a certain amount of Christian teaching which, by its incompleteness, at any rate, is, they think, prejudicial to the acceptance of the larger body of doctrine which they think highly important, if not absolutely necessary. Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. Lathbury are among the clearest and ablest exponents of this doctrine, though Lord Hugh Cecil seems to cling to the idea that the State might endow all forms of speculative belief equally wherever facilities for imparting them are demanded.

The idea of the municipally paid secularist lecturer teaching in one class-room that the Bible is faulty and mischievous in its science, history, ethics, and spiritual ideals; in another class-room the ordinary Protestant teaching the traditional view of the Bible as the sole authoritative basis of conduct and hope; in a third the High Church Anglican, dwelling on the authority of the Church and the need of the Sacraments as a means of grace; in a fourth the Roman Catholic claiming to be the only authorised teacher on behalf of the one true Church, outside of which there is deadly peril, if not certainty of spiritual death;—such a curious medley, to say nothing of the Jew, firm in his splendid isolation, is hardly to be contemplated as a practical scheme for use in elementary schools.

The statement of the High Church plea for the impartiality of the State, and the alternative of universal endowment, or universal

exclusion of all forms of religious or Scripture teaching, cannot be more clearly put than in a letter of Mr. Lathbury published in the *Westminster Gazette* on the 8th of February. He says: 'The effect of an Act establishing undenominational teaching in all schools . . . would create an aggrieved minority, whose discontent might make the new "sensible working arrangement" as little a success as its predecessor.' It is quite clear that Mr. Lathbury would include in his condemnation an enactment which would permit, without requiring local authorities to give, at the cost of the school fund, the undenominational or Bible teaching. He demands everywhere absolute equality of treatment. He says:

I am quite willing to pay for undenominational or co-denominational teaching, provided that other forms of religious teaching are paid for also. I am equally willing that these other forms shall be paid for by those who believe in them, provided that undenominational or co-denominational teaching is paid for in the same way. . . . What an increasing number of Churchmen are not willing to accept is the establishment in State schools of a particular variety of religious teaching to the exclusion of all others. That is a violation of religious equality, and religious equality is a principle which Governments and Parliaments will find it more and more difficult to disregard. If Nonconformists taunt us with being but late converts to this principle, I can only remind them that late converts are sometimes the most persistent and the most unmanageable.

No member of the Liberation Society, no advocate of the separation of Church and State, can repudiate the conclusion of Mr. Lathbury; and the daily evidence of public utterances of Anglican bishops and other leaders of that section seems to be pointing in that direction. But the question may fairly be asked, Do those who put forward this contention put it forward as adopting the principle, or merely because, in the case of the day-school, the opposite principle hits them instead of their opponents? Mr. Lathbury sees, no doubt, that the principle for which he contends involves the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England; and if he and his friends are prepared to advocate this, they may justly appeal to Liberationists to join them in the common campaign.

At this moment the Welsh, who have not for the last century and a-half been thought lacking in religious zeal, and who nevertheless were conspicuous till lately in the large number of School Boards giving none but secular instruction, are now very generally turning towards the framing of county schemes of systematic Bible teaching. Formerly the Church organs pointed to these secular Welsh School Boards as bugbears, and as evidence of what would ultimately result from the closing of Church of England schools; now there is a strong set of Church opinion towards making compulsory what was then considered the gravest misfortune that could affect the popular education of the country. The same Welsh people who probably desire, by a large majority, to give Bible teaching in the schools, also desire that the Anglican Church Establishment kept up on behalf

of a minority probably not exceeding a fourth of the population, and which contains the great mass of the property of the country and those of the higher social position, should cease to exist; that the property of that Established Church, subject to due regard to life interests, should be applied to purposes of common secular advantage, and that the bishops and clergy should cease to hold *ex officio* those positions of authority either in the State or in relation to the schools and charities of the country which they now enjoy. They do not ask for concurrent endowment, and they would not accept it. Perhaps some of Mr. Lathbury's friends would rather vote for concurrent endowment than step down to the common level of unaided and unprotected religion. But if they are really bent on achieving religious equality, I would remind them of the advice given in the old fable:

Macra cavum repetes arctum quem macra subisti,

—and let them add

Hac ego si compellor imagine cuncta resigno.

When they adopt this tone I shall recognise a genuine conversion, and welcome those latest converts who, according to Mr. Lathbury, are to be the most persistent in the new faith. But Mr. Lathbury, Lord Halifax, Lord Hugh Cecil, and others must remember that neither old Liberationists nor recent High Church converts to the doctrine of State impartiality and neutrality in the matter of Church preference and endowment constitute at present a majority of the British nation, and this question of the schools will be settled by the nation according to the dominant opinion, not by any section, no matter how clear-sighted or logical.

As opposed to the advocates of a secular and impartial State, we have a large portion of the British community, strong in the tradition of this country, believing that the study of the Bible, ever since the Reformation, has contributed largely to the formation of our national character, and to its immense advantage. These hold that the school would suffer immensely if the study of the Bible were excluded from it. They do not desire the subtleties of controversy, or a tactless presentation of obscure mysteries to children, but they say, 'The life of Christ, His parables, His preaching, His miracles, His example, can all be presented to children in a suitable way. The teachers value the opportunity of speaking seriously through a lesson which invites to serious speaking. Why deprive us of this which has been for generations, even for centuries, the inheritance of England ?'

And if we break away from logic and the claims of right and fair play that the ecclesiastical parties put forward, there is a great deal in the contention thus set forth. I am sure of this—that the great majority of the county authorities in England and Wales, in many cases largely made up of Conservative county gentlemen, members

of the Church of England, are fully satisfied with such a scheme of teaching.

Many of these authorities have drawn up a syllabus after consultation between Anglicans and Nonconformists; they have no doubt offended against the convictions of freethinkers; they have taught in a way not acceptable to Unitarians. Of course the Roman Catholics stand aside from any common act which savours of religious agreement with those who are not Catholics. As the Church of England teaches in its Articles that the good deeds of the heathen have the nature of sin, so a Roman Catholic would probably say that an orthodox theological proposition propounded by an unauthorised heretic was dangerous to the faith of a child of the Church.

Still, the mass of the Anglican laity are as satisfied as the mass of the Nonconformists with this Bible teaching, which I may call the 'use and wont' of the English people and of their Welsh neighbours.

The Dissenter is divided between his feelings and his principles. His feelings say, 'Do not banish the Bible.' His principles say, 'The State has no right to touch the things of the Spirit.' Still, if the law is left as it is, I have no doubt that throughout the length and breadth of the land a simple Biblical syllabus will be taught in the schools with the co-operation of most of the bishops and clergy, who have often co-operated in the formation of a syllabus—for instance, the present Archbishop of Canterbury at Farnham, the present Bishop of St. Asaph in Flintshire.

I may further say that I have never seen a desire among the clergy, even among that party who now cry out against the unfairness of general Bible teaching, to come forward on School Boards and Education Authorities and move to abandon it.

I will not quote the names of former colleagues on the School Board for London, but others could name devoted men of pronounced High Church opinion who have taken a sympathetic part in superintending and promoting the scheme of Bible instruction. There are a few friends of Bible teaching who want to go a step further, and would like to see it made obligatory by Act of Parliament. This suggestion is likely to have few supporters, and need not, therefore, be criticised at length.

Any reversal of the neutral attitude of the State established by the Act of 1870 would be disastrous. If Parliament enjoins a scheme of general Christian teaching, Parliament and the Board of Education will have to define it, and possibly to enforce it in reluctant localities. No doubt the principle of religious equality, and of the non-interference of the State with religion, is violated even by the local freedom given to local authorities. But the State stands apart; any local regulations must recommend themselves to the local majority, and therefore produce the minimum of friction; and local

majorities, having a free hand, can readjust their regulations if they find them giving offence or provoking resistance.

I think, also, that county and borough councils are more likely to direct and frame a Bible syllabus cheerfully and discreetly if they do so themselves, than if they work under orders from Whitehall. The tendency in our education system must be towards a maximum of local liberty, a minimum of bureaucratic interference; and of all delicate subjects on which centralised dictation should be avoided, questions involving matters of religion are the most delicate.

I have dealt so far with the ordinary curriculum of the Council school, and the conclusion I draw on the whole is that the nation had better now make up its mind to take the final step towards the solution, which is certain to be reached ultimately—namely, the severance of the civil community, locally as well as nationally, from all responsibility for religious teaching.

This is the conclusion to which the United States have come; it is the conclusion to which our great self-governing colonies of English race have come, or are tending.

Years ago, in the infancy of the controversy, Dr. Hook, who was certainly a great leader of the Church party, declared that it was the only sound basis of a national system. It was held by Mr. Gladstone, though he felt in 1870 that the country was not ripe for it, and his tenderness for denominational schools made him unwilling to propose a final settlement.

It seems, however, that, in spite of a widespread sentiment against secular schools, we may be led to adopt them through the clear grip of principle which actuates the 'Labour' party, who are more in touch than any others with the parents who use the schools, and through the resentment of the 'Church' party at any form of religious establishment which does not support their section of Christianity. If, however, Parliamentary debate should show that the average Englishman, the 'man in the street,' is not yet prepared to act on a definite principle, I should acquiesce gladly in any legislation which secured what to my mind is the most vital thing to be gained, the severance of our national popular education from the control and interference of the Churches, and the placing it on the broad free basis of popular elective absolute management and control.

But it may be held: Is there not room for 'facilities' for those who desire something more for their children? Here, having regard to the fact that the general plan proposed takes from the Churches the organisation whereby hitherto they have satisfied one part of their school trust—namely, the denominational character of the teaching—I think that, while the school as a school must remain under the complete management of the Education Authority, which must control and direct all the teaching, yet facilities might fairly be given at convenient times, though outside school hours.

Thus I see no reason why in the transferred schools, on two mornings a week, the school should not commence at half-past nine, and the half-hour from nine to half-past might then be put at the disposal of the former managers to teach as they please the children whose parents desired them to be so taught. This was the Birmingham plan. We are told it would not work, because the children would not come. If they do not come, it will be because the parents do not care for them to come; and if that be true, it shows how hollow is the cry that the parents demand this definite teaching. The fact is, that not 10 per cent. of the parents desire it. Indeed, we find the country gentlemen who have framed and adopted a Scripture syllabus in their country schools say how excellent it is; and what on earth can people want more for children? If, however, the parents did desire it, the children would come. The thing has been proved in London, in the Board schools frequented by Jews. There, because the Jews do desire this definite teaching, they have organised special teachers; the Board gave them the use of the school buildings ~~out~~ of school hours, and the children attend regularly and are systematically taught Hebrew and the Jewish law. Probably Roman Catholic priests could enforce the same thing with their flocks; but I repeat that of Anglicans not 10 per cent. of the parents could be got to come for it, and therefore if Mr. Balfour's dictum be true, that in the matter of religious teaching the only persons to be consulted are the parents, we shall disregard what is a cry of those who want to settle things for the parents, but have no mandate to speak on their behalf.

I should be willing to test the reality of the demand for facilities for definite religious teaching by granting these two mornings a week, not only in transferred schools, but in all schools, confident that a twelvemonth's trial would show the hollowness of the claim and the absence of parental support.

In the Girls' Day-school Company, schools attended by a class who are nearly all habitual members of Churches, and probably a considerable majority members of the Established Church, though parents might apply for distinctive religious teaching at a special time, the demand does not exist; these parents, paying some 15*l.* a year for the education of their daughters, are quite satisfied with a general undenominational scheme of teaching. Assuming that the Government determines to proceed on the broad principles indicated in this article, and which have been announced in speeches by such political leaders as Mr. Asquith, Mr. Birrell, and others—namely, that all schools supported by the local authorities shall be under their direct management as 'provided schools,' and that, as a consequence, the denominational restrictions disappear which were imposed by the Act of 1902 on teachers, either expressly or through their mode of appointment, and that within the day-school building, during the time that there is a school taught in it, the whole teaching shall be

under the control and management of the public authority—it may well be left to the wisdom of Parliament to determine whether the day-school shall be secular. I doubt whether the party of the Established Church will be keen to press this when they realise that they are pushing forward the policy of disestablishment and disendowment.

We might, of course, if Parliament thought fit, adopt the Scotch plan of giving perfect freedom to the local school authority to teach the definite religion of one or more Churches ; but I doubt if the Church party would value this concession. First, it is unlikely that public elective authorities would wish to identify themselves with any denomination ; secondly, if the teachers were chosen by a civic authority resulting from election by the ratepayers, those whose main interest in the schools is ecclesiastical rather than civil would not feel satisfied with teachers so chosen to impart their distinctive views.

But, on the assumption that henceforward the common school system will be national and under local public management, is there any room for exceptions ?

I think that with reference to special schools the authority may be permitted, while not compelled, to use private institutions and subsidise them, while not superseding private management. As illustrations may be mentioned such schools as the country school founded in Cheshire by private benevolence, to which town children may be sent for a few weeks ; and, similarly, the boarding-schools for physically and mentally defective, established in the same neighbourhood. Such, too, are epileptic colonies, schools for the blind and the deaf. If the local authorities are left free to send children to such institutions, making their own terms as to representation, management, &c., there is no essential violation of the general principle of public management for rate-aided schools.

But is it not possible to go a step further in the continued recognition by the State of some schools under private management ? It seems to me that, having regard to the fact that we do not come to the settlement of the Education question with a 'clean slate,' as in new colonies, it might be considerate to allow some kind of safety-valve to ease the pressure of a strictly municipal system. If the principle is once admitted that throughout the whole of the country the typical ordinary school available for the community should be under public local management, yet in populous places where there is need for many schools some recognition might be afforded to other schools. But the conditions under which this recognition should be granted should be strictly defined :

(1) No such school should be recognised in such a way as to diminish or restrict, much more to exclude, an adequate supply of public schools within easy reach of the local population.

(2) Such a school should not be recognised on the application

only of persons desirous to start it for a particular group of parents, but on the clear evidence of the desire, and on the application of the parents themselves.

(3) As such schools would be recognised in deference to the wishes of parents, they could not stand in the way of further public-school provision, since the fact that a child was withdrawn from such a school would be evidence of the cessation of the wish for the school's existence.

(4) As the promoters of such schools would desire to conduct them free from the regulations of the local authority, they would, of course, while debarred from any aid from the rates, be free from any local municipal interference, except in such matters as health and sanitation.

(5) Such schools might be in direct relations with the Board of Education, in the same way that schools under section 16 of the Act of 1902 now stand: they would be subject to the Code, and inspected on behalf of the Government, and they might receive Parliamentary grants. These grants, according to section 97 of the Education Act, 1870, would be the same as the grants paid to individual schools under public management, exclusive of the aid grant.

The principle of equality of Parliamentary grants between voluntary and Board schools (exclusive of the aid grant to poor School Boards) was violated by the Conservative Government when, in deference to the cry of the managers of denominational schools, they introduced their aid grant of about six shillings a head to these schools, and differentiated against the Board schools for the purpose of propping up and preserving the decaying 'voluntary' system.

The party that did this could not complain if the friends of public management should follow their precedent and differentiate against sectarian and private schools, now that the overwhelming force of public opinion demands a really national system under popular elective management. I hope, however, that where these schools are allowed to exist the more liberal principle contained in section 97 of the Act of 1870 will be adhered to.

Thus such schools would receive a Parliamentary grant of about 30s. a head as free schools; and the managers, who would be required to maintain a full standard of efficiency equal to that of the schools under public management, would have, as the price of their private management and freedom from interference, to make the financial effort necessary to meet the margin of cost. They would certainly be in a much better position financially than voluntary schools were placed in by the Act of 1870, for, as a rule, the annual cost of maintenance would not amount to 3*l.*, and the grants, far higher than the old grants, would cover fully half the cost. Of course, their accounts would be subject to an independent audit on behalf of the Government, and the whole of the income would be required to be

expended in school maintenance, excluding any such item as rent of premises or interest on loans for construction.

How many managers and parents would come forward and ask for recognition under such a proposal it is hard to say. Probably very few of the Church of England schools, though a few could be mentioned where enthusiastic and devoted clergymen with strongly attached congregations might do so. One instance may be mentioned, as it is already matter of public knowledge. The Church school of St. Peter's, London Docks, has been maintained as a certified efficient school since 1903, and a few more may be found. But, as a rule, even if the clergy wished their schools to emerge as islands of independence in the ocean of public management, the popular support of the parents would be lacking.

The points of educational reform needing Parliamentary action of an urgent and immediate character have been mentioned, with one exception not concerned with general policy and administration, but urgent for special localities, to which attention was called last year by the threatened action of East Ham.

Undoubtedly the growing cost of the School Board rate is felt very severely and resented very keenly. We are, unfortunately, without any recent statistics on the latest cost of education locally, and the amount of the rate which will be necessary. The changes effected by the Act of 1902, the severance between the old managers and the new authority, and the fact that their income from grants operates as if all their schools were new, and that there has been no steady flow of grants coming in on account of work in voluntary schools before the appointed day, has led to an obscurity and, indeed, an impossibility of saying positively what the permanent charge for schools will be. We have not even the useful table which used to be published showing the cost of maintenance per head for teachers, books, and apparatus, &c. Still, it is notorious that the local expenditure is very heavy, and is steadily rising.

The Parliamentary charge, also, is very heavy. On account of elementary education alone the latest return shows (p. 307), apart from administration, an expenditure of upwards of 11,000,000*l.*

It was recognised as long ago as 1870, on the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, that poor districts were entitled to special aid from Parliament in regard to the new burden put upon them, and the Act of 1902 applied that principle on a much more liberal scale by an aid grant amounting to about 10*s.* a scholar, or a total of about 2,400,000*l.* But the basis on which that grant is paid is very complicated, difficult of statement, and almost beyond comprehension by the ordinary man. It was intended by its graduation to aid poorer districts, and demanded a local rate of at least 3*d.* in the pound; but the days of 3*d.* rates, which were visionary aspirations in the time of Mr. Forster, will never dawn for the distressed ratepayer, and a commencing rate

of 6d. or 8d. is below the stern reality in the average school district. Still, the grant of 2,400,000*l.*, if fairly adjusted, might do much to lighten the burden on poor districts with a large elementary population, while increasing the charge in such typical and often-quoted districts as Bournemouth. It appears that in the year 1903-4 at least 6,000,000*l.* was raised from school rate for elementary education, which, taking land as paying rates at half its value, means an average rate of about 9d. in the pound. It might well be that, while no aid grant should be paid to districts levying less than a 4d. rate, the aid grant might begin at 4*s.* per scholar and rise 1*s.* a head with each penny of the rate up to a 12*s.* aid grant when the rate is 1*s.*, and then by 1*s.* a head for each increase of 2d. in the rate up to a 2*s.* rate, and for each rise of 3d. in the rate another 1*s.* up to a maximum aid grant of 1*l.* when the rate exceeded 2*s.* 6d. On such a scale the three exceptionally poor districts of East Ham, West Ham, and Walthamstow would receive about 90,000*l.* aid grant, instead of about 45,000*l.* It is clear that in aiding districts we ~~should~~ consider not merely their poverty, but the effort they are making; and a rich district like London or Brighton, which is levying a heavy school rate, is more entitled to help than a poor district like Preston or Wigan, if it is doing as little as possible for popular education.

I may say of the figures I have suggested in arguing for a modification of the aid grant that, to use a classical expression, I have used them as illustrations rather than arguments. There are not data easily accessible from which accurate conclusions can be drawn. I can only hope that the suggestions thrown out may set others with more material to work towards a solution of the question of the best distribution of State aid. I will make this one remark in anticipatory answer to the special champions of what are deemed poor areas—that a district with a high rateable value in proportion to population raises a higher sum per head with each penny than does a poorer district; and therefore, when high rateable value coincides with a high rate, the wealthy district is doing far more for education than the poor one.

Thus London, with a rateable value of more than 43,000,000*l.*, raises a rate of about 1*s.* 4*d.*, or about 2,800,000*l.*, for elementary education, and is educating about 660,000 or 670,000 scholars, thus spending more than 4*l.* a head from the rates. This enormous effort is aided by the lowest aid grant of all groups of the local authorities, being by the latest Blue-book 7*s.* 9*d.* a head, against an average for the whole country of nearly 9*s.* 4*d.* a head.

Let me conclude by summarising the points which I think essential in coming educational legislation :

(1) All ordinary day-schools aided by the rates must be under complete public management; as 'provided' schools.

(2) The whole of the teaching during school hours must be by the responsible teachers of the schools appointed by the local Education Authority.

(3) There shall be no interference by the State directing the giving of religious or Scripture teaching in the school.

(4) In every school district there shall be a supply of provided schools within the reach of all.

(5) Where the geographical conditions make it inexpedient to have more than one school in a neighbourhood, that school shall be a provided school, and no other school shall receive State aid.

(6) Schools held in trust for elementary education shall be transferred to the local authority if the existing managers fail to conduct them as efficient day-schools.

(7) Non-provided schools transferred to the local authority shall be kept in repair by the local authority, but the former managers shall retain the use of them on Sunday and at such other times as they are not needed for public education.

(8) On two occasions a week, either at the beginning or end of the school session, the schoolroom shall be at the disposal of persons desiring to give religious teaching to scholars desiring to receive it; but this attendance shall not be included in the official hours. The time shall be from 9 to 9.30 A.M., unless the applicants desire some other time; and any dispute as to time shall be settled by the Board of Education.

(9) In districts adequately supplied with 'provided' schools the Board of Education may, on the application of parents and of the managers of any non-provided school, allow that school to be withdrawn from the common school-supply of the district and from any control or interference by the local authority, and may admit it to annual grants, as is done under section 15 of the Act of 1902.

(10) The aid grant provided by the Act of 1902 shall be distributed in a more graduated way, so as to give greater relief to those districts which are levying a higher education rate.

STANLEY OF ALDERLEY

EVANGELICALS AND THE EDUCATION QUESTION

AMONGST the causes which contributed to the downfall of the late Government, the Education question, to my mind, occupied a position only second to that of the great subject of Free Trade.

None who took part in the late elections, especially in Wales and the South of England, could fail to note the deep resentment in the minds of Nonconformists with regard to their treatment in the Act of 1902, nor their determination to secure a reversal of the policy which, to them, constituted an injustice of the gravest kind. Whilst Churchmen and Conservatives in general were ridiculing the Passive Resister and congratulating themselves on the smooth working of the Act of 1902, the Nonconformists were patiently biding the time when retribution would be visited on men who, to their mind, had been guilty of violating their deepest and most cherished convictions. To Churchmen it appeared natural to maintain that, in virtue of schools built by themselves and of a prescriptive right of thirty years to control the religious instruction given in them, they were in perfect justice entitled, in spite of the acceptance of State aid from the rates, to continue in the position of superiority which they had so long enjoyed. They argued, not illogically, that hitherto Nonconformists had contributed in the payment of taxes to the grants which they had received from the Exchequer towards the maintenance of their schools, and that the fact of their subsidy being now drawn from the rates instead of the taxes in no way altered the situation or caused any grievance to Nonconformists; whilst at the same time they asserted that even if the Nonconformists were now more directly than before contributing to the maintenance of Church schools, they themselves had for a period of upwards of thirty years, since the Act of 1870, besides bearing the expenses of their own schools, contributed to the upkeep of Board schools over which they had no control. There is no doubt, in the abstract, much to be said for this contention, but the statement partakes of the nature of a half-truth, and is therefore misleading. No one would deny that the Church was in a measure the pioneer in educational work in the country, and that the Church schools owe their existence mainly to the efforts of Church

people. When we look, however, to the sources from which their schools were provided, we find that, from 1839 to 1882 inclusive, over a million and a half was derived from State funds for their erection, whilst amongst the contributors figure public companies and bodies, who found it to their advantage to promote the erection of Church schools and thereby keep out an education rate which would have been necessitated had Board schools been erected. In considering also the cost of the maintenance of the Church or Voluntary schools, we find that the Church's share forms a very small part of the entire sum expended on them since the Act of 1870. It is roughly computed that, up to the abolition of school fees in 1891, three-sixths was contributed by the State in the form of grants, two-sixths by children's fees, and that one-sixth only was provided by the contributions of Church people. After 1891, when school fees were abolished, the nation's share in the Voluntary schools' expenses went up to four times the amount given by subscribers, in fact, in nine years, from 1891 to 1902, the subscriptions raised by the Church in round numbers amounted to a little over five and a half millions, whilst the taxes paid 27 millions. It should in fairness, however, be mentioned as an asset in favour of the Church's position, that the large cost of administration has, in the case of Voluntary schools, been saved to the nation through the unpaid work of Church people.

In spite, however, of this fact, and of the undeniable exertions of the clergy of the Church of England, it seems impossible for the Church to substantiate her claim to the undisputed possession of schools which have been so largely subsidised in the past from national resources. Sir George Kekewich, Chief of the Education Department for many years, and himself a Churchman, has declared that the State has paid for the Voluntary schools over and over again by the frequent and increasing grants.¹ What the Church can claim to have done is to have erected the fabrics, to have devoted herself with the utmost energy to the cause of education, at a time when it was but little thought of by the Governments of the day, and to have raised subscriptions towards the work amounting to a very considerable sum in the course of years. In return for these efforts, she has received very substantial monetary aid from the public purse, and has been allowed unfettered control in religious matters, subject to a conscience clause. Such an arrangement might have continued to work well had the Church been able to meet the growing needs with regard to accommodation which increased population and higher educational demands necessitated, but in process of time it was found that the Church schools were inadequate and ill-provided, and that in order to bring them up to modern requirements, and to the level of the Board schools, fresh and increased aid must be obtained from the State. Consequently the Act of 1902 was introduced. That Act, in spite of its being an effort to unify and systematise the national

education, was in the main conceived in the interests of the Church ; but, in the opinion of many well qualified to judge, the Church did an irreparable injury to her own welfare by insisting on the terms contained in that measure. By that Act the entire cost of the maintenance of Church schools was thrown on the rates, the Church being responsible for nothing but the upkeep of the buildings ; even towards that the famous 'wear and tear' clause contributed, whilst a rent was to be paid for the use of the school teacher's house. Such a subsidy was bound to alter the conditions under which the schools had existed in the past.

In the first place, it was clearly impossible for the Church, in accepting the entire cost of the maintenance of the schools, to insist on the sole control of the religious teaching to be given in them.

To the contention of the Church party that the value of the buildings, which they allowed the educational authorities to use, was an equivalent which entitled them to the control of the religious instruction, it may be replied that religious questions are of a nature which so fundamentally affect people's sentiments and convictions that nothing which the Church could offer would ever have been looked upon as a valid set-off in the eyes of persons who are of a different religious persuasion. Further, the determination to secure absolute religious control carried with it the insistence of another stipulation which constituted a real and substantial grievance. It was clearly necessary, if the control was to be effective, that the Church should have the absolute choice in the matter of teachers, and consequently, in all the Church schools in the country, Nonconformists are excluded from head-teacherships.

When we remember that Church schools number 11,817 as against 6,349 Council schools, and that the head-teacherships in Church schools number 16,406,² we may form some idea of the feelings of Nonconformists who, in spite of the fact that they are contributing their share to the maintenance of these schools, are excluded from all the chief posts of emolument in them. Legally the posts of assistant-teachers and pupil-teachers, which are estimated to number between forty and fifty thousand, are open to Nonconformists, but virtually they are excluded very largely from these also. The foundation managers, who necessarily are always in a majority, being in the proportion of four to six, are Church people, and, in most cases, are guided in their decisions by the vicar of the parish, who is generally one of their body ; and it is obvious that the vicar, who naturally desires that the teaching should be that of the Church of England, would be unwilling to engage a Nonconformist either as assistant-mistress or pupil-teacher. There is no blame to be attached to the clergy for insisting on this ; it is only pointed out as a factor which does contribute to the disabilities imposed on Nonconformists in the matter of teacherships in Church schools.

² According to statistics published in August 1902.

Such facts as these show how unwise the Church party were in the course of action they pursued, and how inevitably terms of so grasping a nature would react unfavourably on themselves. Their claim was from the first an absolutely illogical and untenable one. They should have realised that the control of the religious teaching was only possible as long as they were prepared to bear at any rate a considerable share in the cost of the maintenance of their schools.

This fact was foreseen by so wise and sagacious a Churchman as the late Archbishop Temple, who asserted, in words which have often been quoted, that once the Church accepted rate aid for her schools she would no longer be able to maintain absolute control over the religious teaching.

Illogical though it may seem, payment of a rate comes home to the individual much more forcibly than taxes which are levied on various articles and thrown into the public purse to be dealt with as the Government of the day may see fit. It was a moral impossibility to expect men to contribute so directly to the maintenance of schools on the governing body of which they were to be in a perpetual minority. One bishop in our Church, the Bishop of Hereford, clearly foresaw this eventuality, and in the strongest manner in the House of Lords he urged upon the promoters of the Bill the maxim which has always been found to be sound in its operation, 'Trust the people,' and pleaded that the managers of Voluntary schools should be drawn in equal proportions from the Church and from the community at large. Had the Church been wise enough to accept this advice, there is little doubt that she would not be now in the position in which she finds herself, of having to take whatever terms a Government with an enormous Liberal majority may grant; and it is hardly too much to say that such action on her part would have removed one of the main causes of the overthrow of the late Government.

There is, however, another reason which has contributed very largely to bring about the revolt of the Nonconformists against the position of superiority which the Act of 1902 conferred on the Church in the matter of religious education. 'In spite of the slender nature of the claim which even before that Act the Church could legitimately make to the sole control of the religious instruction in all the Church schools, that claim was tacitly conceded, and for upwards of thirty years schools belonging to the Church, in spite of the fact that they were subsidised latterly up to 77 per cent. of their cost out of the taxes of the country, were yet allowed without complaint to be the means of providing religious education in the tenets of the Church of England to a large proportion of the children of the country. The children of Church and Chapel were often found sitting side by side, learning the Catechism of the English Church, and the fact did no grievous violence to the conscience of the Nonconformist. We may inquire, then, if this is so, why this sudden revulsion of feeling has taken place, and why a

system which has worked well in the past should now be anathema to the Free Churches ? The answer is to be found in the growth of that movement which is threatening the Church with even greater loss than that of her schools, and which will, unless summarily dealt with, ere long bring about her utter disruption and ruin. As long as the religious teaching was Protestant, the Nonconformist parent cared little whether parson or minister gave it. Convenience and proximity often pointed to the Church school, and the clergyman of former times, basing all his teaching on the Bible, and only dealing with truths which are held in common by all Christians, was listened to with equal reverence by the children of every denomination. That which has turned toleration of the Church into deadly hostility is not so much the financial as the religious question. The bedrock of Nonconformity is Protestantism, and Nonconformity has awoke to the fact that not Protestantism, but Romanism, is being taught in many a Church school. It matters not that the numbers are perhaps not large where the extremest teaching is being given. A few sufficient facts have rung through the length and breadth of the land. A child here that is caned for not bowing to the crucifix, one there that is taught that our Lord's warning against false prophets includes all the Nonconforming sects, another that is lured to the confessional, a fourth that is instructed to pray to the Virgin Mary. Such things as these have produced the Passive Resister and generated the spirit which is prepared, like that of the Pilgrim Fathers of old, to do battle for Evangelicalism, and go out into the wilderness in the cause of freedom and Protestant truth. It is asserted that there are in England 8,000 places where only Church of England schools exist. In these places the Nonconformist is obliged to send his child to the Church school under penalty of fine in case of non-attendance. Can we wonder that a deep and bitter feeling prevails against an Act which places Nonconformists in such a position, aggravated as it is by the facts above referred to ? Of what avail is a conscience clause when in its most favourable operation it deprives the child of any religious instruction whatever, and when in its actual operation it can be rendered absolutely nugatory by a parson who has it in his power to bring pressure of all kinds to bear on persons of the poorer classes ? A conscience clause might be valid if the parties concerned were equal in social position and financial circumstances, but when one of the principals can inflict penalties on the other in the distribution of charitable relief or in the deprivation of those small treats which so largely affect rural life, it is folly to brandish a conscience clause in the eyes of the conscientious objector.

These two aspects of the question—the financial injustice and the fear of Romanising teaching—have both had their share in bringing about the revolt of the Nonconformists against the Education Act of the late Government, and their resolute determination to secure an

amendment of the Act has contributed not a little to the great Liberal majority. To this amendment the Government is now pledged. What should be the attitude of the Evangelical party in the Church of England in this crisis? It appears to many well-wishers of their cause that they are not well advised in the line which the majority of them are taking at the present time.

The disgust and alarm which this Romanising teaching inspires are not confined to the Nonconformists. To fully half the clergy of the Church of England, and to the vast majority of its laity, it is as repugnant as to them, and it is this aspect of the question which fills me with amazement when I read of the line which strong Evangelicals are taking in this matter. Connected as I have been for some years

with Protestant work, and claiming, therefore, some insight into the Romeward movement, I cannot help addressing a very earnest appeal to them to consider whether this line is a wise one in the interests of that Protestantism which we Evangelicals all believe to be vital to the nation's well-being. I own to some feeling of alarm when I read of the leaders of our Evangelical party fighting shoulder to shoulder with men of the Ritualistic school, and Lord Halifax thanking the *Record* for the noble stand it is making in defence of the Church's claims. These claims are, as have been shown, both illogical and untenable, but even were they of the strongest description, are they wise to desire to perpetuate a system which is giving the Ritualistic clergy the very opportunity that they need for undermining our Protestant faith? A system which leaves to the clergy a control still practically undisputed is one which, in the altered conditions of our Church, cannot be viewed with anything but alarm. Quietly, silently, stealthily, the work is proceeding; but, owing to the fact that it only affects children, it arouses no notice, and the world passes it unconsciously by. As men and women go about their business or their pleasure day by day, little do they reck how, in the village school hard by, the children are being weaned from the faith which the martyrs died to defend. They do not trouble to follow them from the school into the church, where they, and frequently they alone, are the witnesses of the Roman Mass, nor to note how by precept and by example they are being familiarised with all that our ancestors rejected at so great a cost. Our Evangelical clergy are not ignorant, they are fully aware of the nature of the teaching given by a very large and ever-increasing number of our clergy. They have heard the questions addressed by diocesan inspectors to the children in their schools, very often diametrically in opposition to what they themselves have been giving; they know that where even open Romanism is not in vogue, yet a sacerdotalism which tends in one direction only is the permanent atmosphere. They know—who better?—how the Prayer-book, interpreted in its most extreme manner, and stretched to a limit never contemplated by its compilers, is taking the place of

the Bible, which is being more and more relegated to the background ; they realise how this is affecting the rising generation, and they tremble, rightly and with every justification, for the Reformed Faith of our Church. And yet, knowing all this, doing battle for Evangelical truth as they are in hundreds of ways, they yet contend for a continuation of a system which under the existing circumstances is working such deadly evil.

It may be said that it is impossible for the Evangelical clergy, who are conscious that they themselves are giving the best antidote to the poison which is filtering through the Church's veins, to execute a self-denying ordinance and be willing, in the interests of the cause, to subscribe to a measure which would operate in the same manner on the innocent and on the guilty.

The position, as it appears to the Evangelical clergyman, at the present moment, is something of this kind. He has been accustomed to look upon the children in his parish as his especial care, and those whom he is in duty bound to instruct in the religious faith in which they should grow up. He is perfectly right in this assumption, and if things were to-day as they originally were in the Church of England, we might find ourselves, in spite of any apparent inconsistencies or anomalies created by the Act, extremely loth to upset arrangements which, if not absolutely ideal, have, at any rate, been productive of great and lasting good. He now witnesses a tremendous wave of public feeling which is determined to sweep the Church of England clergyman out of all schools, and which proposes to confide to the ordinary State-paid teachers the care of the religious instruction of the young. He refuses to believe that such a State-paid teacher is qualified to give the religious instruction necessary, and imagines, perhaps conscientiously, that no one can relieve him of the duty which he believes to be his own. May we not, however, point out one or two considerations which might weigh with him ? In the first place, is it a fact that no one but the clergyman is qualified to give religious instruction ? Every parent among the educated classes is supposed to be competent to give it to his own children. They receive, as a rule, no other instruction, until the age of confirmation, but such as is given by the parents or teachers provided by them. Surely the teachers in elementary schools are quite as qualified to give religious instruction of a simple kind as any ordinary parent. If our Evangelical friend further considers that a large number of the clergy of the Church of England are giving teaching of which he himself cannot possibly approve, can he not see the necessity of banishing from all the schools of the country any possibilities of the children being brought up in such erroneous doctrines, and can he not rely upon his own efforts, either on weekdays out of school hours, or on Sundays, to give such teaching to the children of his parish as he conceives should be added to that which the ordinary teachers impart ? At any

rate, is it not the lesser of the two evils, looking at the matter from the point of view of Protestant truth ?

That the teaching of undenominationalism is not so impossible or inefficient as he is apt to imagine, a quotation from the letter of a lady who has had many years' experience on the London School Board may prove. She writes :

We contend that it is perfectly possible to give unbiased, unsectarian Scripture teaching, such as was given under the London School Board, and is continued under the London County Council. The Syllabus was drawn up by a special committee of the London School Board, the majority of whom were Anglicans and many of them Anglican clergymen. It presented no difficulties to the teachers, the majority of whom are Anglicans. During a long experience I have never known of any difficulty on the religious question inside one of our schools. The annual prizes (Bibles and New Testaments) given by the London School Board (the L.C.C.) and by the late Francis Peek to the children in the London schools for Scripture knowledge have always been much valued. All the L.C.C. Schools (Provided) open and close with hymn and prayer ; a very few children are ever withdrawn from the Bible Lesson given from 9 to 9.30. Very rarely a teacher may ask to be exempted from giving the lesson, and then it is arranged that another takes his place. But I do not know of a case.

The fact is that, in spite of an apparent hardship, Evangelical clergy stand to gain in the long run. Evangelical Church teaching is not half so far removed from what is termed undenominationalism as it is from that known as 'definite Church teaching,' such as given by the High Church school. If any doubt this statement let them study with a little care, as an example, a book ³ having that title by the Rev. S. Healy, of the Community of the Resurrection, at Mirfield, a training college of the Church of England. Such teaching as is contained in this book, which may be taken as a very fair sample of the High Church views of the day, must eventually absolutely exterminate all Evangelical Churchmanship, and tend to create the atmosphere which is destroying Evangelical Christianity. Let them set against this such an instruction in the fundamental truths of Christianity as would prevail in schools if a religious syllabus were adopted such as that now in use in the provided schools of some of the counties of England, viz. Surrey, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Derbyshire, and I venture to think that the result of the adoption of such a syllabus would be to produce a generation of children who had acquired a substantial knowledge of the Bible, and who had learnt all those essential truths of Christianity which so vastly transcend in importance at that early age the inculcation of dogmas. It is argued that the Bible cannot be taught without being coloured with the religious beliefs of the teacher ; but the wonderful characteristic of that Book always appears to be that it needs but little elucidation at the hand of man. Amidst the jarring voices of multitudinous sects, who each claim to represent Biblical truth, it were, perhaps, not amiss to let the Bible

³ *Definite Church Teaching*, by Samuel Healy. Mowbray & Co.

be its own interpreter and trust to the Great Teacher whose promise is, 'My Word shall not return unto Me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.' At any rate, to keep the Bible in the schools, and secure such religious teaching as may be gathered from the prayers and hymns in the syllabuses referred to, is the one object for which we ought to strive and which nothing on earth ought to make us relinquish. This it is which the vast majority of the English people wish for; this it is that those classes who feed our elementary schools, but who are powerless to express their wants, desire. They care not for dogma and sect, but they do care that a Divine basis should be given for conduct. They know, dimly perhaps, but none the less really, that faith in an all-seeing God must underlie all right actions, that knowledge of God can only come through acquaintance with His Word; they are conscious that they themselves are not qualified to give this instruction, and they call mutely on the State not to send their children out to fight the battle of life unarmed and unprepared to encounter its dangers and its temptations. What to them does it matter through whom Christ's teaching comes to their children so as it comes, so that prayer and hymn and praise are the first words on their children's lips, and the deepest impression on their children's hearts? Are we, in whose hands lies the destiny of the race, to whom it is given to interpret the unspoken prayer in the parents' hearts, to deny the children, because of the irreconcilable attitude of Church and Chapel, that which will be the most precious asset in their lives? And yet it would almost seem as if to this the nation is tending. 'Better secular education than that moral monster Undenominationalism,' cry the followers of Lord Halifax; 'Better secular education than Rome incarnate or Denominationalism,' cry the men of Dr. Clifford's school; and yet both know that religion is the essence of life, that they are powerless to impart it without the aid of the State schools, and that a godless nation must be the resultant of such irreconcilable views. 'But,' argue many Evangelical clergy, 'how can we rely that even this attenuated Christianity will not, if religious tests are abolished, be given by atheists and agnostics? What guarantee have we that Christian teaching will be given by those who hold to a belief in the person of Christ Himself, or that the Old Testament will be taught by those who believe in the inspiration of the Bible? Have we not also in mind sceptical School Boards that have banished the Bible from the schools?' To this latter objection it may be replied that, the fact of Biblical teaching being once accepted by the State as an axiom, such a course of action could not again occur, and universal religious teaching would be secured. As to the guarantee of the religious faith of the teacher, is it likely that Education Committees would willingly engage teachers of agnostic views? Have we no confidence in our public bodies as representing men who on the whole

have also a deep sense of the importance of religious faith in the teachers of religion ?

And as to our teachers themselves ? Is it not a great libel on the teaching profession to assume that agnosticism and atheism are so prevalent amongst them that, without a religious test, they cannot be accepted ? Do we forget that, for the last thirty years, a very large proportion of the children in the land have been brought up in the schools where no religious tests exist, and where undenominational religion has been the rule ? Are the results, then, of such a nature as to make us believe that only a test which ensures that the teacher should be a member of the Church of England can be relied upon to secure our children from atheism ? And even if we have a test, what guarantee have we that membership of the Church of England ensures absolute faith in either the truths of Christianity or the inspiration of the Bible ? We know, alas ! that even in the highest ranks of the clergy of the Church of England a spirit is abroad which is levelling a daring and bold attack on truths till recently held in the deepest reverence, whilst the outward observance of Church practices in no way guarantees that deep spiritual belief which we should like to see in those into whose hands we entrust the religious education of the young. For my part, I would rather see the children's religious faith entrusted to an earnest, spiritually-minded Nonconformist than to a member of the Church of England whose religious faith consists mainly in a belief in a mechanical value of the Sacraments. While I would not for a moment deny that members of the Church of England have a rich and precious heritage which cannot be equalled by that of any other Communion, still I believe the essentials of faith are not the peculiar property of either Churchmen or Nonconformists, but rather the common possession of both. Those who are contending with such heat as to the absolute necessity of religious tests do not, perhaps, reflect sufficiently how slight is our guarantee as to the religious faith of those who occupy the position of teachers in our great public schools as well as in the secondary schools of the country. We trust, and I think our confidence is not misplaced; that in all these schools both the men and women who are employed to teach are, in the main, actuated by religious convictions, but we have no guarantee, and we take it on faith. We are, I think, not unwarranted in doing so if we may judge from the results as seen in the men and women who have passed through these seminaries and institutions.

Earnestly, therefore, as we must always desire that the teacher should be impressed with the deep religious importance of the truths he is called upon to impart, I think we must look for our guarantee in other quarters. By seeking to raise the spiritual life of the nation, and by fostering in every conceivable way earnest religious work amongst all classes, we shall secure better than by any tests the provision of teachers to whom a belief in Christianity is the most

precious possession in their lives, and to whom it will be not only a duty but a privilege to impart it to the young. Religious tests have always been odious to the nation ; they have never operated in the manner desired ; all they do is to secure a perfunctory compliance, and they tend to be destructive of the very religious life which those who impose them seek to ensure.

What, then, should be the line adopted by Evangelical clergymen on this question ? Should they continue to insist on the Church's claims, which we have shown to be of the most slender description ; or should they, in view of the danger of seeing the Government driven through the attitude of small but noisy groups into secular education, throw all the weight of their influence into the scale of that system termed 'undenominationalism,' which, on examination, is found to contain all that is requisite for bringing up children in the faith and fear of God ? Nay, whatever our fancied rights and claims, must we not, in the interests of Protestantism, welcome a change which safeguards the rising generation from Romanism ? There can be no doubt as to the answer to these questions ; and if we further consider the thousands of children who come from homes where entire godlessness prevails, I feel sure we shall not for a moment jeopardise the maintenance of religious teaching in our schools.

One word with regard to which of the two great parties in the State is the most likely to give effect to those principles dear to our hearts, and which consequently we should do well to support. What we desire above all things in education is religion without sacerdotalism.

Religion is vital to a nation, but religion unaccompanied by that freedom of thought which Protestantism secures is a curse and not a blessing. To those who, like myself, place the maintenance of Protestantism before every other consideration, it must be a matter of satisfaction to feel that the solution of the educational problem is in the hands of a Liberal Government, and for this reason : The Liberal party derives all its strength and its support from those sources which are Protestant in essence and instinct. Built up on that Nonconformity of which the right of private judgment is the principle which has called it into existence, it is bound to stand for freedom of thought, for independence of clerical control, and for liberty of mind and action. The forces which maintain the Liberal party in power are of such a nature that, no matter what temptations might present themselves to a Liberal Government, they would be utterly unable to carry a measure which was reactionary and retrograde, and to those who view Catholic mediævalism in that light such a fact must be a matter of intense satisfaction. There are those amongst Protestants whose main objection to the Liberal Government lies in the fact that they believe that the temptation to that party to grant a measure of Home Rule to Ireland is one to which

they are bound to succumb, and they fear that such a measure would be a triumph to Romanism in that country. Whether that would be the result is, perhaps, an open question, but, at any rate, it is a temptation from which their large majority has saved them. Temptations of some kind will, in our system of party government, always assail ministries, and may lead at times to a weak pandering to forces from whom a temporary support may be gained. Neither of the two great parties in the State can claim absolute immunity from conduct which has discredited their tenure of power. Both have at times sought alliances which are at variance with their principles, but that a permanent union could ever be effected between two such irreconcilable principles as those represented by Roman Catholicism and Nonconformity is an unthinkable proposition. The Tory party, on the other hand, have in all the history of the past been allies of the Church. The Church is their greatest electioneering agency, but an alliance which half a century ago might have been harmless is now disastrous to our Protestant faith. The Oxford movement has but too surely done its work, Romanising influences have spread, and it is to a Church permeated with Ritualism that the Tory party is allied, and whose interests it is serving. The Tory party, when in power, dares not alienate the Church, and will never pass any measure calculated to check its influence.

There is one fact, however, that cannot fail to strike one with astonishment, and which inevitably leads one to the conclusion that the Evangelical party in the Church are not considering their best interests in identifying themselves so closely with the Tory party. Why is it that the Evangelical party in the Church exercise so little influence in curbing and checking its sacerdotal instincts, in consequence of which an alliance with the Church means practically an alliance with extreme High Churchism, and a promotion of every measure which tends towards clerical control? Why is it that the Evangelical party, numerically strong even in the ranks of the clergy, and preponderating vastly amongst the laity, are nevertheless looked upon as a negligible quantity, ignored and set aside, and to all intents and purposes might be non-existent, as far as arresting the growth of sacerdotalism and all its attendant evil?

Why is it that, in the bestowal of Crown patronage, the Evangelical clergy are ignored? The utmost that is ever done for their cause (and this is mainly the case when agitation proceeding from the more extreme Protestants has made itself felt) is here and there the promotion of some man termed Moderate, whose moderation is generally proved by his turning a blind eye to immoderate practices, and a cold shoulder to any man who has evening Communion, or in any way makes a stand for Evangelical principles. If we survey the patronage of the Crown or the Bishops during the last twenty years, we might name almost on the fingers of one hand the promotion of

the men who can really be set down as Evangelical. The consequence of this perpetual trend in the bestowal of patronage is that the ranks of the Evangelical clergy are getting more and more denuded of men of the first rank in ability and power. Men of this character find that the path to distinction lies in other directions, and, without reflection on their motives, it cannot but be noted that such an impression acts and reacts on the supply. And why is all this? The reason is to be found in the want of determination of the Evangelicals themselves; in their refusal to face the situation as it really is; in their blind adherence, in all critical junctures, to that section of the Church whose object it is to crush them out, and to that party in the State which has from time immemorial identified itself with High Church ideals. Tory Governments and the High Church party are the determined opponents of Evangelicalism, and the unwavering supporters of the principle of authority in the Church. As long as Evangelicals fail to see this and raise no loud voice in favour of the principles in which they believe, even if their maintenance involves a support of the Liberal party, so long will they be merely used as cats'-paws by their opponents. With a fidelity worthy of a better cause, they stick to those who have traditionally been the allies of the Church, and with a patience and hope beyond all praise, but melancholy in its futility, they wait for deliverance at the hands of those whose interest it is to annihilate them. In supporting the Tory and High Church party, they do not see that they are committing political suicide, and bringing about their own extinction. They are leaving it to Nonconformity to represent the living and growing forces in the country, they are dooming the Church they love to become the exponent of principles which, it is true, will always command a certain following in every country, but which, as they do not contain in themselves the seeds of life and progress, will, as the world advances in education and knowledge, be more and more repudiated by thinking people.

The day of sacerdotalism is past and gone. It has a kind of halo around it, but it is that of departing glory. Not all the impressive splendour and magnificence with which the art and wealth of man can invest the sanctuaries of worship can compensate for the lack of those heart-spoken words of life-giving truth which are often to be heard in some unadorned tabernacle. Men want reality in these days, and will not be put off with meretricious trappings which conceal the void within. And if this is so, we must rejoice that a measure which, like the Education Act, is so intimately connected with the religious life of the nation, should be in charge of the party whose past history and present character affords a guarantee that clericalism forms no part of its policy. It is the victory of religious freedom that has been won in the recent elections. But if we rejoice over this, it is, on the other hand, sad to reflect that the Evangelical section

of our Church should have had no share in achieving it. The victory has been won, but not by them. In fact, instead of being glad to participate in the results, they look upon them as a defeat which they have sustained, and fail to realise that the principles they hold dear are vindicated thereby. They will not believe in the possibility of an alliance between themselves and the Nonconformists, although both of them are equally the champions of Evangelical truth, and both of them are equally opposed to the growing tendencies in the English Church.

A glimpse into the inner council of Nonconformity reveals to the thoughtful observer the existence of qualities for which a true lover of the country can only thank God and take courage. A sense is experienced as of intercourse with men of deep and earnest religious instincts, of grit and fibre, of burning zeal and intense reality; men inspired by a conviction that religious truth is the one thing worth living for; men ready to welcome all means and all methods, so that they could bring souls to Christ; men, moreover, so nearly allied in all fundamental truths to our Evangelical clergy, who are so nobly and so patiently keeping alight the flame in our own Church, that a feeling of unutterable sorrow is felt that, where so much is at stake and so much practical agreement exists, these two forces should not be allied under one banner. Both could gain from each other. We in our Church want something of the unconventionality and warmth of Nonconformity; they want some of the dignity which is the inheritance of an ancient Church.

But, to fuse the two, our Evangelical clergy need to realise that it is through Liberalism and an acceptance of Liberal measures that it must come. These are, I believe, the future hope of our country. If a personal element can be allowed in an article of this kind, and I be taunted with a new-found faith in the Liberal creed, I would only reply that Tory democracy was an effort to inoculate the Tory party with Liberal ideas. The genius of one man made it successful for one brief moment, but with the death of the beloved founder Toryism has reverted to its ancient faith, to its class prejudices and worn-out ideals. I believe that in the future it will be found that to look for Liberal legislation from the Tory party will be a constant delusion and disappointment, and that it is from the Liberal party alone that we may hope for the vindication of those principles of which religious freedom is the greatest.

CORNELIA WIMBORNE.

*RANDOLPH CHURCHILL**A PERSONAL RECOLLECTION* *

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL will long remain a picturesque figure in our Parliamentary history. Parliamentarians, like actors, live but a brief hour in national regard. They have their day of exaggerated lime-lit publicity ; they move us to tears and laughter, to anger and applause, ' and then are heard no more.' Not half a dozen names are likely to survive the present century of all our great Victorian statesmen. Peel, Disraeli, Gladstone, Salisbury, Parnell—who shall predict a permanent name for any other ? Beyond these I see no candidate for any kind of fame among the last generation of our public men more likely of acceptance by posterity than Churchill, though he achieved nothing of value, imposed upon the country no new policy, hardly a new political idea, and was never even that ephemeral thing—Prime Minister. His life has just been written by his son in two volumes of extraordinary interest. They are a monument of filial piety and, what is more, of vivacious and honourably veracious literary skill, and as such I recommend them without stint of praise to serious readers—indeed to all readers, even to those who care about emotion more than truth, for both are there. Mr. Winston Churchill is essentially his father's son, and his sudden appearance as a leading player on the stage of Parliamentary politics adds an actuality to the ' Life ' which almost raises its interest to that of an autobiography. The dead man ' that we knew, and so many of us loved, seems in its pages new risen from the dead and to be telling his own story in his own familiar, irresponsible way.

So much for the book. I would like to say a few words, in supplement to it, of the man and his opinions—the man as I remember him some twenty and more years ago, in the full vigour of his audacious youth, the two years which immediately preceded his overthrow of Gladstone—for it was Randolph alone that did it—and his first eight months of office under Salisbury, and of the General Election of 1885. During this his most brilliant epoch I was very closely connected with him and knew most of his political secrets, and came to regard him with that personal affection which his own affectionate nature

exacted and obtained so freely from his friends. After the Home Rule shattering of the English parties I saw him less, but, when we did meet, it was always still with pleasure, and to the last our familiar relations remained unchanged. I desire the more to do this because there are certain points connected with his opinions of the time I speak of which, in spite of his biographer's general accuracy, require correction—or at least expansion—if we are to understand them rightly. One facet of his opinions—that which should give his view of Eastern politics—is hardly shown us in the 'Life'; while another, with his Irish Home Rule leanings, errs through the writer's very pardonable desire to give greater consistency to his father's public action, and to the point of conveying a false impression, as I think, of his real attitude. On both these matters, and perhaps some others, I believe it is in my power to throw new light, and in a way that should be interesting at this moment.

The first time I had any personal intercourse with Lord Randolph was in the early spring of 1883. Without being myself in Parliament, I was at that time much mixed up with House of Commons politics, and knew most of the prominent members on both sides of the House, including Mr. Parnell and one or two others of the Irish leaders. My interest in public questions was connected mainly with the affairs of Egypt, which, it will be remembered, had for a year past been engaging English attention and were still wholly engrossing my own. During the war, just ended so pitifully at Tel-el-Kebir, I had been in violent sympathy with the Egyptians, and afterwards, in the autumn of 1882, I had taken a prominent part in organising the defence of Arabi and his fellow 'rebels,' who had been put on trial for their lives by the puppet Prince whom, in the interests of cosmopolitan finance, Mr. Gladstone, by a singular aberration of his political conscience, had restored to irresponsible power at Cairo. The prisons had been filled there with all that was most liberal and enlightened in native patriotism, and the death of their leaders had been resolved on. With infinite pains, and at no small cost in money, I and a few friends, with the powerful assistance of the late Mr. Chenery, then Editor of the *Times*, had succeeded in forcing Mr. Gladstone's hand and securing first a fair trial for the vanquished patriots, and secondly their practical acquittal through a compromise come to with Lord Dufferin, which included, among other concessions, the verbal promise of a general political amnesty. In this humane work I had been seconded to some extent in Parliament by members of the Fourth Party, including Churchill, who had generously subscribed 50*l.* to the Arabi Defence Fund. He had been kept from the House of Commons during the whole earlier session of 1882 by illness, and I had not as yet had the good fortune of securing his personal help. I have often thought that, but for the accident of his illness when the Egyptian crisis came, the whole trouble and discredit of the war might

have been prevented, for it needed nothing but a powerful and persistent voice in Parliament to deter Mr. Gladstone from an enterprise so strangely at variance with his life-long teaching. Now, however, a new need of protest had arisen. It had happened—as I believe always happens when amnesties are granted to vanquished rebels—that the promised immunity had been in practice violated. Prominent Egyptians involved in the late events had been once more arrested on a pretext of 'crime against the common law,' had been condemned by corrupt judges under Khedivial pressure, and in more than one instance had been hanged. Lord Dufferin, his mission ended, had turned his back on Egypt, and no local protection was any more to be had. It was an urgent necessity, if these black doings were to be stopped, that the Home Government should be at once subjected to vigorous and even violent remonstrance; and in my anger I turned to Churchill as the one man capable of dealing in Parliament effectively with the case. The difficulty of finding a champion lay in the fact that nearly all true sympathy with Egyptian liberty, Irish members apart, was to be found on the Government side of the House—the Tories were solid for annexation—and that for the success of our cause a personal attack on Gladstone by some prominent English member should at once be made. Mr. Gladstone in his younger days had denounced the State crimes of Bourbon-rule in Naples, with its arrests, imprisonments, and sanguinary political punishments. It was needed now that some one should stand up in the House and remind him of his more reputable past, and shame him from the countenance his Government was giving to the same State crimes in Egypt. None of his own supporters in the Liberal ranks dared quite do this. But Randolph Churchill was on foot once more, in his place below the gangway, and, as I was told, 'spoiling for a fight.' To him in my new need I turned as the one knight-errant on whom I could quite rely.

I like to remember Lord Randolph as I then first saw him one afternoon in March when, by appointment, I met him to discuss the situation at some rooms in the Strand, where a chess tournament was going on. Chess was one of his few hobbies, and he had asked me to meet him there. At the time of which I speak he was, with no very regular features, a distinctly good-looking young man, smartly dressed, and with a certain distinction of manner which marked him from the common herd. He was of ordinary height—by no means the dwarf his caricatures suggest—well-built and well set up, his face a pleasant one, eyes full of intelligence though rather *à fleur de tête*, while his mouth, overhung with a strong moustache curling up above his cheeks, gave an aggressive tone to his countenance it would not otherwise have had. In colour he was then, as always, rather pale, with a look of ill-health which later increased from year to year, a symptom of the constitutional weakness of which he so prematurely died. There was no lack, however, as yet of vitality in his

movements or gestures. On the contrary, it was just the vital force in him which was the chief attraction, and the frank irresponsibility in all he did and said. He had a schoolboy's carelessness of phrase, even in his most serious talk, with now and then a mischievous smile, altogether engaging. Indeed, it was difficult when conversing with him, even after he had become a Cabinet Minister, to regard him as a quite serious statesman—a glorified schoolboy rather, ready still to rob an orchard or tie a cracker to the headmaster's coat-tail. This simplicity of speech and pleasant humour, joined to a high-bred courtesy with strangers, made him a favourite especially with young men not only of his own class in England, while, as I afterwards found, it opened to him no less the doors of confidence in the minds of the many Orientals whom I brought to see him—minds usually suspicious of Englishmen and slow to reveal their thoughts. He had none of that arrogant coldness that so much repels them, nor again of that abruptness of address which is apt to frighten them, as birds are frightened at any too sudden movement. Such visitors never failed, after an interview with Churchill, to speak to me enthusiastically in his praise. To myself he was invariably charming. My somewhat romantic view of politics, so little like his own, attracted him, and my knowledge of the East, of which he was as yet ignorant; and, being some ten years his senior in age, I was able to inspire him almost from the beginning of our intercourse with new ideas enlarging his political horizon, and, as I have always been glad to think, encouraging him in the humarer paths of public virtue. To these he was already in a vague way inclined, and on the occasion of our first meeting I had no difficulty in persuading him to take up the Egyptian patriotic case, the more so because it gave him an opportunity for immediate action in Parliament most damaging to the Government. He found it a pleasant fancy, when I suggested it to him, that he should array himself in the Grand Old Man's Midlothian garments, left as it were outside a tavern-door, and preach to him to his face of 'righteousness and temperance and a judgment to come.'

Out of this first meeting sprang other meetings, sometimes at his house in Connaught Place, sometimes at my own in James Street, sometimes at the Carlton Club, of which we were both members. In all these I found him not only sympathetic, but wonderfully able in practical detail. Intellectually—his great oratorical powers apart—his was not perhaps a mind of the highest order, and he was somewhat deficient in education (he used such solecisms in writing as 'between you and I'), and on such points he was distinctly inferior to a much lesser man—his brother, the late Duke of Marlborough; but he had an astonishing vigour and alertness of thought, and that supreme practical gift of statesmanship—the power to dive at once into the heart of any question set before him, with the talent all eminent lawyers possess of dealing at the moment with facts strange to them and coming to an instant decision as to their value and how to make full use of them.

This faculty and facility sometimes indeed led him into carelessness, and at a very busy period of his life I remember his excusing himself to me with the plea, 'I have really no time to think now, except when I am on my legs and speaking.' In the spring of 1884, however, being comparatively at leisure, he spared himself no pains, and took incredible trouble to make himself acquainted with the smallest details of the Egyptian case. With Sir John Gorst's help on its legal aspects, and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's and mine, he plied the Government with questions of the most embarrassing kind in regard to their Egyptian responsibilities, and finally, after examining such few witnesses as I was able to bring to him from Egypt, drew up against the then Khedive a formal indictment for certain treacherous acts which the Government was afraid to investigate and which remains to this day unanswered. It had at least this practical effect for good: that, if it could not shame the Government into an open confession of its error, it obliged them to stop the iniquitous prosecutions and begin to set their Egyptian house in order. Churchill's furious assault in June was very closely followed by a diplomatic change at Cairo, by Sir Edward Malet's transference to another post and the appointment there of a new and more powerful broom in the person of Sir Evelyn Baring, now Lord Cromer. It is not a little to Churchill's credit that he remained, to the end of his life, faithful to the interest he had thus generously taken in Egyptian patriotism. I know it from himself that, a year later, the Khedive Tewfik sought in vain to obtain from him some few words which might be regarded as a withdrawal of the too true charges formulated against him, and that social pressure of no ordinary kind was put upon him in the highest quarters at home to get him to consent to the whitewashing diplomatically desired. But Churchill was not the man to yield to such influences, however alluring to his vanity, and held his position stoutly in spite of every blandishment.

This was the beginning of his interest in Eastern things. In the autumn of the same year 1883 I visited India under circumstances of a most peculiar and instructive kind. I had already paid India one visit, in Lord Lytton's time, as a viceregal guest, and had seen the outer aspects of our administration there in the way most travellers are accustomed to see them, through the optimistic spectacles provided for them by the Government officials. This time it was otherwise. My open sympathy with the Egyptian Revolution had made for me friends among those many distinguished Oriental exiles who, having fled from tyranny in their own Eastern lands, continue in Europe a propaganda of freedom impossible for them at home. 'Introductions from some of these threw open to me doors and hearts in India which are usually shut to Englishmen, and I was thus enabled in the course of a few months' winter touring to become acquainted with all that was most interesting in native discontent and aspiration,

which is so different from the Anglo-Indian official view. I became in consequence a convinced believer in the necessity of administrative reform for India on lines of native co-operation in government according to the Queen's Proclamation of 1859, and eventually of some form there, possibly, of Home Rule. With this aspect of Indian things I made Churchill acquainted on my return to England, and it inspired in him the wish himself to visit India. This he did in the winter of 1884-5, and I gave him letters to those of my new native friends there who I thought could help him to a just estimate of their case. He was always ready to seize on a large and generous idea and had a natural instinct for popular causes, and he had just published a wildly democratic manifesto of Home policy, so that I hoped he might include India in his plans of Tory democratic reform. Nor was I disappointed. He came back delighted with what he had seen and heard, and applauding the great intelligence and good sense of the natives, especially of the Mohammedans and Mahrattas. Lord Ripon's policy, he declared, was 'the only one to be pursued, though clumsily carried out.' He quite understood the financial difficulty which made it a necessity that the administration should be reformed and made more accessible in the higher posts for Indians. In fact he went with me in almost all my ideas, and with so little disguise that, at my suggestion, he agreed, Tory though he was, to second Mr. Slagg's most Radical motion for a Parliamentary inquiry into the Indian administration. It is worthy of remark that as late as the 3rd of June, 1885, he publicly declared Indian reform to have a place in the intended policy of the Conservative party—less, that is, than a week before the fall of Gladstone's Government and hardly more than three weeks before Churchill himself had taken office with Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State for India. In Mr. Winston Churchill's book there is nothing at all about his father's more liberal Indian views. But the dates of his speeches are before the world, and can easily be verified.

I have a personal reason for remembering Lord Randolph's ideas of just these last few weeks before he joined the Salisbury Cabinet. They proved the climax of his Liberal development, for it was then for the first time that he urged me to try for a seat in Parliament at the coming General Elections as his own special supporter. I had been much in doubt on which side to stand, or whether to stand at all, at the elections, for my opinions were in harmony with no party in the State, unless it might be that of Parnell and the Irish Nationalists. I was by birth and family connections a Conservative, and attached in England to old-fashioned ways. I have always considered an attachment to *tradition* in politics and the dislike of violent change to be the true test of Conservatism, and Conservative according to this rule I was. I was, however, at the same time essentially a Nationalist, and from the first had had a supreme contempt for the Brummagem

Imperialism foisted on the Tory party by Disraeli ten years before, and a hatred of the iniquitous wars all Imperialism entails. On this point I was at daggers drawn with the Whigs, who had everywhere shown themselves the worst enemies of liberty, and had of late shed blood in torrents on the Nile. It was impossible for me to support them, however remotely, even as the most anti-aggressionist of Radicals, for the very members of the Peace Society had gone shamelessly with Gladstone into the Egyptian campaign. It was natural, then, that I should turn to Randolph Churchill and do my best to see in him a Parliamentary saviour of society. I exercised, I knew, great influence over him, and I thought that, if once seated behind him in the House of Commons, I could keep him straight, at least in regard to foreign policy and perhaps to Ireland, where he was openly opposed to coercion and, as I knew, had secret Home Rule leanings.

On the 14th of April (I find in my diary) I had my first serious talk with him on the subject. I asked what being his supporter would bind me to, especially about Ireland, and what he understood by the term 'Tory Democracy.' I said that in Ireland I was a Nationalist, at which he made one of his odd faces and said I could not come forward as 'an avowed Nationalist,' but need not say much about it. 'Say you have wide opinions,' he said, 'on the Irish question. It will be enough, and when you are once in Parliament you can take your own line. You may vote with Parnell, if you like, on purely Irish questions.' As to Tory Democracy, he laughed, and said, 'You ask me to tell you in two words what it is. That is a question I am always in a fright lest some one should put to me publicly. To tell the truth, I don't know myself what Tory Democracy is, but I believe it is principally opportunism. Say you are a Tory Democrat, and that will do.' Later, when he was in office, I once asked him whether he had any practical scheme for bettering the condition of the poor, and he said, 'No; but Lord Salisbury has.' I do not take these off-hand sayings of his as altogether seriously meant. He had ideas, I do not doubt, on all such subjects, but as yet they were very vague, and he made it a rule only to work them out in his mind when they presented themselves to him in the form of a Bill or resolution laid before the House. His sympathy with the English working classes was very genuine, and so was his sympathy with Ireland.

In consequence of this first conversation, and at his suggestion, in order to make matters clearer, I drew up a paper which I have by me still—headed 'Memorandum of my Opinions. Am I a Tory Democrat?' and endorsed, 'Read by Randolph Churchill on the 7th of May, 1885, and in general terms approved by him.' The document is a curious one in many ways, and is interesting now as showing how far Churchill was then inclined to go on more than one subject of present discussion, including Tariff Reform—an idea he in common with many other Tories was already putting forward under the name of 'Fair Trade.'

We had found in India that the leading natives were in favour of import duties on manufactured goods which in the interests of Manchester had been abolished by the Whigs. Also it will be observed that our Irish Home Rule was to be of the widest kind, comparable to that of Hungary under the Austrian crown.

AM I A TORY DEMOCRAT?

With regard to English home politics I am prepared to support the Conservative party. That is to say, I desire no change in the existing constitution, or in the relations between Church and State. I am opposed to merely secular education. I am a strong supporter of the House of Lords. On the land question I should like to see any measure introduced which should make the acquisition of land easier for the mass of the people, believing this would be a popular, and in the truest sense a Conservative measure. I consider, however, that the principles of liberty and property are closely connected, and I am altogether opposed to the Radical views of State ownership in land.

I am inclined to favour the idea of special commercial advantages being given to the British Colonies and India; and I am anxious to see the union between the Colonies and the Empire preserved.

In India I am for large reforms in the direction of self-government, believing these to be absolutely necessary on financial and political grounds if India is to remain loyal.

So, too, in Ireland I am in favour of Home Rule. I consider it urgent to accept the principle of Nationalism, both for Ireland's sake and for England's. My motto would be 'Ireland for the Irish and England for the English.' The plan has succeeded in Hungary and Galicia in reconciling the Hungarians and Poles to the Austrian crown. Why not, therefore, in Ireland?

Foreign politics are my strongest ground. With regard to these I am quite clear in my opinion that what is required for England is a return to plain dealing and respect for international law. These have been grossly outraged during the last four years by Mr. Gladstone's Government, and it is we, with our complicated commercial interests in every part of the globe, that will eventually suffer from the example given. Our relations with the States of Europe should be based upon a recognition of the fact that our system of Parliamentary and popular government makes special alliances and secret treaties impossible. Our old-fashioned diplomacy, with its tortuous dealings, its equivocations and its concealments, is out of date and needs reform; and I would have the contrary to all these things introduced as a cardinal point of policy. As towards Europe, we should make the most of our insular position, increase our navy and protect our shores. But in Asia we cannot be insular, and we must submit to the conditions of Empire as long as India remains in our charge. In this view we need the alliance of the Mohammedan nations against Russia, and I am in favour of England accepting the full responsibility of her position as the heir of a great Mohammedan Empire. My quarrel with Mr. Gladstone's action in Egypt was not based on any principle of non-intervention, for I am not a non-interventionist, but because he intervened unjustly, unwisely, and in such a way as to alienate Mohammedan sympathies. I consider that a duty of reparation is required of England for the wrong done to the Egyptians, and I advocate a reconciliation with the Sultan and a restoration of the Egyptian National party. I need hardly say that I am in favour of immediate peace with the Soudan.

Lastly, I consider that justice, not mere expediency, should be the determining law of our conduct towards all nations. I am strongly adverse to the Manchester doctrine, which allows injustice to weaker nations in the interest of finance and trade, though not of military glory. I believe, on the contrary

that it is England's duty to protect weaker nations from injustice where they come in contact with her. Nor can I convince myself that a high standard of national morality is incompatible with the extremest Conservative principles. I believe, on the contrary, that much of what was best in the so-called 'Midlothian' doctrines has more real affinity to Tory than to Whig instincts; and I should be glad to see these adopted, now they have been discarded by the Radicals, as part and parcel of Conservative ideas. Truth, justice, liberty—these are great names, going at this moment in beggar's weeds about the world. Can these find an asylum in the new temple of Tory Democracy?

I find in my diary a note of my conversation with Churchill when three weeks later I brought this paper to him. It emphasises rather than limits his adhesion to it, and shows that about Ireland it did not frighten him to know that my proposal to stand as an extreme Tory Home Ruler had been referred by me to Parnell. I had seen Parnell the day before, and he had promised me the solid Irish vote in any English constituency I might stand for. 'Get Lord Randolph to nominate you,' Parnell had said, 'where there are Irish, and I will do all I can for you.' My journal of the 7th of May records: .

Randolph, when I saw him, talked over the matter of my going into Parliament. I told him of my conversation yesterday with Parnell, and showed him the paper I drew up a little while ago, headed 'Am I a Tory Democrat?' of which he approved as a possible basis of my joining his party, though he said of course he did not pledge himself to go with me on all points. He objected a little to my using the word 'Home Rule.' 'I know, of course,' he said, 'it must come to this; but we haven't educated the party up to it yet, and it would be better to use some vaguer expression.' Also, he thought the allusion to Midlothian was unnecessary, or I might have said 'if there was anything good in the Midlothian doctrines.' Nevertheless, he was pleased with the paper as a whole, and promised me all his support and gave me Middleton's (the Conservative agent's) address, and authorised me to tell him that he had sent me to arrange for a constituency, and that I should be of very great value to the Conservative party.

Such was the political Randolph shown me in our intimate talks towards the end of his Fourth Party days—a bright, amusing, mischievous, and very lovable personality. I used to meet him almost daily then, at the Carlton Club, and there is a pleasant entry in my journal that 'I found him there with Wolff and Gorst arrayed in primroses,' the 19th of April, the first regular Primrose Day. They were in high spirits, and wanted me to put one of their flowers in my button-hole, but I protested I must draw the line somewhere; it seemed to me too entirely comical that the aristocracy of England should be allowing themselves to be persuaded by them to worship, after his death, the old Jew statesman who had always laughed at them, and, of all things in the world, under the form of a primrose! They themselves, I remember, were hardly more serious about it than I was. Perhaps, however, I ought to add that afterwards, and notwithstanding my first protest, I became a 'Knight humbugger,'

or whatever else it was called, of the celebrated League; indeed, it may be that I am one still.

The glorious days of the Fourth Party, nevertheless, were already very near their close. On the 9th of June I had arranged with Churchill that I was to breakfast with him in Connaught Place, and bring with me the draft of an open letter I was to write him, accepting his programme of Conservative policy, especially about Egypt, as announced in a powerful speech he had just made. His speech had included the inquiry already mentioned into the administration of India, a sort of Home Rule for Ireland—at least, so I understood it—and, as regarded Egypt, the arrangement of matters there legally with the Sultan on the lines afterwards adopted by Lord Salisbury and entrusted for execution to the diplomacy of Drummond Wolff. This last item of the programme had been of my original suggesting, based on a visit I had paid the previous autumn to Constantinople, in the results of which Churchill had been greatly interested. On my arrival that morning at Connaught Place—a morning very memorable—I found him still in bed in a little room at the top of the house, for he had been kept up all the night by a great political event. Gladstone's Government had been beaten by a snap vote in Supply, ignobly, upon Beer! It meant their resignation. This he recounted to me with much pleasant glee, but without any undue self-glorification, and with a certain sobriety in his triumph which did him credit in my eyes. He told me as a great secret that, though a contrary announcement had been communicated to the Press, the Conservatives would take office. He had not at that time seen Lord Salisbury, and hardly knew his chief as yet to speak to. Neither did he know whether he would be offered a place in the Cabinet, but he counted on having a voice in Foreign Affairs. There would be no Coercion in Ireland. We then had a long talk about India, and especially about the affairs of Afghanistan, which were just then critical; and lastly we went through my open letter together. I read it out to him, and he told me he agreed with it *all*, but asked me to leave out the word 'Home Rule' in what I said about Ireland, and to insert as a qualifying phrase, '*than you are apparently yet prepared for.*' The whole paragraph about Ireland was therefore made to run thus: 'I am glad you have stated so clearly the Conservative policy, in nearly all of which I heartily agree, though on some points, such as Ireland, I have larger views than you are apparently yet prepared for.'

The letter was published some days later in the *Times* of the 12th of June with Churchill's full approval, and may therefore be taken, in connection with the memorandum already quoted, as showing that, though he was not then prepared to declare in public for Home Rule, there was none of that strong prepossession in his mind against it his biographer attributes to him. I do not doubt that to others of his friends he talked very differently from the way in which he

talked to me, and I know also that Parnell was not surprised when afterwards he took the violent line he did in opposition to the proposal of an Irish Parliament. But to me he never held such language or considered for an instant that my acceptance of it disqualified me from acting thoroughly with him. It was always with him a question of how far his party could be got to go. So too about India, and I fear much else. Though he began his term of office with the widest and most liberal ideas of reform, he soon fell into the official groove and let things be. He thought that he was manipulating the Indian Council and the permanent officials, but in reality these succeeded in manipulating him, and that was a main reason of his great popularity with them. Even in the matter of his admirable 'Retrenchment Budget,' when afterwards he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, though it shocked his colleagues in the Cabinet with their Tory traditions of expenditure, it must not be supposed that it shocked the Treasury clerks. These had been and are always for retrenchment, and the draft Budget enjoyed, I believe, their full approval. But that phase of Churchill's life is outside my personal knowledge, and I pass on.

Churchill took office with Lord Salisbury on the 23rd of June, and during the next four months I continued to see him frequently and pleasantly as before, most often at the India Office, where he now constantly was. I find an interesting note of the first visit I paid him there on the 30th of that month :

To London to see Randolph at the India Office. He had just been attending his first Council, and seemed a little oppressed at the weight of work before him ; but he soon cheered up, and talked with his old frankness and fun about his plans. 'I am doing all I can now,' he said, 'of course, to humour the people in the Office and get them friendly. But they are very slow, and I see will prove obstructive. The Secretary of State, however, can always insist, if he chooses to have his own way, and I mean to have mine. We must do things by degrees. If I were to offer to re-open the question of the Civil Service examinations straight off' (a point he was keen on at that time in native interests) 'there would be a howl all over the Office. But I mean to carry the Queen's Proclamation into practice, and see that the natives get admitted into the Services. I can tell them that through you, but can do no more at present.'

After some more talk about India we went on to Egypt, and the memorandum of our conversation is interesting as revealing the genesis of the Drummond Wolff Mission which so nearly succeeded in settling the Egyptian question, with the Sultan's consent, on Home Rule lines under an English protectorate :

'I am very anxious,' he said, 'you should see Drummond Wolff without delay. Wolff is very keen to work in the way we want, and I am beginning to get Lord Salisbury round to our ideas. Lord Salisbury and I are on the best possible terms, like father and son,' he said with a queer smile. 'I told Lord Salisbury we should have to get rid of Tewfik the other day, and it quite

startled him. He never seems to have thought of it before. But I think he will come to it. We must do it little by little. My idea about Egypt is—only you must promise me you will not repeat it, for if it was to get about it would spoil everything—that Tewfik should be deposed by the Sultan and his son put up under English guardianship. We would then recall Arabi at first as a simple citizen; after, when we saw how it did, as Minister.'

I wish I had room for more quotations of this kind, for they abound in my journal of the time, and are all interesting as giving glimpses of Churchill's character. One only I will give, as it illustrates his unconventional, but at the same time most sensible, way of doing business. He had promised me to see certain native delegates sent from India, as representing the three Presidencies, to advocate advanced native views of a Home Rule kind. 'Moore's face,' I had written, 'was a picture when he told him of this decision; but in his light-hearted way Randolph would hear of no objection, and so it is settled.' Now two days later the interview was to take place, and I find the following account of it :

Randolph was quite charming, putting them at their ease at once. There was nobody else present but ourselves, and the face of the office messenger when he showed us in was even more comic than Moore's had been two days ago. The expression was exactly that of the old steward in the 'Mariage à la mode.' Mon Mahon Ghose did most of the talking, and he asked Randolph about the Parliamentary inquiry and what subjects it would include. Randolph said it would depend on them to make it a useful one. They must send over their very best men to give evidence, and take care they were absolutely accurate about facts, as there were plenty of old-fashioned people who did not want existing things disturbed, and who would pick holes where they could. He said Sivaprasad had informed him that a royal order to come to England would override caste difficulties, and that the Benares divines would decide it in this sense. But Chandavarkur objected to this that Benares could not lay down the law for the whole of India. Still he hopes it might have some effect. Mon Mahon Ghose wanted to know whether the inquiry would include the judicial system, as that was what was giving rise just now to most ill-feeling; and Randolph said that, if it depended on him it should. His colleagues had been most amiable about this inquiry, and if the Conservatives were in office the inquiry would be a full and impartial one. He was against members of the Government sitting on it; but those should be chosen who had most title to consider Indian affairs, independent men of all parties. He should support the inquiry whether in office or not. The inquiry would also include the revenue question. Ramaswami explained to him the enhancement grievance. He begged them to address him again on any special points they required to make known connected with their respective Presidencies; and at the end of three-quarters of an hour they went away, highly delighted.

About the same date I find allusions to his growing ill-health, which already alarmed me for him:

July 2.—I met Randolph just coming from the House at the door of the India Office, and walked with him up to his room. He looked fagged and ill, and complained of the stairs, though in truth it was only one flight, and not a steep one. He seemed quite exhausted.

And again :

August 28.—He is looking ill. Poor Randolph ! I fear that the attainment of his ambition, like the wasps with the honey-pot, will be his death.

With the approach of the General Election of 1885, which had been fixed for the latter half of November, I saw Churchill less. I was busy with my own canvassing as a Tory Home Ruler at Camberwell, and he was away electioneering all the country over. It was a time for him of unsparing activity, and when I saw him on the 11th I noted that 'he looked ten years older than when he had taken office' five months before. This was the last I saw of him in quite our old familiar way as political allies. In another fortnight the elections had been fought and lost and won. I had myself been defeated, though by 162 votes only, and the Conservative party were in a minority, even counting the Irish, in the new House. Still, the position was doubtful, as it was not known which, if either, party would adopt Home Rule. Lord Salisbury had declared against coercion, and Lord Carnarvon, as Viceroy of Ireland, had had secret meetings with Parnell of an amicable kind. On the other hand, Chamberlain was known to have schemes of some half-way house to Home Rule. Nobody suspected Mr. Gladstone himself of a Parnellite alliance.

On the 4th of December I again saw Churchill and found him in a very doubtful mood. His experience of the elections, in spite of the vote given by the Irish, had proved to him that the Tory party were far from being favourable to Home Rule, and he reproached me a little for having declared myself about it so openly, attributing to this, and I think justly, my defeat at Camberwell. He nevertheless expressed himself very strongly in favour of my going on with him politically, assuring me that there would be a new dissolution in a few months, and that I could not do better than stick to the constituency I had so nearly won. I was loth to renew the contest, having been much disgusted with the ignominy of electioneering and the waste of life it involved. Nor was I prepared to abate a jot of my declaration in favour of an Irish Parliament. But I ended by consenting to his request that I should continue at Camberwell as the Tory Home Rule candidate, and he promised that I should not be neglected at the Conservative headquarters, and wrote a note on the spot in this sense to Middleton. I left him on this understanding; nevertheless, half-distrustfully. His instincts were good, but he had already belied in public much of what I knew to be his private views. Wolff's mission to Constantinople and Egypt was at a standstill, through a failure, as I thought, to take the right steps to obtain the Sultan's adhesion to a really liberal plan of self-government. Home Rule, I feared, would be dropped like a hot potato, and in his own India Office Churchill

had already disappointed me. In spite of his brave words about having his own way, his Council had proved too much for him. He had declared, indeed, before Parliament had adjourned, for an Indian inquiry, but at the same time he had violently attacked Lord Ripon for the very policy I knew him to approve. Above all, he had consented to the aggression on Burmah, and with a gay heart had deposed King Thebaw and decreed the annexation of his dominions to the Indian Empire. I doubted whether there would be much to choose, on the points of policy which interested me most, between the two English parties, even with Churchill as the Tory leader. We parted, therefore, in much kindness, but on my side in much doubt; and to emphasise my adherence to my own principles, whatever my party might decide, I wrote to Parnell congratulating him warmly on his victories at the elections.

A few days later, the 17th of December, the die was finally cast. Gladstone, without any warning, issued his first kite in favour of Home Rule. At once I wrote to Churchill asking what now was to be done. I have his answer dated the 26th of December. It was short and decisive. 'It is out of the question,' he wrote. 'If you want Home Rule, you must go to Mr. Gladstone; we cannot touch it.' This was the end. By the middle of January he had agreed to Coercion, and a month later was away in Ulster rousing the Orangemen of Belfast to a revolt in favour of the Union even to the point of civil war. 'Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right.' And we met no more as political friends. Though I was grieved at his defection, it was nevertheless without bitterness. I knew how essential to him was his ambition, and he had never made parade to me of more political virtue than he possessed. Nor, I think, was any other view of his *volte-face* taken by the rest of those to whom he had confided his Home Rule proclivities. To one of the leaders of the Irish party, who told me of it at the time, he excused himself as having 'done all he could for the Nationalists, but, now that he had failed to carry his party with him, he was obliged to do all he could against them.' Parnell's words about him to me, on the 24th of February 1886, expressed the general Irish opinion; and they were spoken good-naturedly, not in anger. 'The young scoundrel!' he said. 'We never believed in him—at least, I never did. And we got more out of him last year than ever he got out of us.'

Of Churchill in his later days I have little to say which is worth telling here. I ceased to frequent the Carlton Club, and for a long while lost all physical sight of him. I continued to follow his career with interest, and to hope that at heart he remained true to principles he openly disavowed. His famous 'Budget of Retrenchment' when he became Chancellor of the Exchequer was wholly in accordance with our common ideas, and proved that, after all, he was no mere hunter of ambition. Had he not been thrust out of his party, and had he lived,

I do not doubt that he would have saved them from the many blunders of selfish and unpopular legislation which, under other guidance, they have committed, and from the impotent slough in which they now ignominiously lie. But he had not the patience to be a successful teacher of such dull pupils in the paths of successful democracy. From hostile camps we viewed each other still, as I know, with friendly feelings, and on the subject of Egypt I occasionally heard from him. Once, on his way back from the Upper Nile in 1891, he paid me a visit at my country home near Cairo. He was then almost entirely out of politics, but for that all the more delightful a companion. One final scene I will recall, which proved to be our last farewell, when he was already a death-stricken man. He had written to tell me that he much desired to see me, that he had something of importance to say, and asking me to call on him at his mother's house in Grosvenor Square. I went and found him at the hour he had named, and he received me in something of his old pleasant way and began to talk in his usual voice. He had not gone far, however, before I perceived that illness had pitifully impaired his power of speech. He grew distressed, and was visibly battling with an incontinence of tongue he had lost the power to control. He more than once recommenced his sentences, but always to no purpose, and at last he broke down utterly. With a heartrending gesture, half-anger, half-despair, he took my hand and led me to the door, exclaiming as we parted, 'I had a thing I wished so much to tell you, but I cannot say it—by God! I cannot say it.'

This is my testimony in regard to this most interesting of public men—a man of truly large and generous ideas, possessed of all the qualities of sympathy and eloquence which should have made him the greatest popular leader of our time, but, as I think, condemned to failure from the first by the accident of his connection with a party not rightly his own. I am glad that Lord Randolph's son should have taken up his father's quarrel. I am glad, as a matter of poetic justice, that he should have fleshed at Manchester his sword to such good purpose in the carcass of his father's enemy, the old Tory party he sought to educate in the way of better things, and which had turned on him and cast him out. Mr. Winston Churchill has indeed 'hewed Ammon hip and thigh from Aroer on Arnon unto Minnith.' I am rejoiced, as one rejoices always at a blood-vengeance long delayed—on fools.

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

THE progress of civilisation in the world has, if we except India, China, and Japan, been, on the whole, from East to West, beginning, say, in Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, and moving gradually westward through Asia Minor and Greece to Italy, and on to France, Germany, and England. The great mercantile cities have risen in a somewhat similar series. Babylon itself, Tyre and Sidon, Sardes and Smyrna, Athens, Venice, Genoa, and now London, have been successively pre-eminent in the world of commerce and finance.

In the last century a new Power has sprung up, that of the United States ; and it is impossible not to ask ourselves whether England, France, and Germany are destined in their turn to be eclipsed.

It is, of course, a mistake to compare any one of these countries with the United States as a whole. The area of the United States is 3,550,000 square miles, and that of Great Britain 121,000 only ; about equal to that of the one State of New York. The area of Europe, as a whole, is about 3,800,000 square miles, and the statistics of the United States of America should therefore be compared not with individual States of Europe, but with Europe as a whole.

Moreover, the United States have still enormous areas of virgin soil, which are capable of maintaining far more than their present population. We must then expect, we ought to hope, that the wealth and commerce of America will make immense progress in the future. At present the population of Europe is much greater—say, four times as large as that of the United States ; but we may look forward with confidence to a time when the population of the United States will equal, if not exceed, that of Europe.

No reasonable man, therefore, can expect that the commerce of America and that of Europe will retain their present proportions. Prophecies are dangerous, but it would seem as if it were certain that the population and wealth of America must grow more rapidly than those of Europe.

That they should do so will be no injury ; on the contrary, it will be an advantage, to Europeans. The real question which concerns us is not whether we shall continue to make as rapid material progress as

America—that cannot reasonably be expected—but whether we shall continue to make satisfactory progress in literature, science, commerce, and, in fact, in the various elements which combine to make up the comfort, happiness, character, and in one word the civilisation, of a people. The future of Europe will depend on many conditions which it would be impossible to discuss within the limits of an article, and I will only call attention to two aspects of the problem.

In the first place, most European countries raise against themselves artificial barriers to progress by their protective duties. This does not, indeed, apply to us, or to one or two other European countries—Holland, for instance.

But though the United States have unfortunately for themselves adopted a protective and retrograde policy as regards the outside world, yet between the States themselves, from Canada on the north to Mexico on the south, absolute Free Trade prevails. The logic is not apparent. Why is it wise to have Free Trade from Massachusetts to California, and from Maine to Texas, and then draw the line? If heavy duties against Canada and Great Britain benefit New York, why not against California? Protective duties are not adopted for the sake of revenue. Revenue from customs duties is quite compatible with Free Trade. Excise duties are a most important part of our national income. Still, as between the States in the Union, Free Trade exists, to their great advantage. It is the greatest Free-Trade area in the world. On the other hand, the States of Europe have built up against one another a complex and mischievous network of duties which are most injurious, and a serious impediment to progress. Fiscal wars are only less fatal than military wars. This is fully borne out by the contents of a recent Blue-book.¹ The most important cases of retaliation in recent years have been the tariff wars between France and Switzerland, Germany and Russia, and France and Italy.

In July 1903, Lord Lansdowne instructed our representatives at Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Berne to furnish reports summarising 'the history of these conflicts, and indicating their origin, duration, and final results, both upon the tariffs of the two contending countries, and in the increase or decrease of the trade between them.'

The result is a most instructive series of reports—two from Paris, one each from Rome, Berne, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, collected in a Blue-book—which ought certainly to serve as a warning, and which brings out clearly that in tariff wars, as in others, the only question is which of the two combatants will suffer the more.

As regards the Franco-Swiss fiscal war, our representative at Paris reports that it resulted in heavy losses on both sides, and 'that the trade relations between France and Switzerland have not even yet recovered their prosperity of thirteen years ago.' The Franco-

¹ *Report on Tariff Wars between certain European States*, Cd. 1938, 1904.

Italian war tells the same tale. The results of this tariff war, says our ambassador at Paris (Sir E. Monson), were 'as disastrous as those arising from the [fiscal] war between France and Switzerland.'

Lastly, the Russo-German tariff war had just the same effect. It was acute, but did not last long, for the state of matters became intolerable—'the sharpness of the lesson which it taught helped to render both parties more ready to come to terms'; and Sir Frank Lascelles, our ambassador at Berlin, expressed the hope 'that in future the danger of a rupture may perhaps be diminished by the experience gained. . . . The lessons then learnt may help to remind both countries of the loss which such a war entails.'²

Let us hope that France, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, and Germany may profit by their dearly bought experience.

'Retaliation' is seriously recommended to us as a general policy in substitution for Free Trade. I trust that every one who is inclined to support it will 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest' this most interesting and instructive Blue-book.

The fiscal problem is, indeed, one of the most important which Europe can study; and the second consideration to which I wish to call attention is equally pressing. A change in the present military policy of Europe is absolutely necessary; is, indeed, a *sine qua non*, not only if progress is to be made, but if disaster is to be avoided.

The future of any country depends upon many things—on the energy and industry, the prudence and character of its people. So far as the energy and industry of our countrymen are concerned, I see no cause for uneasiness. I wish I was as satisfied with reference to prudence and economy. In ten years we have increased our national expenditure by 70,000,000*l.*, and our local expenditure also by 70,000,000*l.*, making a total increase of 140,000,000*l.*

In the same period our military and naval expenditure has risen in round numbers 50,000,000*l.* Yet Lord Roberts, recently at Liverpool,³ repeating and emphasising what he said six months previously in the House of Lords, told us that

our armed forces as a body were as absolutely unfitted and unprepared for war as they were in 1899. You will not suppose I committed myself to such a statement without being deeply concerned of its truth; and I repeat it to you now with equal conviction and with the fullest sense of the dangers it implies.

He substituted, indeed, the words 'the nation' for the phrase 'the armed forces as a body,' his reason being 'that these words have been represented as implying that the tactical lessons of the war have not been taken to heart by the regular army—an entirely erroneous idea, and one which I had no wish to convey.'

² *Report on Tariff Wars between certain European States*, Cd. 1938, 1904, p. 77.

³ *The Times*, January 30, 1908.

⁴ *Ibid.*, January 30, 1908.

Now in 1898-9⁵ our naval and military expenditure was 44,000,000*l.*, and in 1904-5 was 65,000,000*l.* (apart from extra receipts), which would make a large addition. If we are no better prepared, what has become of the 21,000,000*l.*?

Even in 1898-9 our military and naval expenditure was 4,000,000*l.* more than in the preceding year.

But this is not all; we have the curious fact, to which attention has been called by Sir C. Dilke,⁶

that we spend a large amount of money upon military services through votes of the Imperial Parliament borne upon Civil Service Estimates. The Foreign Office have military forces in Uganda indistinguishable from forces paid for from Army Estimates in Central Africa, and wholly different in their nature from mere military police. They are commanded by army officers lent to the Foreign Office for that purpose. The Colonial Office have the West Africa Frontier Force, similarly disciplined and commanded; and the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Under Secretary of State for War have at various times informed the House of Commons, in reply to pressure exercised by questions, that it must be computed that the country maintains from 20,000 to 25,000 men, costing about a million a year—men who are paid for and money which is borne on Civil Service Estimates. The figures in detail are not yet very accurately ascertainable. The largest and most costly portion of our forces borne on Civil Estimates, the West Africa Frontier Force, is quite new, and although its strength is settled, its average yearly cost is not yet well known.

Moreover, he continues:⁷

The services of the Egyptian Army, largely officered by British officers, must be looked upon as being in part available for the maintenance in the Soudan of a British supremacy in a British sphere of influence, and I am making no allowance for the cost of the Egyptian Army.

Our real forces in the event of a serious war are also swelled by the levies of some British Protectorates under the Foreign Office, such as Zanzibar, of which again I take no account.

I have tried to exclude everything that is intangible and take what is definite alone. But it is necessary to mention these additional forces and charges and to bear them in mind.

These facts strongly support Mr. Balfour's contention that we are practically safe from attack.

It is evident, of course, that the force each nation requires depends greatly on that of other countries. Now the increase in our armaments has been far greater than in those of France or Germany—indeed, double those of France and Germany put together. France is friendly and peaceful. Germany has nothing to gain which could possibly recompense her for the enormous risk of a war with us. Putting aside all other considerations, it would, indeed, be an act of madness.

The danger of any attack on our Indian frontier is obviously much reduced, if not removed, by recent events. But though other

⁵ *Stat. Abs.* 1905, p. 11.

⁶ 'The Defence Expenditure of the Empire.' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1900, p. 413.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

European countries have not increased their armaments so much as we have, yet their expenditure is very great, and in striking contrast with that of the United States of America.

It is, indeed, difficult, not to say impossible, to compare exactly the forces or expenditure of different countries.

The different conditions of military service, the divisions into Regular army, Militia, Volunteers, Reserves, Landwehr, on the one hand, and the different modes of keeping the accounts on the other, interpose insuperable difficulties, and the comparison can only be approximate. This is, however, the less material as the contrast is so enormous.

The United States of America have 107,000 men in their Army and Navy, costing 40,000,000*l.* We, in the disunited States of Europe, have some 4,000,000 men on our so-called 'peace' establishment, and spend annually over 250,000,000*l.*

The population of the United States is about 90,000,000, that of Europe about 350,000,000. With, in round numbers, about four times the population, we have, therefore, forty times the number of men under arms.

The following table shows the military and naval forces of the United States and the so-called 'peace' establishment of the principal States of Europe :

Country	Men under Arms	Annual Cost
United States	107,000	40,000,000
<i>Europe :</i>		
United Kingdom	420,000	65,000,000*
Russia	1,150,000	46,500,000
Germany	661,000	48,800,000
France	620,000	41,000,000
Austria-Hungary	884,000	19,400,000
Italy	805,900	17,000,000
Spain	100,000	6,700,000
Norway and Sweden	78,000	5,500,000
Turkey	970,000	4,800,000
Holland	85,000	3,650,000
Portugal	84,000	2,600,000
Belgium	50,000	2,500,000
Switzerland	148,000	1,800,000
Greece	28,000	1,200,000
Denmark	14,000	1,200,000
Bulgaria	48,000	1,000,000

The number of men on the 'war' establishment, all of whom are taken for some part of the time from their peaceful avocations, is far greater, something, indeed, over 20,000,000.

* This is without the extra receipts or the amounts spent under Fortification and other Acts.

In fact, on one side of the Atlantic are the United States of America, on the other a number of separate States, not only not united, but in some cases hostile, torn by jealousies and suspicions, hatred and ill-will ; armed to the teeth, and more or less encumbered like mediæval knights by their own armour. Patriotism—national feeling—is a great quality, but there is something, if not nobler, at any rate wider and more generous, in the present state of the world more necessary, and yet unfortunately much rarer, and that is international good feeling. .

Happily, however, of late years a strong conviction has been growing up, both here and on the Continent, that efforts should be made to create better relations between the nations of Europe.

This is no mere matter of sentiment, and when I say mere matter of sentiment I do not intend to undervalue sentiment, but use the word 'mere' to imply that it is no matter of sentiment only. No ; it is a matter of absolute necessity, as we shall find out sooner or later, and the sooner the better for us all.

We talk of foreign nations, but in fact there are no really foreign countries. The interests of nations are so interwoven, we are bound together by such strong, if sometimes almost invisible threads, that if one suffers all suffer, if one flourish, it is good for the rest.

Moreover this is especially true of England. We have immense investments all over the world ; our merchants are in all lands ; we have built the railways and gasworks in almost every country. It would have a melancholy interest if we could calculate how much the Russo-Japanese war has cost us. It is said that in Argentina our investments amount to more than 50,000,000/.

The late Lord Derby once said that the greatest of British interests was peace. And so it is ; not merely that we should be at peace ourselves, but that other countries should be at peace also.

But if European nations are always carrying on what our Ambassador at Paris once called a series of pinpricks, the end is inevitable.

On the other hand, a better state of things is surely not beyond the range of possibilities. Only a few years ago the feeling between England and France was very bitter, owing mainly to newspaper articles doing fiends' work, and creating ill-will. Thanks to wiser counsels these misunderstandings have been cleared away, and a better and happier state of things exists. If any difference arises, we shall approach the question as friends, and I doubt not a satisfactory arrangement will be made.

More recently a similar estrangement, which, however, happily was not so acute or widespread, has been growing up between England and Germany.

The strong desire for a better feeling gave rise to the recent meeting in Westminster, and the friendly sentiments there expressed have

met with a most cordial response on the other side of the water. At Berlin, at Cologne, at Frankfort, at Hamburg, at Munich and elsewhere—in fact at all the great commercial centres of Germany, meetings have been held and resolutions passed expressing the warm desire to maintain not only peace but friendship with this country.

The basis of our movement to foster a better feeling between the great nations of Europe seems to have been much misunderstood. It is no question of supporting one country against another. It does not concern Governments, but aims at creating a better feeling between nations. I have received various letters alleging, and, indeed, it has been publicly stated, that his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, and Prince Bülow, are unfriendly to this country. I do not believe it. But if, and merely for the sake of argument, we admit that it is so, that very fact makes it all the more important that we should endeavour to cultivate a good feeling between the two nations. We all know that if two people distrust and dislike one another, many little questions which would quickly and easily be settled between friends lead to misunderstandings and develop into serious quarrels. What is true of people is true of peoples also.

Now there has been—it seems to us no doubt absurd, but there has been—a very general idea in Germany that we were seriously preparing to attack them. I have myself had many letters from friends abroad who were fully convinced of this, and wrote to me to ask what was our ground of complaint, and why we were going to war.

Of course I wrote back that it was all nonsense, and that we had not the slightest notion of attacking Germany.

But can we wonder at the idea?

The Germans give us credit for being a sensible people, and they naturally ask themselves why we have so enormously increased our Army and Navy, and added to our already overwhelming burdens. They observe the *entente cordiale* with France, they know that we are not going to attack Russia or the United States, and it is not unnatural that they should have suspected that these 'bloated armaments,' to use Lord Beaconsfield's phrase, were directed against them. Hence the feeling of relief and satisfaction with which our friendly overtures have been received in Germany. They have lifted the dark pall which hung over them, for they knew, as we do, that whatever course a war between England and Germany might take, which ever might be nominally the victor, the result could not but be disastrous to both, would throw us both back a hundred years, and inflict indescribable misery and suffering on both nations.

It seems to be supposed by some that the proposed increase in the German Navy is a threat to England. This, for instance, is suggested by Mr. Boulger in the January number of this Review.

I confess I cannot understand the object with which his article was written. Of his countrymen, who admire the splendid contributions of Germany to art, literature and science, who recognise the services they have rendered to civilisation, and are misguided enough to wish to live on good terms with them and other nations, he speaks in terms of kindly, though contemptuous pity; but his remarks with reference to the Emperor and Government of Germany are certainly not calculated to have the effect he desires. Germany is, happily, not likely to be influenced by the taunts and threats of a foreigner any more than we should be. I say happily, because I believe that both the Emperor and Prince Bülow wish for peace; but Mr. Boulger's article is a typical instance of the writings which rouse bitter resentment, and make mischief between nations. In his opinion:

The sole original cause of the estrangement of England from, let me say, as it will please the pedants, her historical German ally, is the unnecessary, excessive, and menacing growth of the German Navy. If Count Metternich is not already aware of this truth, he can easily verify the statement for himself, and then, perhaps, he will feel able to report to the Emperor that the true way of disarming English suspicion and of removing our ill-feeling is to discontinue his ever-increasing outlay on a war fleet.

If the German Emperor takes this course, and as some proof of his goodwill he can at once withdraw the Navy Bill now before the Reichstag, he will quickly ascertain what is the basis of British distrust.

Now, what are the facts? In the last ten years we have raised the expenditure on our Navy from 17,545,000*l.* to 36,830,000*l.*,⁹ an increase of 19,285,000*l.*, that of Germany being 7,500,000*l.*¹⁰

Our Navy expenditure last year was 36,889,000*l.*, and even if the German programme is carried out to the full their expenditure next year will only be 12,600,000*l.*

Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in a recent and interesting article on European navies,¹¹ gives the relative effective strength of the English, French, and German navies as being at present:

	Tonnage		
	British	French	German
Battleships	769,900	249,500	280,000
Armoured cruisers	280,600	148,100	55,700
	1,050,500	397,600	285,700

In making this comparison he omits in each case various old and obsolete vessels. If, however, they had been included the proportions would not have been materially altered.

⁹ Stat. Abs. U.K. 1905, p. 4.

¹⁰ Stat. Abs. For. Countries, 1900-5.

¹¹ The Contemporary Review, February 1906. An article by Exhibitor in the Fortnightly for January makes very similar comparisons.

He then considers the programme of the three Admiralties, and shows that if they are carried out the results will be :

	Tonnage		
	British	French	German
Battleships . . .	1,112,000	884,000	528,000
Armoured cruisers . . .	809,000	895,000	221,000
	1,928,000	779,000	744,000

We shall all have been put to enormous expense, and our relative forces will remain almost as they were. How any one, after considering these figures, can seriously allege that we have any right to complain of the German programme passes my comprehension. Their proposed increase is in round figures, 460,000 tons, ours 870,000.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre well asks : 'Would it not be possible to devise some international arrangement under which a limit should be imposed on the armaments of the three Powers ?' or rather, I would say, under which we might come to some sensible arrangement between ourselves.

If we regard Germany's increase as a threat, what might Germany say about our much greater increase ? She not unnaturally feels that as we have done so much, she must do something. But her increase is small compared with ours.

We are not, of course, prepared ourselves, nor do we ask or expect other countries to neglect their own interests or to surrender any rights. What we do suggest is that if any questions arise they should be approached in a just and friendly spirit, and that if we cannot agree, the points of difference should be submitted to some friendly Power ; in fact, that the different nations of Europe should conduct themselves as friends and neighbours ; as gentlemen and not as brigands ; as Christians and not as pirates. A better state of feeling would lead to great reduction in the present enormous military and naval expenditure of Europe.

It is said that *si vis pacem, para bellum* ; if you wish for peace prepare for war. There is no doubt some truth in this as regards any particular country, but as regards Europe as a whole it is equally certain that these gigantic armaments are a danger to peace, and indefinitely increase the risk of war.

The anxiety and uncertainty thus created necessarily tend to paralyse industry and drive manufactures into more peaceful regions.

The late Mr. E. Atkinson, the eminent American economist, says :

The burden of national taxation and of militarism in the competing countries of Europe, all of which must come out of the annual product, is so much greater that, by comparison, the United States can make a net profit of about 5 per cent. on the entire annual product before the cost of militarism and the heavy taxes of the European competitors have been defrayed.

Such is the burden of militarism which must be removed before there can be any competition on even terms between European manufacturers and those of the United States in supplying other continents, and in sharing in the great commerce of the world.¹²

Under such circumstances how can the heavily burdened manufacturers of Europe hope to compete in the future with those of America and our Colonies, who have so much less to pay in the way of taxes?

No doubt on any question of balance other factors would have to be taken into consideration, but the question of National Expenditure can, of course, be treated separately if we admit that other matters have also to be taken into account. Wages, for instance, and the cost of living are higher in the United States. Protection, moreover, by raising the prices of raw material and semi-manufactured articles, seriously handicaps United States manufacturers in many lines of business. This, however, is not peculiar to the United States.

With the exception of Russia, the great States of Europe cannot produce the food required by their people, even at the present rate of living. They all import food and export manufactures. Take away the market for their manufactures and they will be unable to buy the food they require. Until recently, however, they have had no effective competition. The United States were, till within the last few years, mainly an agricultural community. Even now they require most of their manufactures for home use. Gradually, however, the surplus is increasing and the competition becoming more severe. Our great Colonies, moreover, wisely or unwisely—unwisely as I think—are all endeavouring to check the development of their great tracts of virgin soil, and to foster the town at the expense of the country. Take Canada, for instance, and look at the effect of Canadian duties on Canada herself. The winters are very cold, and she compels her people to pay 10, 15 or even 20 per cent. more than they need for warm clothing. She needs railways to develop her magnificent agricultural districts in the West, and she artificially enhances the prices of rails. When I think over these things I sometimes doubt whether men have reason after all!

But the military and naval expenditure of the Colonies is trifling. They decline to bear any fair proportion of our expenses on the Army and Navy, and are technically within their right in doing so. We cannot, if we would, compel them, and would not if we could. If they contribute it must be done voluntarily. Only they must remember that there are at present no Imperial forces. The Army and Navy are entirely supported by, and belong to, the British Isles. If a colony gets into trouble with any first-class Power, any assistance we might give would be an act of grace; they cannot claim it as a right.

The military and naval expenditure of the United States and

¹² E. Atkinson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 21 and 28.

of our Colonies is then very small compared with ours and that of other European States.

Competition with America and our Colonies is therefore becoming more and more difficult. Manufactures will, *ceteris paribus*, gradually be transferred to the countries which are most lightly taxed. This will more and more aggravate the evil, so that unless we turn over a new leaf the prospects of Europe are very grave. In fact, as long as these armaments are maintained we are sitting on a volcano.

The enormous and wasteful expenditure of Europe means lower wages, higher prices of the necessaries of life, and harder work. It makes life a heavier, and for millions an almost intolerable, burden. Who that knows anything of the condition of the Russian serfs and artisans can wonder that they rise in revolution? They are over-worked, underpaid, and underfed. Recent events, moreover, must leave bitter memories and furious feeling. The Russian armies have caused more misery to Russia than all the forces of Japan. Insurrection may be suppressed by force, but unless the causes are removed it will inevitably break out again. Bayonets are good as weapons, but not to sit on. The case of Germany is not so bad, but there also the sufferings and hard condition of the working classes, sufferings which cannot be reduced as long as the present expenditure is maintained, is leading to a rapid development of Socialism. Socialism, I fear, would only aggravate the evil, but it is the protest of the masses against their hard lot. Unless something is done the condition of the poor in Europe will grow worse and worse. It is no use shutting our eyes. Revolution may not come soon, not probably in my time, but come it will, and as sure as fate there will be an explosion such as the world has never seen.

If the monarchs of Europe are to retain their thrones, and if we are to maintain peace, European statesmen must devise some means of fostering better feelings, and diminishing the burdens which now press so heavily on the springs of industry and aggravate so terribly the unavoidable troubles of life.

Is this hopeless?

The late Marquis of Salisbury, when Prime Minister, in a speech delivered at the Mansion House on the 10th of November, 1897, made the following remarkable statement:

But remember this—that the federation of Europe is the embryo of the only possible structure of Europe which can save civilisation from the desolating effects of a disaster of war. You notice that on all sides the instruments of destruction, the piling up of arms, are becoming larger and larger. The powers of concentration are becoming greater, the instruments of death more active and more numerous, and are improved with every year; and each nation is bound, for its own safety's sake, to take part in this competition. The one hope that we have to prevent this competition from ending in a terrible effort of mutual destruction which would be fatal to Christian civilisation—the only hope we have is that the Powers may gradually be brought together to act

together in a friendly spirit on all questions of difference which may arise, and till at last they shall be welded in some international constitution which shall give to the world, as a result of their great strength, a long spell of unfettered and prosperous trade and continued peace.

The present Prime Minister of Great Britain, in a speech delivered in London on the 22nd of December, 1905, said :

In the case of Germany, I see no cause whatever of estrangement in any of the interests of either people, and we welcome the unofficial demonstrations of friendship which have lately been passing between the two countries. . . . I hold that the growth of armaments is a great danger to the peace of the world. The policy of huge armaments feeds the belief that force is the best, if not the only solution of international differences. It is a policy which tends to inflame old sores and to create new sores, and I submit to you that as the principle of peaceful arbitration gains ground, it becomes one of the highest tasks of the statesman to adjust armaments to the new and happier conditions. What nobler rôle could this great country have than at the fitting moment to place itself at the head of a League of Peace, through whose instrumentality this great work could be effected !

I earnestly trust that, with the able assistance of Sir E. Grey, he will endeavour to carry out this wise policy.

Is it altogether utopian to suggest that some representatives of the navies of England, France, Germany, and Russia might meet and agree on a common basis, not, of course, as binding on, but as a suggestion to, their respective Governments ? We used to consider that our Navy should be as great as that of any other two Powers, and, considering the extent of our mercantile marine, that seems reasonable. But now our Navy is greater than that of any other four Powers, as great indeed as those of all Europe put together. Moreover, that of Russia has almost disappeared, and the idea that France and Germany would unite in attacking us may surely be dismissed as absurd.

There is good reason for believing that at the next International Peace Congress at The Hague, the question of an International Federal Council will be formally brought before the Congress by resolutions from the United States of America and also from Great Britain.

The English representatives at the recent Peace Conference at Lucerne were informed by a deputation from China that the question of a Federal Council for the leading nations of the world would possibly be brought before the consideration of The Hague Congress by representatives of the Chinese Government. It would indeed be a reflection on us if China is to have the honour of taking the lead in such a matter. Still, it would be better to follow on a wise course than to maintain the lead in the present race for ruin.

I have argued the question mainly on material and economical grounds. But, after all, we ought not to forget that we are a Christian people. The present state of Europe is discreditable to us not only

as men of common sense, but as being altogether inconsistent with any form of religious convictions.

On all accounts, then, it is most important—may I not say it is an imperative duty?—that we should endeavour to avoid international misunderstandings, and to strengthen friendly feelings between the great nations of the earth.

With America our relations are most satisfactory; with France the irritation and suspicions of a few years ago have melted away in the warmth and sunshine of the *entente cordiale*; with the sufferings of Russia we have much sympathy, and a sincere wish that out of evil good may come; we are proud to think that when we found a coolness springing up between us and Germany we took the initiative and held out a hand which has been grasped most cordially, and made advances which have been welcomed enthusiastically all over Germany.

The *entente cordiale* has indeed already made considerable progress, more, perhaps, than in our most sanguine moments we could have hoped a few years ago. The seed has been sown, the flower has blossomed; there have been friendly meetings, kind words, and cordial resolutions. Let us hope that they may ripen into good fruit—a reduction of armaments and expenditure, which would certainly lead to shorter hours of labour, lower prices of necessaries, better food, more comfortable houses, and more, in fact, of all the elements which go to make up the real comforts and blessings of life.

Then, but then only, may we reasonably hope that Europe may have a bright and prosperous future before it, and the highest ambition we can, as a nation, place before ourselves is that we in England may take a foremost place in the noble work of promoting 'peace on earth and goodwill amongst men.'

AVEBURY.

THE NATION AND THE ARMY

IT is gratifying to note that the speech delivered by Lord Roberts in January last before the members of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, in which he stated "in plain terms that the country was living in a fool's paradise, as well as his exposition of the views of the National Service League, have found some echo in the Press even if they have produced little effect on the minds of the public. It presents a curious illustration of the apathy of our countrymen that so serious an indictment, coming from such an authoritative source, should fail to carry conviction to the minds of all thinking men, and seems to justify the contention of the Grave-digger in *Hamlet* that all Englishmen are mad. The campaign which the late Commander-in-Chief is now conducting with a view of impressing upon all ranks of society our unpreparedness to engage in a serious war is perhaps of equal value to any of his successes in the field, and its ultimate results can hardly be over-estimated should it succeed in arousing the Man in the Street to a sense of his personal responsibility for the maintenance and safety of the Empire.

The education of the public as to the necessity of some form of universal training is of the first importance. Political parties will do nothing in this direction till coerced by a properly instructed public opinion. From my point of view I can only regret that this campaign was not inaugurated at the psychological moment just after the South African War, when, I venture to think, its results might have been more effective. Why this subject has not been taken up by the Defence Committee in some practical manner it is difficult to understand. It is well nigh inconceivable that it should have been ignorant of the state of affairs exposed by one of its principal and expert members, and, if so, nothing can excuse its timidity (to put it mildly) in not taking the country into its confidence and endeavouring at once to rectify this admittedly serious state of affairs.

At the present moment I confess that, with a Government at the head of which is a Minister who in September 1899 denied any necessity for preparation for the Boer War, and whose party was responsible for the surrender after Majuba in 1881 and for the failure to rescue Gordon in 1884, I have little confidence in the propaganda

of Lord Roberts being taken to heart or acted upon. Politics are so surrounded by extraneous matter that sometimes all sense of proportion seems to be lost sight of, and matters of comparatively small importance are allowed to push on one side those of vital moment to the Empire. What, after all, does anything matter if the safety of the country is not assured ? The moment our security is even threatened down come toppling all our beautiful schemes political, philanthropic, socialistic, and otherwise, in the mud, and we find ourselves at grips with an enemy who has no illusions as to our readiness for war.

No doubt in these circumstances Britons will rally and stand shoulder to shoulder against aggression, but it will then be too late. What ought to have been a well-drilled and organised force will be nothing but an unorganised and helpless mob quite incapable of meeting the troops that will be brought against it with any hopes of success. The raw material will be there, but what we shall want will be the manufactured article, or what Rudyard Kipling calls 'the man that is handled and made.' There is no doubt about it, we can't exist on the forbearance of others. We must be strong ourselves, and, without some sacrifice, we cannot be strong. The Japanese say that we think too much of our rights and too little of our duties, and I think this is a truth which wants continually rubbing into the conscience of the country. Not that we are without patriotism of a kind, but it lies very deep below the surface and wants a deal of waking up. Too much prosperity produces a state of mind opposed to any idea of self-sacrifice. What patriotism we have is no longer the patriotism of our fathers. It is ephemeral and emotional, and bursts forth only in times of great excitement. It waves flags and shouts, and repeats that Britons never shall be slaves, but refrains from taking the necessary steps to prevent such a contingency.

Then, again, there is always a greater danger of war under a Liberal than under a Unionist Government. It is not that the former are more bellicose, but that foreign countries have got it into their heads that a Liberal Government won't fight and so are apt to become less circumspect in their demeanour if not more actively aggressive. It is generally thought by foreigners that a Liberal Government is more squeezable than a Unionist, and there is always a danger of their presuming too much on this idea.

Then again the pacific protestations made, while in Opposition, are difficult to live up to in times of greater responsibility and are apt to come home to roost. We ourselves know that this is only part of the game, and that directly you give a Radical responsibility he becomes as patriotic as anyone else, and is no longer the friend of every country but his own. It is not that he won't fight if the honour of his country is at stake, but that other countries think he won't, and herein lies the danger.

The criticisms of the events which led up to the Boer War, made by the present Government when in Opposition, give the impression that (had they been in power) they would have allowed President Kruger to have invaded our territory with impunity. Now, is it likely the people of this country would have stood this? Would they have pocketed this insult and have taken it lying down? I think not, and I don't believe any Government would have dared to climb down before the ultimatum without being sent about its business in a very short space of time. We can all remember the black week in December 1899. To what were the disasters at that time due? They were due entirely to want of preparation, for which every individual in the country was directly responsible. It cannot be too often repeated that the War Office was called upon to send 350,000 men to South Africa during the war, and that the country only provided them with the machinery for sending 80,000. Public opinion was not at that time sufficiently instructed to insist on a state of preparation adequate to our responsibilities. Is it more so now? Are we any more prepared to engage in a serious war now than we were then? Lord Roberts says No. Now all must admit that this is a very grave state of affairs, especially as no one can say that there are not at the present moment questions in Europe which may become serious at short notice and bring about contingencies for which we ought to be ready at all costs. I am aware that Mr. Haldane made a speech in the City the other day in which he said that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman would give him more men and more money 'if necessary.' Now, the City, being composed of business men, who like to be quite sure that they are not insured in a rotten concern, is always a little nervous about the defences of the country, and no doubt this speech was meant to satisfy its doubts at a critical time during the elections. The saving clause 'if necessary' has given a loop-hole, and a very big one, for the Prime Minister to climb through if in quieter times he should wish to modify his promise in this respect. Whether Mr. Haldane will be strong enough to insist on obtaining supplies sufficient for what he considers necessary remains to be seen. I have often thought that if a Secretary of State for War took the public and the House of Commons into his confidence he would get all he wanted. At the present moment he has a grand chance, as he will have no factious opposition to deal with. It is, I need hardly say, in no hostile spirit to Mr. Haldane that I make these remarks. On the contrary, I welcome the signs that the new Secretary of State for War is not above consulting the expert opinion of his professional advisers and that he comes to the work with a more or less open mind unburdened by previous announcements which he might find it difficult to live up to. .

It is with a strong feeling that the only way to strengthen the hands of a War Minister is to awaken public opinion to the gravity of

the situation, and, if possible, to impress on the mass of our countrymen their individual responsibility for the efficiency of the fighting forces of the country, that I venture to put forward these views. I hold that public opinion on this point should be formed on the reasoned and thoughtful study of the question, and based on the expert opinion of professional advisers, and that every effort should be made to educate and instruct the people with a view to their insisting on their rulers taking the necessary steps to achieve the end in view. In no other way can a War Minister get the necessary backing to enable him to grapple with the question in an adequate and radical manner. Again, the recent criticisms of the Japanese as to the unpreparedness of our army for war ought to provide us with food for reflection. It is always an advantage 'to see ourselves as others see us,' even if it does not conduce to our national vanity. The Japanese are a practical people. We are so no longer. They take the necessary precautions and make the necessary sacrifices that they may be strong in the hour of trial. We trust to luck to pull us through somehow. So far our luck has been that, since Waterloo, we have never come in contact with a first-class power, although our relative military strength to the powers of Europe has absolutely changed since those days. Now, far from quarrelling with or resenting the frankness of our allies, we ought to be grateful to them for expressing openly their candid opinion of our shortcomings. Nothing can be gained by concealing these things from ourselves. There is no use hiding our heads in the sand like the ostrich, and hoping no one will kick us. The more our weakness is exposed the greater is the chance of its being recognised by the country, and even being rectified in time.

These home truths of our allies are perhaps a trifle irritating, yet their sting lies only in their truth. There is humour, too, in our being lectured 'by this vigorous and practical people, who have all the confidence of youth, and who, two or three years ago, we used to patronise, and whose pluck in standing up to the Russians we used to admire, though few of us anticipated what the result would be. I know that attempts have been made to explain away, or at any rate to tone down, the statement alluded to, and said to have been made in answer to a question put to the Japanese War Minister. I believe, too, that it has been officially and tactfully contradicted, and that our diplomatic sense of propriety has been satisfied. I think, however, it was Mr. Gladstone who on one occasion said, 'You can't unpull a man's nose,' and it is equally impossible to unsay a statement of this kind, especially if it happens to be true.

Surely the parties to a treaty have a right to insist, or at all events to satisfy themselves, that the other side is ready to carry it out in its entirety, and to demand that adequate measures should be taken to achieve this result. There is nothing offensive in this contention; it is a matter of business, a contract that must be honourably and

'effectively' carried out by both sides. A sense of self-preservation compels both parties to see that the other side is acting up to its engagements. Are we doing this? Are we in a position to carry out our part of the bargain? What if their criticisms are just? What if we are living in a fool's paradise? and if we wake up some morning to find ourselves attacked by a powerful enemy, and hit one, two, three, below the belt before we are ready, and before we have realised that war is upon us? It was thus that the Russians were surprised at Port Arthur, and it is admitted that the whole nation was staggered by the suddenness of the onslaught. It is recorded how the officers were enjoying themselves on shore, some dancing, some taking their recreation in other ways, when the Japanese guns were heard destroying their fleet in the harbour. The attack was so sudden and so unexpected; and the disaster so irreparable in its moral and its material aspects, that its effect was felt till the last day of the war. What guarantee have we that we shall not be found similarly unprepared if attacked in like circumstances, and whose fault will it be? Shall we be found marrying and giving in marriage, attending race meetings, playing football, or rather watching others playing football, and enjoying our undefended and unprotected increment? Will this increment survive? Shall we at the end of a great war be in a similar state of prosperity to that in which we are now, and will our people enjoy the same liberty and prosperity as at present? These are questions which they must decide for themselves. It will be too late to throw the blame on to the War Office, or to plead as an excuse for their criminal apathy that they were without warning. Military men of the highest authority have spoken in no uncertain tones, magazine articles, speeches in and out of Parliament, letters of soldiers and civilians in the daily press have for months been rubbing in the inadequacy of the military forces of the country. They have appealed to the patriotism of the citizen, they have appealed to his interests, they have held up the bushido of the Japanese and his self-sacrificing love of country. They have piped but the proletariat has not danced. The people refuse to be persuaded; they prefer to be deceived by the prophecy of smooth things, and to present a dead wall of apathy and indifference to the warnings of an educated and expert opinion. It is this feeling of prejudice that prevents the individual citizen from accepting his share of the responsibility for the defence of his country and the maintenance of the Empire, and which paralyses all attempts on the part of a War Minister to propound any scheme for the proper development of the military forces of the nation. To me it is a pathetic sight to see some well-intentioned civilian struggling with an absolutely insoluble problem in his attempts to make bricks without straw. He is always met by the same obstructive and dense wall of prejudice, viz. the country won't stand any form of compulsion, anything of the kind is revolting

to Englishmen, &c., &c., as if there was anything derogatory in defending one's country. This always seems to me a confession of weakness, a confession that our patriotism is below that of other countries, and that our ideas cannot soar above our money-grubbing pursuits, and are subservient to our individual as opposed to our national requirements. Then we are told no form of compulsion can be tried till all else has failed. Well, all else has failed. I read in the *Observer* of this week that there had been thirty-nine attempts to reorganise the military forces of the nation since the Crimean War. What further proof of failure is wanted? Why should the fortieth attempt succeed when the conditions are exactly similar? We don't want an army on the Continental pattern, but we do want a reserve of the best manhood of the country to fall back upon in case of necessity. The question is, how are we to get it, how are we to utilise to the best advantage the fine material we have at hand? At present the proposals put forward by the National Service League would seem to offer the best solution of the problem, but to carry them out, the individual citizen must be educated to realise the debt which he owes to his Fatherland, and the dangers to which his want of patriotism exposes it.

ERROLL.

THE EXPATRIATION OF CAPITAL

I

THE INCREASE OF UNEMPLOYMENT, AND THE INCREASE OF RETURNS TO INCOME-TAX

In the December number of this Review I sought to reduce to some intelligible order the mass of ill-arranged statistics contained in the *Statistical Abstract*, relative to our export and import trade. I did not attempt to make my treatment of the matter exhaustive. I confined myself to the elucidation of certain broad and salient facts, so exhibiting them that anyone desiring more minute information might, with a minimum of trouble, consult the volume for himself. The result of the analysis given by me was to show that the alarmists who maintain that this country is being ruined under Free Trade, and the optimists who maintain that it is still making satisfactory progress, are both wrong. Relatively to the population the productive industry of the country has, during the past fifteen years, been almost stagnant, neither gaining vigour nor dwindling. If it had not been, however, for an increase in our coal exports, it would have exhibited a relative decline. I showed also that this state of things was not due to any contraction of demand in the home market by giving a table of manufactured goods, to the value of 60,000,000l., which at present we import from abroad, but all, or most of which, we are capable of manufacturing for ourselves.

I propose now to turn to another aspect of the subject, which this state of affairs suggests, and to which Mr. Chamberlain drew attention in one of his speeches in November. The country, he said, is as a whole growing richer; but together with this growing enrichment there has been a growth in the number of those (strange as this may seem) who are impoverished because they can find no employment. Now, though wealth is not, as Karl Marx thought, the product of mere manual labour, it is a multiple of manual labour, and cannot be produced without it. Ordinary labour is, in fact, the productive unit. What then is the explanation of the paradox that the wealth of the country, taken as a whole, increases, whilst the field for that

labour, which is essential to production, contracts—contracts sufficiently to leave an increasing residuum of unemployed?

Let us take a few figures which will illustrate Mr. Chamberlain's statement. The gross amount of income reviewed for purposes of income-tax (*Statistical Abstract*, Table 15) was 201,000,000*l.* greater in 1903 than it was in 1892. It was 678,000,000*l.* in the earlier year and 879,000,000*l.* in the later. Of this increment 32,000,000*l.* is, from the national point of view, merely nominal, being due to the multiplication of Government, and especially of corporation officials. About 6,000,000*l.* is due to increased interest secured on public rates, &c. Houses account for 45,000,000*l.* But the principal increment is to be found in incomes 'derived from businesses and professions.' This alone amounts to 102,000,000*l.*—about 39 per cent. in the course of eleven years. This is what here concefns us. How does the product of businesses, which are the source of employment, increase, while employment itself exhibits a painful tendency to contract?

To this question there is a parallel one closely connected with it. How is it that while our exports are practically stagnant, our imports exhibit an excess which is not only enormous in itself, but which tends steadily to increase? Our exports for 1903 were greater than they were in 1889 by 48,000,000*l.*, our imports by 115,000,000*l.* (*Statistical Abstract*, Table 29). In the former the increase per head has been 3*s.* 4*d.* In the latter it has been 26*s.* With regard to the proportions of the two bodies of goods, so far as the *Statistical Abstract* condescends to inform us, the incoming goods in 1903 were to the value of 542,000,000*l.*, whilst the outgoing goods were to the value of only 290,000,000*l.* What is the explanation of this? The answer is easy, though the sages of the Cobden Club have done all they can to obscure it; and it constitutes an answer not to this question only, but also to the preceding one.

II

HOW IS THE EXCESS OF IMPORTS OVER EXPORTS PAID FOR?

Let us begin with considering and dismissing one kind of false explanation for which the Cobben Club is certainly not responsible. It is this—that if, in 1903 for example, our imports were (as they were) worth 250,000,000*l.* more than our exports, the balance must have been paid by us out of capital, either by a transference of foreign securities, on the part of persons in this country, to the foreign producers of the imported goods in question; or else, which was the view of Mr. Seddon, by an actual export from this country of 250,000,000*l.* worth of gold bars or sovereigns. If such were the case, this country would in the space of fifteen years have squandered considerably over 3,000,000,000*l.* of capital. That nothing of this kind has ever taken place in the way of exporting gold and silver can be seen at a

glance by anyone who consults Tables 51 and 52 of the *Statistical Abstract*. Our largest export of the precious metals between 1889 and 1903 was in 1898, the amount in that year being 52,000,000*l.* For the same year our imports were 58,000,000*l.*, leaving a balance in our favour of 6,000,000*l.* Equally without any trace of its occurrence is the alleged wholesale sacrifice of foreign securities by persons who consume the proceeds on eatables, dress, and other perishable commodities. But not only is there no evidence for the above fantastic statements, there is also no reason for invoking them as hypotheses ; for the facts to be explained are easily explicable without them.

Let us keep, as a particular instance, to the figures already given for 1903. What we have to account for is an excess of imports over exports of 250,000,000*l.* This excess is, however, by no means so great as it is made to appear by the grossly defective editing of the *Statistical Abstract*. The editors of that volume know, and state in a small note, that value of exports and imports are estimated on two different principles. The value of the exports is given *minus* the cost of carriage. The value of the imports is given *plus* the cost of carriage. The amount for carriage of imports, which goes into British pockets, has been estimated as something like 90,000,000*l.* The excess, therefore, which has to be accounted for is reduced to something like 160,000,000*l.* Of this fact, in the *Statistical Abstract*, no detailed notice is taken whatsoever. It is dismissed in exactly twenty-five words ; while the figures as to exports and imports occupy more than 130 pages.

What, then, is the explanation of this 160,000,000*l.* or of the volume of goods to that value which comes into the country in excess of the volume and value of the home-made goods sent out of it ? How are these imported goods paid for ? A part is paid for by a sum which can only be given approximately, but which there is reason to believe amounts to about 20,000,000*l.*, brought in by the foreign tourists and visitors, who, in ever-increasing numbers, and with increasingly lavish expenditure, throng our hotels, or establish themselves in London and country houses. (The traveller's income brought annually into Italy is estimated at something between 15,000,000*l.* and 17,000,000*l.*) But if this portion of the sum in question cannot be stated with exactitude, there is another portion, incomparably larger, which can be. In the analysis of the sources of income assessed to income-tax (and a very bad analysis it is), which is given in Table 17 of the *Statistical Abstract*, the following classes of income are identified, and their gross amounts stated. Government securities out of the United Kingdom, 4,000,000*l.* ; securities out of the United Kingdom, other than Government securities, 20,000,000*l.* ; Indian, Colonial, and foreign guaranteed railways, 25,000,000*l.* ; other railways out of the United Kingdom, 14,000,000*l.* We thus have, from

the above stated sources, a foreign income of 63,000,000*l.* This, taken together with the amount brought into the country by foreign visitors, gives us a total of about 83,000,000*l.*

The sum, accordingly, which remains to be accounted for is 77,000,000*l.* What is the origin of that? A glance at the *Statistical Abstract* will make the answer evident. In the Table just referred to certain classes of foreign incomes are singled out and identified—namely, those that have just been mentioned, but no others. That there must be, however, foreign incomes of other kinds is a matter of common knowledge. A well-known British subject, for example, is the principal wine-grower in Sicily. English engineering firms have enormous works in Italy. A firm of English dressmakers has houses in Paris, Nice, Cannes, and New York. But of all this vast employment of British capital abroad the *Statistical Abstract* says nothing, and makes no attempt to discriminate the vast income derived from it. If a man gets 5,000*l.* a year from shares in the Paris and Mediterranean Railway his income is punctiliously discriminated from that of his friend who gets a similar income from the Great Western Railway at home. But an income of 20,000*l.* which comes from Sicilian vineyards is classed together with, and treated as if it differed in no important way from, a similar income produced by a brewery at Brentford or Burton. In dealing with the income of a great engineering firm it is all one to the editors of the *Statistical Abstract* whether this or that portion of it comes from works at Pozzuoli or at Elswick. Everything is thrown together into the common pot of official stupidity and obscurantism.

Anyhow, the fact emerges that there comes into this country a great foreign income in addition to that which the *Statistical Abstract* specifies as such—an income derived by British subjects from the use of their capital in businesses out of the United Kingdom, and from the employment of non-British labour; and in this undiscriminated foreign income we have the explanation of the 77,000,000*l.* still left unaccounted for out of the total net excess of imports over exports—an excess amounting to 140,000,000*l.* In other words, it is evident that out of the mixed and unanalysed incomes comprised in Schedule D, which amounted in 1903 to 365,000,000*l.*, at least 77,000,000*l.* has its origin in businesses whose locality is outside this country. Add this to the foreign income officially identified as such, and add these two to the income brought in by foreign visitors, and the mystery of how we pay for the excess of imports over exports is solved.

Now with this explanation—at all events if we take it generally—the economists of the Cobden Club show no disposition to disagree. In what, then, does their error lie, to which I have already adverted, and which it is my object in the present pages to expose? It lies in the fact that having got hold of one side of the truth, they entirely fail to understand another side, and hide from themselves the signi-

ficance of the whole situation by one of the most childish and perversely misleading theories that ever entered the heads of serious and grown-up men. Let me now explain what this theory is.

III

THE ECONOMICS OF THE CRADLE

The philosophers of the Cobden Club, and the enthusiasts of Free Trade generally, whenever the excess of our imports over our exports has been forced on their notice by Protectionists as a sign either that our country is becoming bankrupt by spending its capital, or else that its productive industries are being swamped by those of foreign nations, have not been content with showing that the former contention is incorrect by adducing such facts as those which a moment ago we dwelt on, but they have sought to meet the latter contention also by declaring not only that we are not living on our capital, but that our productive industries are shown to be in a state of progressive efficiency by that very condition of things in which alarmists see signs of their ruin. It is impossible, they say, that the growth of our import trade, whether our imports be raw materials or manufactured commodities, can do any harm whatever to our exports and our home industries. On the contrary, they proceed, our imports, be their growth never so great, must necessarily be the sign of a corresponding increase in our exports, the two being inseparable correlatives.

This doctrine has been enunciated constantly during the present fiscal controversy, and reduced for the use of Free-trade speakers to the form of a short motto—‘No importing without exporting.’ That is to say, ‘If you wish to measure the prosperity of the country, look to the imports, and the exports will take care of themselves. Our imports notoriously increase. Our exports must increase in proportion somehow, even if it is not very easy to discover precisely how. Free-traders may, therefore, rest in the blessed assurance that in spite of superficial symptoms everything is still for the best in this best of all possible countries.’

The importance which the Free-traders attribute to this doctrine, and the extent to which it dominates their arguments, and colours their whole view of the situation, is indicated by the manner in which Lord Avebury—one of the most highly gifted of the Free-trade party—refers to it. Writing in this Review (September 1903) Lord Avebury sought to dispose of what he looked on as the foolish contention that any growth in the imports of manufactured goods could possibly injure the industry of the country into which they were imported. The answer to this contention is to be found, he said, in what he called ‘the clear’ proposition which forms part of the ground-work of all Free-trade economics. The injury from excessive importation,

which Protectionists affect to dread, is, he said, in the nature of things, 'an impossibility, for,' he went on, quoting Mr. Armitage Smith, 'it would imply *importing without exporting*. A nation with nothing to offer cannot buy ; and if *foreign goods come into a country, some other articles must go out in exchange*.'

Such, then, is the doctrine—the palladium of Free-trade optimism—the pitiable fallacy of which I propose to point out here. It is a doctrine which at first sight has so much the air of an axiom that a child in the nursery would at once accept it as such. It is, however, an axiom fit for the nursery only ; and a system of economics founded on it might be called the economics of the cradle. This doctrine, which Lord Avebury and his friends assert with so much solemnity, is contradicted not only by what it is plain might happen conceivably, but by what actually does happen in this country at the present day, and is of all economic facts the most immediately important for ourselves. A large part of our imports, to the value of something like 140,000,000*l.*, does come into this country without any corresponding goods, any securities, or any gold or silver, going out of this country in exchange for them.

Let me first show the reader that this is possible by taking the case of a town instead of a country. A cotton manufacturer, we will say, whose mill is in Lancashire, is obliged, on account of his health, to live most of the year at Brighton. The bread which he eats at Brighton has its origin, we will say, in America ; the tea which he drinks comes from India. How are these things paid for ? They are paid for ultimately by certain cotton goods which the manufacturer sends to America and to India as an equivalent. But though he sends these goods from England, he does not send them from Brighton. He sends them from Lancashire. Brighton has no share in producing them. Brighton receives the imports, and grows locally rich in consequence ; but no exports of any kind go out from it. We need only suppose Brighton to be a little independent state ; and the situation, unchanged otherwise, will correspond with the situation of Great Britain.

Let us now take the case of our own and of some actually foreign country. There are, we will say, two brothers, A and B, of Anglo-French parentage, one of whom makes stockings at Nottingham, whilst the other makes silks at Lyons. A imports silks into England for his wife's dresses from B. B, at Lyons, takes A's stockings in exchange for them. Here, no doubt, we have a condition of things in which, as Lord Avebury and the Cobden Club say, importation and exportation are correlatives. The greater the quantity of silk that B sends to Nottingham, the greater will be the quantity of the stockings that A sends to Lyons. But let us suppose that, no matter for what reason, A, without changing his place of habitual residence, transfers his business to Lyons, where he sets up his machinery and

employs French labour. What will happen now? Silks for his wife's wear will still come from Lyons to Nottingham; but, instead of coming out of Nottingham, the stockings, which still pay for them, will be sent in a spring cart from one quarter of Lyons into another.

Or let us take the case of English holders of foreign railway stock. The income which comes into the country from this source is, as we have seen already, 39,000,000*l.*, a sum larger than the profits of our entire railway system at home. What British exports do the recipients of this imported income give in exchange for it? They give none. Why should they give any? They have already given an equivalent for it in the countries where the railways lie by performing the service of carrying goods and passengers. If the doctrine of Lord Avebury and the Cobden Club were true, the holders of foreign railway stock would have not only to convey passengers in return for the fares paid by them, but would have also to give them their fares back again in the form of little presents of goods manufactured in Great Britain. For the foreign passenger this system would be delightful. 'Your ticket, Sahib,' a booking-clerk might say, 'costs 50 rupees. What will you take it out in? In British wines, in Irish diamonds, or in five hundred reels of the finest Paisley thread?' Even Lord Avebury and Mr. Armitage Smith will hardly maintain that this millennial dream is a fact. .

Yet again, let us take an example which is at once more detailed and comprehensive. There are Englishmen who, as we know, have interests in a great variety of industries and properties abroad—Russian oil-wells, Italian and French vineyards, German carpet factories, the business of dressmaking in Paris, and so on indefinitely. Let us suppose that one man has shares in all the concerns just named. This means that he is virtually the proprietor of so much Russian oil, so many bottles of Italian and French wine, so many Saxony carpets, and so many Paris-made toilettes. Such a man imports for his own use into England so much Russian oil, so much Marsala, Chianti, champagne, and claret, so many Saxony carpets, and so many Parisian dresses. But what English goods does he send out of England to pay for them? Naturally he sends none. The imported goods are his own property already. There is no export of British goods in return for this mass of imports, any more than there is in return for the sixteen Saratoga trunks, full of French millinery, which a charming American young lady brings over with her from the Hôtel Bristol to Claridge's.

In other words, the existence of a foreign income in this country, on which Free Traders often dwell at explaining the excess of imports over exports, means nothing else than the occurrence of what these same Free Traders on other occasions are accustomed to describe as an 'impossibility'—that is to say, the importation into Great Britain of goods which require no British exports to balance them.

Hence the amount of our imports, though it is no doubt an index of the wealth of the inhabitants of Great Britain, is no index of the condition of British productive industry.

This statement of the case, however, though accurate so far as it goes, is not yet complete. Let us examine the situation farther.

IV

OUR CAPITAL NOT LOST, BUT EXPATRIATED

In an interesting article by Mr. Eltzbacher, on 'Unemployment and the "Moloch of Free Trade,"' which appeared in this Review last December, the writer weakens his case, otherwise very strongly put, by adding to many sober statements exaggerations of the most misleading kind. Not content with emphasising the fact that of late years, under the *régime* of Free Trade, unemployment in this country has shown alarming signs of increasing, and that the maintenance of the unemployed, who produce nothing, is a grave burden on the resources of the employed and the employers alike, he proceeds to repeat the fallacy on which I commented at the beginning of the present article. Not only is there, he says, an increase of unemployment among the working classes, but a rapid dissipation is in progress of the resources of the rich also. 'The huge excess of imports over exports' has, he says, been 'paid for by our national capital.'

Now that this statement, as thus put, is untrue, is abundantly shown by the increase of incomes assessed to income tax. The wealthier part of the community cannot have been growing poorer when its business income during the precise period specified has increased by no less than 39 per cent.; nor is there any sign to be found that we are parting with our capital invested abroad in the fact that such investments of it as are specified in the *Statistical Abstract* have increased by 21 per cent. since the year 1890 (*Statistical Abstract*, Table 17). I need not go over this ground again. The figures referred to have apparently escaped Mr. Eltzbacher's attention. His error, however, seems less to be due to any mere negligence of fact than to a certain confusion of thought.

When it is asserted that a country is losing its capital, two things may be meant—either that the capital is passing out of the personal possession of those inhabitants of the country who till lately owned it, or else that its original owners, though still personally retaining it, are transferring it, as an instrument of wealth production, from their own country to others. The effects of these two processes are, indeed, within limits, identical. If, for example, in Dublin, a great brewing business collapsed, and 2,000 men were thereby thrown out of employment, it would make little matter to these particular men whether the catastrophe was due to their employer having squandered

all his money in the purchase of foreign lollipops, or to his having found it advantageous to 'scrap' his plant in Dublin, and set up a new brewery on a still larger scale in Münich. This fact may have helped Mr. Eltzbacher to confuse the two situations; but, apart from the point of resemblance just mentioned, there is between them a very important difference.

A manufacturer whose house and factory are both in the same town—for the sake of convenience, let us say that the town is Dover—produces goods which, after he has paid for the raw material, yield him a gross balance of 30,000*l.* annually. Of this, 20,000*l.* goes in wages to Kentish workmen; whilst 10,000*l.* remains to him as his own income. If his factory is for any reason closed, 20,000*l.* is in any case lost to the working men of his neighbourhood; and if the factory is closed because the manufacturer is bankrupt, the workmen, servants, and numerous English tradesmen, to whom his personal income has passed in return for their several services, lose also to the extent of a further 10,000*l.* But if, on the other hand, his factory at Dover is closed merely because he has taken his business across twenty miles of water, to Calais, whence he receives—Dover being still his place of residence—an income which equals, or even exceeds perhaps, that which came to him formerly, his former Kentish factory hands will be just as penniless as in the other case; but a mass of persons, whose employments are of another nature, may, instead of being less prosperous, be even more prosperous than before. More gardeners may be employed, more indoor servants. The local cabman, the builder, the plumber, the grocer, the dairyman, may receive more custom. It may well be that an income of 12,000*l.*, the origin of which is in France, and which stands for imported goods, may be disbursed among Englishmen in and about Dover, in place of the 10,000*l.*, the origin of which was in England, and which stood for goods necessitating the employment of Kentish labour. Thus one class of Kentishmen will gain to the extent of 2,000*l.*; though another class—namely, the former factory hands—lose to the extent of 20,000*l.*

I have taken the above figures for purposes of illustration merely. So far as their proportions go, they have no reference to actualities; but the imaginary case just stated shows the essential nature of the process which results in the great and growing excess of our imported over our exported products. The excess of imports over exports is neither more nor less than *imported income in the concrete*—an income which has its origin in capital which is owned in Great Britain, but is utilised in other countries. The situation, as thus explained, is very different from that imagined by Mr. Eltzbacher and other over-hasty Protectionists, whose hypothesis is absolutely irreconcilable with important and indisputable facts.

Were Mr. Eltzbacher and those who think with him right—that is to say, if the excess of imports stood, as they fancy it does, for the

dissipation of British capital—there could not be, as, there has been, a vast and steady increase in the taxed income of Great Britain; but as soon as we realise that what has actually been taking place is not a dissipation of capital, but merely an expatriation of capital, the facts of the case, seemingly so contradictory, become intelligible. We understand how an increasing volume of capital may be owned by British subjects, and how an increasing income derived from its employment may come into this country, pay income tax in this country, and be spent in this country; that certain classes of British workers may be increasingly benefited by it, and that yet at the same time amongst other classes of workers employment may diminish, and the burden of pauperism grow, to an appreciable and even formidable extent.

Is, then, the possession by a nation of an increasing foreign income necessarily injurious to that nation? Or can we accept it, on the other hand, as being necessarily a sign of growing national prosperity? To answer either of these questions with a simple 'Yes' would be ludicrous. Everything depends upon circumstances. Let us consider briefly what the determining circumstances are.

V

THE REPATRIATION OF CAPITAL

All parties agree, so far as the present controversy is concerned, that the test of a nation's prosperity is to be found in the fulness of employment which, through the application of capital, is provided for its workers generally. Let us, then, suppose that at some period or other all the capital of the country found employment in home industries, and that all who wanted to work found well-paid work to do. Under such circumstances any expatriation of capital, by the transference of factories from this to some other country, would deprive this country of a considerably larger income than would come back to it in the form of imported profits. Under such circumstances, however, no such expatriation would take place; for we assume that all available capital can be fully employed at home.

But let us pursue the course of affairs farther. Capital, we will assume—and this is what has actually happened—has increased faster than the possibilities of its home employment. Its expatriation now, when this situation has arisen, instead of being an injury to this country, becomes so much clear gain. The imported profits derived from its use abroad are an addition to the national income, and this addition is, from the very terms of our supposition, not counterbalanced by any shrinkage of home employment. Thus if the growth of capital which could not be employed at home had enabled by this time a hundred thousand residents in Great Britain to become the

proprietors of all the foreign railways in the world, the enormous imported income which would come into this country would, as it diffused itself in being spent, enrich the entire community, no class being impoverished by it. It could only be conceived of as an implicit injury to any class if foreign railway employés could be represented as competitors of home-staying British subjects. But this it is quite plain that they are not. Porters on the line from Jaffa to Jerusalem do not compete with the porters on the line from London to Brighton.

The growth of a foreign or imported income and the increasing expatriation of capital injure this country only when the capital expatriated might for similar purposes have been reasonably employed at home, in which latter case, even if the home-produced profits of the capitalist should be somewhat smaller than his imported profits, the total income enjoyed in this country would be greater; for in addition to the employer's profits, it would include the workmen's wages. But if there is no opening at the time for further home employment, and if such employment as is possible must be given to foreign workers, or to nobody, then the income derived from the employment of such foreign workers is, so far as it goes, for this country clear gain. It may be only half a loaf, but it is better than no bread.

The maximum of home employment possible for such capital as exists may be compared to a vessel which will hold a certain quantity of water. As soon as it is filled to the brim, any added water wastes itself, unless it is caught in other vessels, and thus transferred elsewhere. An overflow may, however, take place before the brim is reached. Much of the upper part of the vessel's sides may, through insufficient precautions, have been suffered to grow rusty, and may thus have been eaten into holes, the vessel's natural capacity being thereby greatly diminished. In other words, the particular country in question may, owing to a mistaken commercial policy, come to be so placed in comparison with other countries that any fresh application of capital to its home industries happens to be attended by a purely artificial disadvantage, as compared with the application of the same capital abroad. And such is the situation which, as everything goes to show, has developed itself in our own country at the present day. British capital is, in increasing quantities, being utilised in production outside Great Britain, when it might, were Great Britain not placed at an artificial disadvantage, be utilised there with equal benefit to the capitalist, and with the further result that, instead of mere imported profits, there would be home-made profits and home-paid wages also.

The question to be considered is, What is the actual extent of this remediable expatriation of capital? Writers like Mr. Eltzbacher err by a hasty and unconsidered exaggeration of it. There is no need to

suppose that it is as yet of any great magnitude in order to account for the maximum of industrial distress which has thus far developed itself. When a shoe shrinks, the foot may suffer acute agony, though the shrinkage is so small that to an observer it is hardly visible. This is not, however, a reason for neglecting the calamity. On the contrary, it is a proof that it is remediable, and should encourage us to apply a remedy.

Mr. Eltzbacher calculates that the maintenance of our unemployed is costing the country about 50,000,000*l.* annually, which these persons, if employed, might produce for themselves in wages. In my own article last December I gave a table of imported articles, not by any means complete, to the value of 60,000,000*l.*, all of which, under favourable circumstances, might be manufactured in this country. The *Statistical Abstract* identifies an imported income of 63,000,000*l.*, two-thirds of which arises from investments in foreign railways; and, in addition to this, I have shown that there is a further imported income arising from the employment of our capital in a variety of foreign businesses, the gross amount of which is between 70,000,000*l.* and 80,000,000*l.* Thus the total foreign or imported income other than that brought in by travellers—and really consisting of goods produced by British capitalists abroad, which are brought by them into this country as being their own property—amounts in value to some 140,000,000*l.* It cannot be doubted that a large part of these imports represents an employment of capital which could not be employed at home; but as anyone may see by glancing at the short list given by me in the December number of this Review (p. 1020), we shall be within the mark if we estimate that about half the amount just mentioned—namely, imported goods to the value of something like 70,000,000*l.*—might, were British industries placed on a proper footing, be produced by British labour as advantageously as they now are by foreign. Were such a change effected, the employers and capitalists would continue to receive their profits, and there would be a fund of something like 50,000,000*l.*, which would, in accordance with the calculations of Mr. Eltzbacher, supply our able-bodied unemployed with wages produced by own exertions, instead of leaving them to be maintained in discontent and uselessness by means of an enormous dole wrung from the rest of the nation, which is a burden to those that give and a demoralisation to those that take.

If only the philosophers of the Cobden Club will condescend to outgrow their present absurd belief that the importing of foreign goods into this country necessarily means a corresponding exportation of British goods, they will possibly come to see that in the general position of the Protectionists there is more sound sense and a truer economic insight than they are at present inclined to impute to it, or than at present they possess themselves.

W. H. MALLOCK.

THE DANCE IN ANCIENT GREECE

AT the very outset of the study of the Greek dance, we are confronted by a curious verbal difficulty. * In our modern language there exists no exact equivalent to the Greek term for dancing, and the difference between the meaning of their word and ours is as great as is the difference between their dance and our dancing. Our word 'dance' comes from the Old-High-German 'dansón,' to draw, to stretch out, and its definition is 'to leap, skip, hop, or glide, with measured movements of the body.' But the Greek word 'orchēsis' has a much wider meaning than this; it includes the sense of the word 'dansón' given above (which is much the same as that of their own word 'gumnāzo'), and also the sense of what we now call mimetic. Plato says that one kind of dancing

imitates musical recitation and aims at preserving dignity and freedom, the other aims at producing health, agility, and beauty, in the limbs and parts of the body, giving the proper flexion and extension to each of them, a harmonious motion being diffused everywhere, and forming a suitable accompaniment to the dance.

From the many allusions to dancing in the works of various Greek authors, including Plato, we see that the gymnastic training, the mere exercising of the body, was entirely subservient to the higher branch of 'orchēsis,' which strove to 'imitate musical recitation' in gesture. That great importance was attached to gymnastic, and that a thorough mastery over the limbs which can only come from the most rigorous training was required of professional dancers, there can be no question; but there can also be no doubt that this was practised only as an aid to the mimetic dance.

A passage in Herodotus tells us with what contempt the Greeks treated mere acrobatic dancing, and how inferior it was considered to be to the higher art. A certain Hippocleides, having been asked to show one of the many accomplishments which entitled him to become the husband of the daughter of the tyrant of Sicyon, proceeded to display himself in the dance; and having commenced with a stately measure, he then wished to show his wonderful agility, and so well did he succeed that Clisthenes, the tyrant, angrily exclaimed: 'Son of Tisander, you

have danced away your marriage,' refusing to have a son-in-law who was so little of an artist that he could make a boast of his mere skill. Socrates, too, had great dislike to the 'wonderful tricks' which dancers could perform with their bodies, and thought them very ugly. What would have been his disgust could he have seen some of our modern contortions—the high-kicking, the skirt dance, the 'split'! As in all great art, the Greeks in their dancing made use of mechanical means only in so far as they could assist in carrying out the artists' inspiration. The true artist should not be hampered by any technical difficulties; he must be an absolute master of 'technique,' but never should he allow that 'technique' to be the end and aim of his art; by so doing he forfeits all claim to the title of artist in the real and highest sense of that much-abused word.

Looking, then, at the subject from this point of view, we can see the gulf which separates modern dancing from the Greek dance. The modern term denotes something entirely mechanical, however pretty and pleasing our dancing-masters contrive to make it by having rhythmical acrobatic feats performed by beautiful executants. Dancing, in the Greek sense, must be interpreted quite differently; it is rhythmical movement—and so far it is mechanical—but it is also *pantomimic*. It is the imitation of words by gestures; the bodily expression of a feeling; it comprises every variety of action, quick and slow; it deals with every subject, grave and gay, religious and profane, decorous and indecorous; nothing in nature is too high or too low to be outside its scope; it embraces the whole scale of human passions, and leaves no chord untouched of them. This radical difference must be kept in mind whenever Greek dancing is thought of, otherwise any interpretation of the subject must become hopelessly confused.

The question itself is so extensive that only its barest outlines can be traced within the present limits. There are also certain aspects of the subject which it is not possible to discuss here.

Our knowledge of the Greek dance is derived from two sources: (1) Greek literature; (2) Greek sculpture and painting. The first reveals the religious and ethical importance attached to the art; it gives us the descriptions of many dances, and the occasions of their performance. Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Athenaeus, and Herodotus especially allude to dancing, while Lucian, in his dialogue *De Saltatione*, is full of information concerning 'orchësis.' But throughout the writings of all the Greek poets, philosophers and historians, are scattered scraps of valuable knowledge relating to the dance, which when pieced together become extremely illuminating.

Again, the metre of the poems which were danced presents a field of investigation, hitherto almost unexplored, to the student who would care to pursue further this aspect of the question. The choruses from the plays of *Eschylus* and *Aristophanes*, and other

poetical works such as the *Pean* and the *Hyporcheme*, which are known to have been accompanied by the dance, would reveal, if their metre were satisfactorily analysed, the rhythm as well of the ancient dances as of the dance-music. Gevaert, in his *Musique de l'Antiquité*, says that 'ancient poetry is already music from the point of view of rhythm; to make a real melody of it, the composer has only to adapt a melodic contour.' That is to say, the rhythm of the music in no way altered the measure of the verse; on the contrary, the music followed it entirely, and thus from the metrical rhythm the musical rhythm was derived. So that from the metre of those poetical works which were danced, the measure of the dances can be ascertained. It is highly probable, as the dance in the early days was almost inseparable from the lyric, that the endless variety of Grecian metric was very largely a result of this constant interaction and collaboration of bodily rhythm with that of sound. The metre of the poem was influenced by the rhythm of the dance, and the latter had to adapt itself to the form of the poem it strove to express, the union of the two giving birth to Greek rhythmic art, in all its richness.

Our second source of information is sculpture and painting; and these confirm in every way all that the literature tells us. From the monuments and from the paintings on the vases may be learnt the attitudes and gestures of the dance.

The technical part of Greek choreography is very similar to our own, and much of the training which the modern 'ballerina' has to go through was included in the curriculum of the professional dancer of two or three thousand years ago. This makes it possible for whole dance-movements to be reconstructed from a single attitude painted on a vase; for, from this given attitude, it is comparatively easy to deduce the steps which must necessarily precede, and those which must follow, according to the laws of harmony and equilibrium, and so to build up the movement. The folds of the drapery help us to determine the direction of a 'pirouette' or a 'pivot'; the turn of the head, the action of the hands, the slightest inclination of the whole body to either one side or the other, are, to masters of the art, unmistakable indications of certain dance-movements. This aspect of the question is dealt with very fully and conclusively by M. Maurice Emmanuel, in his *Danse Grecque Antique*, although, as he himself admits, the results in many cases are, and cannot be otherwise than, extremely hypothetical. From the sculpture and painting we learn the characteristic Greek gestures: those of despair and of joy; of adoration, solemn and ecstatic, wild and inspired; of love and of hate; of playfulness and of mirth; the grotesque and the abandoned; all inspired by that unfailing sense of harmony and beauty with which the Greeks were so thoroughly imbued.

Thus their sculpture and painting can tell us how the Greeks

danced in space ; their poems—if sufficiently analysed—how they danced in time.

By the Greeks the Dance was considered of the greatest importance educationally, as can be seen from the writings of both the poets and the philosophers ; while the historians tell us of the place it occupied in the mental and physical training of their men and women. What football and cricket are physically to the Englishman, and what the duel is to the German, the dance was to the Greek. But as games, poetry, and dancing were dedicated to the gods—were, in fact, entirely religious—the dance was even more part and parcel of their daily life, and dearer to the Greek than the national sports of England are dear to the Englishman or the duel to the German youth, whose thirst for the *amende honorable* is more the result of his instinct for physical exercise than an excessive love of honour. Plato's opinion on the educational value of the dance is well worth quoting. Education, according to him, is first given through Apollo and the Muses, and 'he who is well educated will be able to sing and dance well,' and the regulation of the dances is to be in the legislator's hands ; dances imitating war are to be performed by the choruses ; figures, wherein are practised the hurling of javelins, the uses of archery, and various sorts of attack and defence, are to be performed both by youths and maidens, for 'these sorts of exercises, and no other, are useful both in peace and war, and are beneficial alike to states and to private houses.' Socrates, in Xenophon's *Symposium*, is made to say that 'no part of the body is inactive in dancing, but that the neck, the legs, the hands are alike exercised, so that he who would have his body improved in suppleness should learn how to dance.' Instruction in the rudiments of choreography must have been imparted to every Greek, especially in the early days.

The chorus, with song and dance combined, was originally a public manifestation in which a large number of citizens took part, and for this a certain amount of training was essential. In Sparta, according to Athenaeus, all who were above five years of age learnt the Pyrrhic. There were many "private dances" in use among the Greeks—figures in which men and women, not professionals, took part—and these certainly must have required some sort of technical skill to perform.

Of dancing-masters little is known. The early poets, Thaletas and Alkman, appear to have devoted much of their time to the training of the chorus, teaching them new rhythmical action, and introducing a more vehement style in both music and the dance. Aeschylus is said to have been the inventor of many figures, and to have himself instructed those who took part in his choruses, not intrusting their arrangement to the ordinary masters. Sophocles was also credited with being an accomplished dancer, and probably directed his own

choruses. We hear, too, of a certain Telesis or Telestes who composed new figures and taught men 'to use the action of their hands' as an aid to verbal expression.

'Cheironomy,' the art of using the hands, is the most important and the most difficult branch of the mimetic art, and was doubtless that to which the Greek dancing-master devoted his greatest care and attention. This same Telestes, according to Aristotle, was the director of *Æschylean* choruses, and so able was he that, in managing the *Seven against Thebes*, he made all the action plain by dancing. Thesbes, Pratinas, and Phrynicus were called 'dancing-poets,' because they not only made their dramas depend upon the dancing of the chorus, but, besides directing their own plays, they 'taught dancing to all who wished to learn.' Xenophon says that 'poets originally arranged dances for freeborn men, and employed figures as emblems of what was being sung.' So the *métier* of dancing-master would seem to have been closely associated with that of poet.

One feels in studying the Greek dance that religiousness is its chief characteristic. The choral dances were part of the divine service, and much of the ritual at the Eleusinian mysteries was pantomimic; Dionysos, with his train of satyrs and mænads, was worshipped in this fashion; and in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, the Ionians are said to have delighted the god with their dance, the Pæan being the favourite measure of Leto's fair son. Pindar and *Æschylus* frequently mention religious dances, while Aristophanes declares that 'dancing in honour of the gods was a universal practice throughout Greece.'

There seems to have been no necessarily fixed number of those who took part in the dances. In mimetic scenes, solo dancing naturally held a predominant position, whilst for more elaborate displays several executants were necessary. In the choral dances, the number of performers greatly varied; we are told that sometimes they consisted of as many as fifty citizens. From the testimony of poet and historian, and from the paintings on vases, we know that both men and women danced in Greece, and not men only, as some would have us believe.

The dance took its character according to the god in whose honour it was performed. The most ancient song and dance seems to have been the Doric Pæan in honour of Apollo, with flute accompaniment. It was performed on solemn occasions, and was in character grave and staid, as beffited the subjects with which it dealt. The steps were probably very simple, the dance being somewhat of the nature of a rhythmical march. Apollo himself is said to have danced the Pæan with 'noble and lofty steps' as he led a chorus of Cretans who followed him, singing the sweet strains of the Iopæan. From the Pæan are derived three different dances whose immediate object was the worship of Apollo and Artemis, though at a later period they were performed on other occasions. These are the *Gymnopædic*, the

Pyrrhic, and the Hyporchematic. The first served as a sort of introduction to the Pyrrhic, and was held in high esteem by the Spartans, the most notable citizens considering it an honour to take part in its execution. The chorus was made up of men and boys, unclad, who imitated rhythmically, by steps and gesticulations, the wrestling match and Pancration. The songs of Alkman and Thaletas were used for the Gymnopædic dance. Of the Pyrrhic, the information is more precise and detailed. Athenæus attributes it to the Lacedemonians, whose warlike character made the invention and execution of martial dances appropriate to them, but Lucian believes its inventor to have been Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, who excelled in the dance, and the name 'Pyrrhic' is supposed to be taken from his surname of Pyrrhus. It was a rapid measure, originally accompanied by the lyre, but later by the flute only. The armed men who danced it mimicked a battle, with attack and defence, avoidance of blows, hurling of javelins, all being executed rhythmically, and women were sometimes among the executants. The number of performers seems to have varied. The Pyrrhic was connected with the rites of the Curetes in Crete, and those of the Dioscuri in Lacedemon. In the days of Athenæus, the Pyrrhic degenerated into a Bacchic dance, and lost much of its grandeur and seriousness, the dancers carrying thyrsi instead of spears, and pointing canes at one another; they also carried torches, and mimicked scenes from the life of Bacchus, to the accompaniment, as Athenæus quaintly says, of 'stirring tunes.' The Pyrrhic lives in the Greek vase paintings; the warriors still perform their martial dance, from which we could reconstruct it, if we chose. The Hyporchematic is a highly interesting type of the Greek dance, and deserves especial attention. The word *ὑπόρχημα* means 'a dance to the sound of singing'—a dance expressing by gesticulation the words of the accompanying poem, and thus by its very nature including the greatest variety of subjects, both grave and gay. It seems originally to have been connected with the worship of Apollo, and was performed at Delos, though later it was introduced into the cult of Bacchus and Minerva; ultimately, like so many other dances, entirely losing its religious significance. There is still extant the fragment of a Hyporcheme by Pindar, written on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, and all the lyric poets of Greece wrote Hyporchemata. Xenophon, in the fourth book of the *Anabasis*, describes a Hyporchematic dance thus:

The Aenians and Magnesians stood up and danced what they called the Carpæan dance, in heavy arms. One man, having laid aside his arms, sows and drives a yoke of oxen, frequently turning to look back, as if he were afraid. A robber then approaches; and the other man, when he perceives him, snatches up his arms and runs to meet him, and fights in defence of the yoke of oxen. The men acted all this, keeping time to the pipe.

The same author also describes a beautiful mimetic dance per-

formed by a boy and girl in the presence of Socrates and some friends at a banquet. They danced the tale of Dionysos and Ariadne.

First Ariadne, dressed like a bride, came in and took her place; by-and-by Dionysos entered, dancing to the music. The spectators did all admire the young man's carriage, and Ariadne herself was so much affected with the sight that she could scarce sit. After a while Dionysos, beholding Ariadne and incensed with love, bowing to her knees, embraced her first, and kissed her with a grace; she embraced him with like affection, as the dance required; but they that stood by and saw this did much applaud and commend them both for it.

The countless fables from the rich stores of Greek mythology and the episodes of Grecian history made admirable subjects for mimetic display. The rape of Persephone, the story of Demeter, whose legend, like that of Dionysos, is symbolical of natural phenomena, her wanderings on earth, the meeting with the daughters of Celeus at the well, the whole sad tale of the *mater dolorosa* of the Greeks, so simply and touchingly told in the Homeric hymn, must have given signal opportunities to poet and dancer. The rites of Eleusis, in which pantomimic ritual was predominant, were probably of the nature of 'mystery plays,' and these rites wherein gods and goddesses were impersonated had perhaps a great influence on the rise of Greek tragedy. Again, the pursuit of Daphne by Apollo, the anguish of Niobe, the tale of Hyakinthus, the stories of Narcissus, Cupid and Psyche, Eurydice, Ganymede, and other legends too numerous to mention, were made to live again by the Greek dancers.

The tragic dance of the Erinyes must have been wonderfully realistic. We are told that it struck terror into the hearts of the spectators, many rushing away in fear from the theatre. The terrible sisters appeared in black and blood-stained garments, with serpents entwined in their hair, a whip of scorpions and a burning torch in their hands, and performed a dance imitating the actions and curses of the Furies.

So much was the dance a method of expression to the Greeks that measures were composed for nearly every event of importance that can happen in the course of a man's life. Birth, marriage, and death had each its special representation—joyful or sorrowful, according to the occasion. The hero, returning from the wars, was greeted with song and dance, and Athenaeus tells us how 'professional choruses' were sent out by the Athenians to honour Demetrius, and to greet him with hymns and dances, 'and, stationed by his chariot wheels, they sang and danced that he alone was a real god.' The hymns sung and danced on these occasions, originally dedicated to the gods only, were called *Presodia*, and they formed an important division of choral poetry, and constituted a large part of the writings of Alkman, Stesichorus, and Pindar. The victor of the games had also his 'Epinikia,' or odes, sung and danced in honour of his triumphs.

Of such kind were the odes of Pindar and Simonides. Miss Harrison, in her *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, tells us that the Kouretes danced their local war-dance over a newborn babe. 'The Kouretes being,' as the name betokens, 'the young male population considered as worshipping the young male god the Kourosi; they are mailed priests, because the young male population were naturally warriors.'

Hymeneal dances are rarely described, but Homer implies that some such thing did exist even in his days, for in the twenty-third book of the *Odyssey* Ulysses tells Telemachus to 'let the divine bard, having the tuneful harp, lead for us the sport-loving dance, that anyone may see it is a marriage, hearing it from without.' Athenaeus says that at the marriage feast of Caranus, the Macedonian, 'a party of one hundred dancing-men came in singing an Epithalamium in beautiful tune; and after them there came in dancing-girls, some arranged so as to represent the Nereids, and others in the guise of the nymphs.' Many Greek poets wrote hymeneal odes, but unluckily only the most fragmentary examples remain. Sappho's marriage choruses were famous in antiquity, and it is said that Catullus, in his 'Epithalamia,' imitated her style.

The funeral ritual has left a deep mark on Greek art, especially that of vase-painting, and numerous funeral scenes are depicted on vases of every period. The characteristic gestures of despair—beating the breast, tearing the hair, the arms outstretched to the dead—all formed part of the funereal dances. While the voices sang out a doleful tune, accompanied by the flute, the dancers, attired in dark raiment, rhythmically expressed their despair. The 'threnoi,' or funeral songs, were chanted by the mourners, the most primitive being improvisations, but the later ones being well-known and complex choral hymns composed specially for such solemnities. Probably the lamentations, at first the natural cries and wild gestures of despair, were crystallised into artistic forms both of speech and motion, and these became the accepted modes of mourning the departed, much as the service for the dead in the Christian religions has become more or less a stereotyped formula, within whose narrow bounds sorrow and despair have to confine themselves. Pindar and Simonides wrote 'threnoi,' and Euripides has left us some beautiful dirges—one sung by Antigone, the other by Hecuba.

But not only did the Greeks use the dance upon both cheerful and solemn occasions, but they had many measures which lent a grace to their everyday life, and which, without having any profound significance or motive, show how deep in the people's heart was their love for Terpsichore. They seem to have had a dance for every mood, for every group of thoughts, for every group of feelings. They danced out their *joie de vivre* throughout the livelong day; they danced their hunger and their thirst, their smiles and their tears, their love and their hate. Their first impulse, like that of all

primitive peoples, was to dance in order to express their emotion. The chorus in a characteristic Greek fashion, in the *Electra*, on hearing of Orestes's triumph over *Ægisthus*, dance with delight, and entreat Electra to join in their joy. 'Now shalt thou dance in our dances, beloved, as a fawn in the night.'

Athenaeus describes a dance in use amongst private individuals called 'Anthema,' or flower-dance, wherein were illustrated the words of a poem. It was evidently a Hyporcheme whose strains and steps were familiar to all. The singers asked 'Where are my roses, where are my violets ?' &c., while the action followed the words of the poem. Another beautiful dance, the 'Necklace,' was held in high honour among the Lacedemonians. Youths and maidens danced it together, the men performing steps of a martial kind, the women moving gracefully, 'the whole forming a chain of masculine vigour and feminine modesty entwined together'—of suppleness of limb and beauty of thought.

Again, in *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes speaks of the Dipodia, danced by men and women together to a choric accompaniment, and which was of a lively character. The Greek maidens delighted in the rhythmical games of ball—the 'white-armed Nausicaa's' favourite sport, wherein the player's dexterity must be united with ease and grace of movement.

The Bacchic dance is perhaps the most important division of Greek 'orchēsis,' and if it has not before been mentioned it is because the subject should be treated quite separately from what Plato called the 'dances of order.'

The religion of Dionysos was symbolical of natural phenomena ; it was elemental ; it was of the earth ; it arose from the instincts of primitive man, and possessed all the coarseness as well as the splendour of earthly things. Like the vine whose stout roots lie deeply embedded in the coarse brown earth, and whose fruits live in the light of day and are turned to sweetness by the action of the sun's warm rays, so the religion of Dionysos had its roots deep down in man's bodily nature, whilst its leaves and fruit lived in the sunshine and were turned to the highest uses, and were wrought into golden song and verse by the power of the artist. Dionysos, like Nature herself, was unashamed. He was the god of people who had not yet learnt to blush at natural things, all of which to them were sacred. But those in whom nature speaks with but a feeble voice, those in whom centuries of artificiality have killed all sense of their kinship with our 'great mother,' those who have never felt the link which binds us so closely to all living creatures—those, I say, will have no sympathy with the religion of Dionysos. One must have the power to feel one's 'earthiness' to truly love and comprehend Dionysos. But the wine of which Bromios is the god was a spiritual as well as a real wine. He was the god of inspiration ; he it was who awoke enthusiasm in

man, who whispered golden words in the poet's ear, who sang in the musician's heart, who taught the dancer his gestures ; he it was who urged on the hero in battle, the conqueror at the games ; he it was who gave a glow and a warmth to *the intellectual life through the emotional life* ; he the god who blew his 'mellow breath' through all that sweet land of Greece, making it speak, sing, and act in works of undying loveliness.

It may be that he became the god of the inspired only after having been the god of the grape. Man may have learnt that wine, by the release it gives from self-consciousness, will raise human creatures above themselves, will urge to deeds which, without its exhilarating effect, they would be too apathetic to accomplish ; it often brings illumination where there is darkness, clearness where all is tangled ; it makes man feel the warm life within him, the swift, eager life running through his veins. And only to a people who loved moderation could the god of wine come as a god of light. The Greeks despised drunkenness ; they despised whatever made a slave of man ; the barbarian besotted by drink was an object of contempt to them ; they shunned excess in this as in every other thing. And the effect of the real wine gradually became confused with that of the spiritual ; a man could be drunk with wine or he could be drunk with beauty. In either case he was possessed of Dionysos—'the god of the bitterness of things too sweet,' as Pater so subtly calls him. Such was the cult, and such were the dances : coarse, strong, natural, and wild, beautifully and gloriously inspired. Even in their wildest excesses some sort of artistic order must have prevailed. The dances were probably regulated, an 'orderly disorder' reigning throughout all of them. The followers of the 'life-giver' still live in sculpture and painting ; their dance has survived through centuries—as Landor makes Pericles say, 'the gods themselves will vanish away before their images.' Almost every Greek vase is a record of Bacchic mimetic ; we see there the Dionysiac dance in all its phases—the coarsest and the sublimest. Satyrs and manads, with their thyrsi and torches, still dance and sing to us their tale of gladness and sorrow—the joy and the sorrow from whence arose Greek comedy and tragedy. And those who would know more of the Bacchic dance have but to turn to Greek art itself, wherein the dances are described more eloquently than by any words ; and if they have eyes to see, there will they find more to love than to reject.

The influence of the ancient dance on art in general was inestimable. Even philosophy's ideal was to render the thinker's mind similar to the dancer's body—'supple to bend, strong to maintain its equilibrium, an exercise demanding the highest training and energy of all the muscles of a well-knit organism,' as our modern Nietzsche phrases it. And truly the art of dialectic, brought to such a degree of perfection by the Greeks, required in the mind all the qualities of a good

dancer—the quickness, the control, and the grace. To poetry the dance gave a richness and abundance of rhythm difficult to estimate ; to music it gave the same, indirectly, through poetry.

From the dance—the pantomimic ritual—of both the Eleusinian worship of Demeter and of the sombre and joyful cult of Dionysos arose tragedy and comedy. And sculpture and painting owe more to the influence of the dance than to any other thing. Athenaeus says that ‘the most eminent sculptors thought their time not ill-employed in studying and drawing the attitudes of their public dancers,’ and to this every Greek work of art bears witness. As Symonds says in his *Studies of the Greek Poets*, ‘the whole race lived out its sculpture and painting, rehearsed, as it were, the great masterpieces of Phidias and Polygnotus in physical exercise, before it learnt to express itself in marble and colour.’

The exquisite harmony, that easy grace of carriage so characteristic of Greek men and women, as we see them in ancient art, tell their own tale ; they are the result of that ‘*gumnāzo*,’ the exercising, the training. And the expressiveness of their attitudes, the way in which body, head, arm, and hand convey their meaning, the eloquence of every limb, comes from the thorough comprehension of the intellectual and emotional part of ‘*orchēsis*’—the mimetic. In no other art do we find that perfect balance of the physical and mental—‘*mens sana in corpore sano*’—so clearly exemplified. The little terracotta figures from Tanagra and Myrina show how much even in small things the Greek artist used the dancer as his model.

Enough has been said to show what an abyss lies between Greek ‘*orchēsis*’ and our modern conception of dancing. No art has fallen from so high, and no art has fallen so low. The dance, once so full of ‘solemn and passionate meaning,’ once the most powerful and eloquent mode of worshipping the gods, once a ‘true sister of the Muses, has now become a mere acrobatic exercise, an excuse for kicking and flirtation, as in the modern ballroom !

In a complex civilisation, where not only ‘man’s love is from man’s life a thing apart,’ but where religion and art are from man’s life quite apart ; where a man is satisfied with being religious only on Sunday, an artist only in picture-galleries and at concerts—it is not surprising that the most living and realistic of the arts, the one most closely bound up with daily life, should have become so degenerate and should even tend to disappear altogether. And we have but to turn to what Greek civilisation, with its cult of the dance, has bequeathed to humanity, to feel whether or no we should lament the death of Terpsichore.

MARCELLE AZRA HINCKS.

EARTHQUAKES IN GREAT BRITAIN

I FEEL that an apology is almost needed in beginning to write a paper on earthquakes in Great Britain; they are so few in number, so trifling in their effects, when compared with those of other lands—of Italy and Greece, of the Philippines and Japan, or of Chili and Central America. Taking account of number merely, we can recall no more than 171 earthquakes in this country in the last seventeen years, whereas in Japan they can point to 8,331 shocks in eight years, in Greece to 3,187 in six years, and in the island of Zante alone to 306 tremors during a single year. Area for area, for every earthquake observed in Great Britain, there are eighty-two recorded in Japan and 256 in the kingdom of Greece. Nor is the contrast lessened when we consider the intensity of the phenomena. Centuries have passed since we in these islands have suffered loss of life from an earthquake; while in Italy alone earthquakes are responsible for the deaths of more than 160,000 persons during the last three hundred years, and the Japanese lost more from the sea-waves of a single shock than during the whole course of their war with China.

But, if an apology be required, it is to be sought in the light which British earthquakes have thrown on the origin of these mysterious phenomena. When shock succeeds shock so rapidly as to defy registration, it is almost vain to search for hidden causes or to penetrate beneath the veil. In these islands the mills of God grind slowly, and shocks recur in any district at such wide intervals, the impression which they produce is so vivid and so lasting, that it is easy for their investigators to recover details after weeks or months have passed. The machinery of terrestrial change works, indeed, so gradually that we can follow the movement of each part, and, in time, the laws of crust-growth may stand revealed more clearly than they would in regions in which the rate of change is greater, the seismic phenomena more striking, and their effects more appalling.

At various times British earthquakes have been the subject of careful, though unfortunately not continuous, study. About sixty years ago Mr. David Milne (afterwards Milne-Home) wrote a valuable series of papers dealing chiefly with the remarkable shocks felt at and near Comrie, in Perthshire, and including a list of earthquakes

from 1608 to 1839. Alexis Perrey, the indefatigable seismologist of Dijon, devoted one of his regional monographs in 1849 to our earthquake shocks. Professor J. P. O'Reilly continues the record to the end of 1880; and, more recently, a catalogue, compiled by the late Mr. W. Roper, of Lancaster, has been published tabulating all the British earthquakes of the Christian era down to the early months of 1889. Isolated shocks have also been described in special memoirs, such as that by Messrs. Meldola and White on the East Anglian or Colchester earthquake of 1884, or in more brief reports published by the British Association and in various scientific journals. During the last seventeen years I have endeavoured to make a detailed study of every known British earthquake, and it is chiefly on the results of these inquiries that the present paper is founded.

If we may take the experience of these years as a guide, all of the catalogues mentioned above must contain many disturbances entered as earthquakes that have little or no claim to such a title. Some of these reputed earthquakes are of artificial, others of natural, origin. Several, perhaps, might fairly be classed under both heads, the operations of Nature being aided or hastened by those of man. It is impossible to eliminate all, or many, of these spurious or semi-artificial shocks. Often enough it is difficult, even at the present day when inquiries may still be made, to determine the true character of a suspected earthquake. Sometimes it may be traced to the firing of heavy guns twenty, fifty, or even a hundred miles away; or a meteorite may explode as it crosses the country, windows and houses may be shaken by the concussion, but, if the sky be overcast, the meteorite may otherwise pass unnoticed. There are districts, again, in which the rock below is honeycombed by passages of various kinds—by pit-workings that may now be deserted, by water-channels that are enlarged by pumping; and, from time to time, masses of rock must fall from the partly unsupported roof. There can be little doubt that local shocks are often due to such a cause.

On the other hand, it is equally certain that many slight shocks pass unnoticed, and a still larger number unrecorded. When earthquakes are registered instrumentally, they are found, as a rule, to occur most frequently about noon. In catalogues based on personal observations only, shocks are apparently most numerous shortly after 10 P.M. During the next two hours there seems to be a slight decline in frequency, followed by another apparent maximum about 1 A.M., when many persons, aroused from their first sleep, lie awake and nervous, in the condition when slight tremors are most easily perceived. During the busy hours of the day, before and after noon—that is, at the very time when earthquakes are most abundant—the number of observed shocks approaches its minimum. We cannot, therefore, err greatly if we increase the number of recorded British

earthquakes by 20 per cent., and conclude that, on an average, this country is visited by at least one earthquake every month.

The majority of these shocks are, of course, very slight—strong enough, perhaps, to make doors, windows, and other loose objects rattle, and to be felt over an area of one or two hundred square miles. Every few years one of greater strength occurs. None at any time in the recent history of these islands has been so destructive to property as that which visited the south-east of Essex on the 22nd of April, 1884. In Colchester alone more than four hundred buildings, including ten churches and chapels, had to be repaired; and, in the surrounding villages, at least eight hundred houses were more or less seriously damaged. At Abberton, a few miles south of Colchester, hardly a chimney was left standing; and, in the neighbouring village of Peldon, every house and cottage sustained some injury. The shock, it is estimated, was felt over an area of at least 50,000 square miles, or about the size of England, and there can be little doubt that the earth-waves were perceptible across the North Sea in Belgium. Next to the Colchester earthquake in destructiveness must be placed the Hereford earthquake of 1896. In Hereford alone, on this occasion, 217 chimneys were fractured or overthrown, and the cathedral suffered some slight injury which has only recently been repaired. In seventy-two other places, scattered over an area of 724 square miles, some damage to buildings, generally of little consequence, was done. The disturbed area was more extensive than that of any other known British earthquake. Amounting to at least 98,000 square miles, it included the whole of Wales, all of England except the three northern counties, the Isle of Man, and the south-eastern counties of Ireland. Several other recent earthquakes have possessed large disturbed areas. In 1892, and again in 1893, earthquakes originating in Pembrokeshire were felt in Ireland, having shaken areas of 56,000 and 63,000 square miles respectively. The Inverness earthquake of 1901 disturbed an area as large as Scotland. On the 24th of March, 1903, the Derby earthquake was felt over a district containing about 12,000 square miles, and was registered by a seismograph at Göttingen, the waves having travelled 500 miles to reach that city. Three months later the Carnarvon earthquake of the 19th of June disturbed an area of twice the size, including the Isle of Man and the eastern and south-eastern counties of Ireland. Again, on the 3rd of July, 1904, a second Derby earthquake, occurring during the restful hours of a Sunday afternoon, was perceptible over a tract of country measuring 25,000 square miles; while the Doncaster earthquake of last Easter Sunday morning shook not less than 17,000 square miles, or one-third the area of England.

When all the areas disturbed by earthquakes during the last sixteen years are plotted on a map, they are found to cover the greater part of the country. The only part of England untouched consists

of the counties of Northumberland and Durham, and part of the North Riding of Yorkshire; and even these exceptions would disappear if we carried the survey back to 1871. In Scotland, the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Hebrides have escaped, as well as most of the country to the south of the line joining Edinburgh to Glasgow. On the other hand, the whole of Wales has been affected thrice, and, except for its southern fringe, four times. The Isle of Man is included within the disturbed areas of the Hereford earthquake of 1896 and the Carnarvon earthquake of 1903. The south-eastern corner of Ireland has been shaken four times—in 1892, 1893, 1896, and 1903—in every case by earthquakes originating either in Wales or England. Indeed, so far as I know, not a single earthquake can, within the limits of time mentioned, be said to have occurred in the sister island.

In Great Britain itself the distribution of seismic activity is more restricted than would appear from the above account: for, as in Ireland, the disturbance of a large part of the country is mainly due to the widespread effects of a few strong shocks. If these, and they are not more than seven in number, be excluded, the local character of the majority of British shocks becomes evident at once from a map of the disturbed areas. We see, then, that of the 171 earthquakes felt during the last seventeen years, ninety-nine originated in Scotland, forty-eight in England, and twenty-four in Wales. In England the most unsettled counties are Cornwall and Herefordshire. In the former there have been nine earthquakes, disturbing on an average an area of about 150 square miles, and, on one occasion only, as much as 400 square miles. The Hereford earthquake of 1896 was accompanied by twelve minor shocks, two of which were felt over more than 6,000 square miles. Of the remaining earthquakes, seven originated in Derbyshire, four in Cumberland, three in Leicestershire and Somerset, two in Yorkshire, and one in each of the counties of Devon, Rutland, and Lancashire. In Scotland thirty occurred in the immediate neighbourhood of Inverness during the years 1890 and 1901; forty-six were felt in the west of the same county, one of which disturbed an area of about 1,200 square miles, all the rest being extremely limited in range. Ten occurred among the Ochil Hills, three at the celebrated village of Comrie, three in Annandale, two each in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh and in Kintyre, one in the west of Ross-shire, close to Loch Broom, and another in the neighbourhood of Dunoon. In Wales the centres of activity are still more restricted, fifteen earthquakes having originated in Pembrokeshire, eight in Carnarvonshire, and one in Central Wales, near Bala.

Though most of the important seismic centres were affected during these years, a few were poorly represented, while there are others which occasionally spring into activity at wider intervals. Confining

our survey to the nineteenth century, vibrations from the Comrie focus, to which I shall recur presently, disturbed nearly the whole of Scotland in 1801 and 1839. The strongest known earthquake of the Inverness district occurred in 1816, and a second in 1888. In another centre, lying beneath the sea to the west of Argyllshire, a shock took place in 1880 that was sensible over a district containing about 25,000 square miles, and including a considerable part of the north of Ireland. The Colchester earthquake of 1884, belonging to an almost single-shock centre, has been referred to already. In the north of England, near the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire, are one or more centres, which are responsible for strong shocks in 1835, 1843, 1869, and 1871. Another centre in Herefordshire, distinct from that of 1896, gave rise to an earthquake on the 6th of October, 1863, which was felt over nearly the whole of England and Wales, and of which a vivid impression is still retained by many of its observers. Lastly, on the 9th of November, 1852, a strong shock, originating probably beneath the Irish Sea, affected an area of about 75,000 square miles, which is, I believe, unique in having trenched on all four portions of the United Kingdom.

No part of the British Islands has, however, become so well or so justly celebrated for its earthquakes as the village of Comrie, in Perthshire, situated nearly midway between Loch Earn and Crieff. The first mention of its name in earthquake catalogues occurs, without any accompanying details, under the date of the 11th of November, 1788. In the following summer concussions or rumbling noises, and later on faint tremors, were observed, but they resembled artificial disturbances so closely as to remain almost unnoticed until the evening of the 2nd of September, when a smart shock was felt at Comrie. Two months later, on the 5th, 10th, and 11th of November, still stronger shocks occurred, the first of which was a typical Comrie earthquake, as it was followed within two hours by as many as thirty slight after-shocks. About this time the disturbances were more notable for their frequency than for their strength. Writing in the following January, one observer estimates the total number within about six months at not less than 800 or 900.

With regard to these small concussions [he remarks], it will be sufficient to say that many of them have been observed to succeed one another in the space of a few hours; that they take place in all kinds of weather; that they are thought by some people to proceed from north-west to south-east and by others from north-east to south-west; that they have not been observed to affect the barometer; that they do not extend in any direction above three or four miles from Comrie; and that towards the south they are bounded by the Earn, which is in the immediate vicinity of the village. The same person, though bestowing the minutest attention, is often uncertain whether they proceed from the earth or from the air, sometimes believing them to come from the one, and sometimes from the other; neither do all agree with respect to the seat of any one of them.

After this brief but condensed tremor-storm, occupying not more than six or eight months, the Comrie focus lapsed into comparative inactivity, few shocks being recorded in 1790, only one in 1791, and three in each of the next two years. With the autumn of 1794 its energy was renewed. Rumbling noises were frequently heard throughout the whole of 1795. These were followed during the next four years by shocks, sometimes smartly felt at Comrie, but always confined to small areas, until they culminated in two violent earthquakes on the 11th of January and the 7th of September, 1801, each of which was felt in Edinburgh (distant more than forty miles), while the latter was perceptible over nearly the whole of Scotland. It may be that the records in the ensuing period are defective, or the rarity of notices may correctly represent the prevailing quietude. Whichever it be, Mr. Milne-Home reports only twenty slight shocks between 1801 and the autumn of 1839.

It was about this time that the fame of Comrie became established, owing chiefly to the exertions and interest of Mr. Milne-Home. He secured in the first place the co-operation of Mr. Macfarlane, the intelligent postmaster of the village. Mr. James Drummond, a shoemaker, also kept a careful record, and, from the nature of his occupation, became an efficient observer. In the following year (1840) a committee of the British Association was appointed, including Mr. Milne-Home as secretary. One result of the committee's work was the erection of several seismographs of a simple form of construction. Two of these were inverted pendulums, and consisted of a rod, in one instrument 3 feet 3 inches and in the other 10 feet 8 inches long, each fixed at the lower end, and carrying a heavy weight at the other, to which was also attached a writing-pointer. The records were inscribed on a spherical surface rigidly fastened to the wall just above the pointer. The larger of these pendulums was placed inside the steeple of the parish church at Comrie, the other at Comrie House a quarter of a mile to the north; while the third instrument, a pendulum of the ordinary type, 3 feet 3 inches long, was installed at Garriechrow, about two miles west of Comrie. It cannot be said, however, that these instruments worked very efficiently, for during the first six months of 1841 the common pendulum was never disturbed, and the inverted pendulums were only twice displaced, while Mr. Macfarlane reports that twenty-seven shocks were distinctly felt at Comrie. Before a second year had elapsed, five more instruments were added, three inverted pendulums were set up at places five or six miles from Comrie, and two other instruments in the village itself, one of which, it was hoped, would measure the vertical movement of the ground so frequently observed.

Returning to the results of this increased vigilance, we find the last and most prolonged of the Comrie earthquake periods beginning early in October 1839. On the 3rd inst. one shock was felt, on the

7th five, on the 12th ten, altogether forty-two shocks during the first three weeks, leading up to the principal shock of the series, which occurred at about 10.30 P.M. on the 23rd of October. Mr. Milne-Home, who devotes more than seventy pages to the description of this earthquake, estimates that it was felt throughout two-thirds of Scotland, as far to the north as the Caledonian Canal, and towards the south as a line drawn from the Solway to the mouth of the Tweed. At Comrie the shock was by far the most severe of any that could be recalled by its observers. The heaving of the earth was greater, and it

was accompanied with a noise in nature and intensity indescribably terrific—that of water, wind, thunder, discharge of cannon, and the blasting of rocks appeared combined. Giving a short warning by a distant murmur, it gradually increased in intensity for some seconds, when at length becoming louder than thunder, and somewhat similar to the rush of the hurricane, it suddenly changed, and a noise resembling that of a blasting rock thrice repeated followed, which again died away like distant thunder.

About twenty houses were damaged by this shock, chimneys were fractured or loosened, and portions were thrown down, while in one case the top of a chimney was fissured, and the upper part twisted over the lower. From Comrie outwards the intensity of the shock gradually decreased, though not at a uniform rate. 'The lines of equal intensity,' Mr. Milne-Home remarks, 'appear to have formed ellipses, of which Comrie is the centre, and of which the longer diameter is about north-east and south-west, or parallel with the chain of the Grampians.'

This earthquake was, however, less remarkable for its strength than for the long train of shocks and sounds that followed it. The British Association records are continued until September 1844, by which time 389 after-shocks had been felt, chiefly by Mr. Macfarlane. Mr. Drummond's list closes with the year 1841, the most remarkable entries being those relating to earth-sounds without any accompanying tremor, which he describes as gas-explosions. Of these, he enumerates 234, namely, 82 from the 23rd of October to the end of 1839, 99 in 1840, and 53 in 1841. After 1844, interest in the subject flagged, probably with the frequency of the shocks. The British Association committee ceased to exist, and the history of Comrie earthquakes is relegated to scattered notes communicated by Mr. Macfarlane to the lists for the whole world published annually by Professor Perrey. Within the last half-century, there can be no doubt as to the inactivity of the Comrie focus. During the seventeen years in which I have studied British earthquakes, it has been represented by only three disturbances, and those of the slightest order. They resembled, however, the earthquakes of a century before, in being confined to the district immediately surrounding Comrie, and almost entirely to the north side of the river Earn.

From the distribution of British earthquakes in time and space, we may now turn to their nature and origin. At places near the centre of disturbance, the first sign of the coming earthquake is a low sound like the sudden rising of the wind. Almost immediately a faint trembling begins, such as is felt on a railway platform when an express train rushes by. Rapidly this increases in strength, the sound becomes louder, more rumbling and grating in character, and resembling that produced by the rapid passage of a traction-engine or a heavy motor-car. It is a sound so deep as almost to be more felt than heard. Then, after the lapse of four or five seconds from the start, the tremors merge into sharp rapid vibrations, accompanied by loud explosive crashes in the midst of the rumbling sound. These may last for two or three seconds, after which the vibrations shade off again into tremors, the sound becoming a mere rumbling and finally all movement ceases, the sound dying away as a low monotonous groan like the last roll of very distant thunder. Farther away, at distances of from 50 to 100 miles from the centre, the phenomena are much simpler. There is no change in the nature of the sound, which merely increases in strength with the tremor, and then both die away together. The movement is, however, less rapid and jolting, and more like that felt in a carriage with good springs travelling over an uneven road.

Nineteen out of every twenty earthquakes in this country are fairly represented by the above descriptions. The remaining earthquakes are somewhat more complex. The shock consists of two distinct parts separated by an interval of two or three seconds, each part being similar to the shock of a simple earthquake. In some, the two parts are connected at places near the centre by a weak tremulous motion, which, at a short distance, becomes imperceptible; in others, the interval between the two parts is everywhere one of absolute rest and quiet. The parts generally differ slightly in duration and intensity, and occasionally in the nature of their vibrations. To earthquakes of this class, the name of 'twin' has been given, because, as will be seen, the double shock is due to two distinct impulses resulting from a single generative effort.

The strongest earthquakes in this country are just capable of producing slight damage to buildings. Others are strong enough to overthrow ornaments and vases, or to make pictures and chandeliers swing, to give a perceptible movement to the observer's seat, to make doors, windows, &c., rattle, or, finally, to be just perceptible to a person at rest. The waves of any earthquake, as they radiate outwards from the origin, pass gradually through these different degrees of intensity. Knowing the degree at a large number of places, it is possible to draw on the map of an earthquake a series of isoseismal lines, or lines of equal intensity. Rough though this scale of intensity may be, it would be difficult to over-estimate the service which it

has rendered in the investigation of earthquakes. It, or a similar scale, is now in use in every country in which earthquakes are carefully studied.

In any earthquake, the outer isoseismal lines are nearly circular in form, while the inner curves are elongated (approximately in the same direction), the innermost curve of all being as a rule the most elongated. This form of the curves has long been known to seismologists, and was usually attributed by them, as by Mr. Home in the case of the Comrie earthquake of 1839, to greater ease of transmission of the vibrations in certain directions. But the explanation is clearly insufficient ; for, in the same district, the isoseismal lines of different earthquakes are sometimes at right angles to one another. The elongated isoseismal lines, in fact, imply an elongated seismic focus, while the direction of their longer axes indicates that of the greatest horizontal dimension of the focus.

It is, however, when considered in connection with the geological structure of the districts that the significance of these elongated isoseismal lines becomes apparent. Their longer axes are then found to be parallel, or very nearly so, to the axes of the great crust-folds of the underlying rocks. In Great Britain, these crust-folds follow four predominant lines of direction. The Caledonian folds run north-east and south-west, the Charnian north-west and south-east, the Malvernian north and south, and the Armorican folds east and west. It requires only a glance at the map of Britain to realise the impress of the Caledonian folds on the form of our coast-line, on the trend, for instance, of the Scottish firths or of the peninsula of Lleyn in Carnarvonshire. And it can hardly be without meaning that, in the strongest of our British earthquakes, the isoseismal lines should be elongated parallel to the Caledonian folds or to the perpendicular Charnian system.

The initiation of these folds dates from long-past geological ages, and their formation has proceeded slowly and gradually ever since. In close connection with the folds, however, are nearly parallel and perpendicular systems of faults or fractures, along which movement takes place intermittently, the crust on one side advancing over that on the other by a series of slips, rather than by imperceptible creeps. When we consider that these faults are often many miles in length (two, for instance, cross the whole of Scotland), and that the total displacement may amount to thousands of feet, even to miles, when we think, further, that in each individual slip the crust may not advance by more than a fraction of an inch, though it may be by several feet, we can realise, though but dimly, the enormous number of displacements that must contribute to the growth of a great fault. At the same time, if we consider the mass of the rock that may be subjected to one of these slips and the friction that must thus suddenly be brought into action, we can understand how the resulting vibration

would produce a shock that may be as weak as the faintest tremor felt at Comrie, or, on the other hand, as mighty as one of the great convulsions that have devastated Lisbon or Calabria, or ruined the coasts of Chili and Japan.

This is not the place to enter fully into the question of the origin of earthquakes, though many reasons might be urged in support of the theory thus slightly sketched. At present, it is more to the point to notice briefly the connection between British earthquakes and British faults. The Hereford earthquake of 1896 appears to have been caused by a slip along a Charnian fault bounding the well-known Woolhope anticlinal. In Charnwood Forest, in Leicestershire is a parallel anticlinal bordered on both sides by faults, one of which on the north-east side gave rise to the Leicester earthquakes of 1893 and 1904. To fault-slips of the same system must be attributed the Somerset earthquakes of 1893 and the Exmoor earthquake of 1894. The Pembroke earthquake of 1892 was connected with a fault of the Malvernian system, and two of its after-shocks with perpendicular faults. Several of the Cornish earthquakes are due to movements along Armorican faults. To slips of Caledonian faults must be assigned the Hereford earthquake of 1863, the Colchester earthquake of 1884, the Carnarvon earthquake of 1903, and the Derby earthquakes of 1903 and 1904. In Scotland, the connection between earthquakes and faults of this system is still more apparent. The Highland district is bounded both to the south-east and the north-west by two great faults, which traverse the whole of the country from north-east to south-west. The former starts from Stonehaven, and in its course passes just to the south of Comrie. Mr. Milne-Home remarks of the principal earthquake of 1839 that the isoseismal lines were elongated from north-east to south-west, that is, parallel to the direction of the fault, and the same extension was noticeable in the slight shock of the 12th of July, 1895. That the foci of the Comrie earthquakes were not deeply seated is shown by the small areas within which the shocks were confined and the rapid fading in intensity from the centres of those areas towards their boundaries. In the earthquakes of 1895 and 1898, as well as in the countless tremors of 1789 and succeeding years, the disturbed areas extend little, if at all, to the south of Comrie. From this it may be inferred that the foci were situated on the north-west side of the fault-line; in other words, that the fault-surface slopes in this direction—a conclusion which is in accordance with recent geological researches.

The north-west boundary of the Highlands, as already mentioned, consists of another great fault. Starting from Tarbat Ness, the most easterly point of Ross-shire, this fault is responsible for the rectilinear form of the south-east coast of that county, bordering the Moray Firth. Then, passing close to Inverness, it continues along the line of the Caledonian Canal, forming or deepening the lochs of Dochfour,

Ness, Oich, Lochy, and Linnhe, and running out to sea after a course of more than a hundred miles. In two districts, the growth of this fault is still taking place—one in the neighbourhood of Fort William, where slight shocks are not infrequently felt, the other in the tract which intervenes between Inverness and the east end of Loch Ness. This is the most interesting seismic region in Great Britain. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, it has been the seat of four strong earthquakes, in the years 1816, 1888, 1890, and 1901. The first and third of these were followed by many slighter shocks, some of which probably originated beneath Loch Ness. The last, which has been studied the most carefully, was caused by a slip of the fault reaching nearly the whole seven miles from Loch Ness to Inverness, and greatest in amount at a point about midway between them. Within a few days, numerous small slips took place, the three largest extending the area of displacement in both directions along the fault-surface. Towards the north-east the extension was small, probably less than half a mile; towards the south-west it amounted to six miles or more, and must therefore have penetrated beneath Loch Ness. In addition to these were many smaller slips, some of which occurred near Inverness, the majority near the centre of the displaced region of the fault, and others below the eastern end of Loch Ness. The direction of the movements, whether upwards or downwards, cannot be determined; but they were probably downwards, and if so they would indicate that Loch Ness is even now slowly growing, and at the same time advancing, or tending to advance, towards the north-east. After the lapse of some hundreds of thousands of years, it may be that the present site of Inverness will be submerged, and that Loch Ness and Loch Dochfour will unite and form with the Moray Firth one long arm of the sea.

The Inverness earthquake may be taken as typical of the class of simple earthquakes, in which the fault-slip is greatest in the central region of the seismic focus, and dies off gradually towards the margins. The chief result of such a displacement is an increased tendency to slip in the neighbourhood of the margins, and we therefore find that a simple earthquake of some intensity is generally followed by a number of slight shocks, each of which indicates a small fault-slip either within or overlapping the principal focus. The after-shocks gradually diminish in frequency and strength, and cease when equilibrium is completely restored within the seismic focus and its immediate vicinity.

In a 'twin' earthquake the fault-slip is of a different nature. Nearly all over the disturbed area the shock consists of two detached parts, and wherever this is the case, the result is practically the same as if the impulse causing the first part were immediately repeated. In most cases, however, there is a surface-band, crossing the longer

axes of the isoseismal lines almost centrally and at right angles, within which the two parts of the shock coalesce and form a single shock either with one or two maxima of intensity ; and the mere existence of this band is conclusive proof, not only of the occurrence of two distinct impulses, but of impulses in two entirely detached foci. In a few cases, the surface-positions of the foci can be determined, and the band in which the two parts of the shock coalesce then passes between them. A second and no less important conclusion to be drawn from the existence of this band is that the interval between the two impulses is less than the time required for the earth-waves to travel from one focus to the other ; if otherwise, the vibrations proceeding from one focus would always be felt before those arriving from the other. In the Derby earthquake of 1903, the band was straight, and passed midway between the two centres and at right angles to the line joining them—showing that the two impulses occurred simultaneously. In the Hereford earthquake of 1896 and the Derby earthquake of 1904 the band was slightly curved, implying that the focus towards which the convexity was turned was first in action, for the waves from it had to travel farther than the waves from the other focus before they coalesced with them. Thus, in a twin earthquake, not only are the foci detached but the second impulse is in no way the consequence of the first ; both are rather due, as already suggested, to the action of a single generative effort.

The only kind of displacement capable of producing such a result is that of rotation. A simple crust-fold consists of a crest or anticline, and a trough or syncline, connected by a middle limb. A step in the growth of a fold would involve a rotation of the middle limb, with a corresponding and nearly simultaneous rise of the crest and lowering of the trough. Such a movement, when taking place along one of the faults that intersect the fold transversely, would result in two detached fault-slips, one within the crest, the other within the trough of the fold, while the portion of the middle limb about which rotation took place would represent the undisturbed region between the seismic foci.

The division of earthquakes into 'simple' and 'twin' thus corresponds with different modes of origin. In both the shocks we feel are directly due to the friction resulting from fault-growth. In simple earthquakes, which form the great majority of those occurring in this country, the movement is due to the simple displacement of the rock-masses adjoining a fault parallel to one of the great lines of folding. In twin earthquakes, which, though in the minority, nevertheless include our strongest shocks (for example, the Colchester earthquake of 1884, the Pembroke earthquakes of 1892 and 1893, and the Hereford earthquake of 1896), the decisive movement is one of rotation along a fault perpendicular or nearly so to the axis of a

crust-fold. Both classes of earthquakes are therefore directly connected with movements which are but the continuation of others still greater that in times past have given rise to the scenery of this country. And it is surely not without interest that we may reflect that every earthquake, whether it occur in the Highlands of Scotland, the midlands of England, or the plains of Essex, is nevertheless the transitory index of one more step in the physical history of Britain.

CHARLES DAVISON.

THE LABOUR PARTY—A UNIONIST VIEW

‘LABOUR is no longer on the doorstep,’ writes the *Clarion*. ‘Labour is inside. Something will happen.’ The presence of over fifty ‘Labour’ members in the House of Commons is an accomplished fact, and it is a fact that revolutionises the cleavage of political parties in the United Kingdom, and introduces an entirely new force into the Parliamentary arena. Hitherto there have been individual Liberal-labour members in Parliament, adherents of the Radical party, negligible in numbers and in voting power. Now, for the first time, an independent Parliamentary Labour party of respectable proportions that has to be reckoned with exists. It may be noted here that the event was accurately foreseen and foretold by those who have been mainly instrumental in bringing it about. Mr. Keir Hardie, in an interesting article appearing in this Review of January 1906, and written before the event, very clearly foreshadows the advent of the Independent Labour party, frankly explains the agencies and the movement of which it is the outcome, claims for it both permanence and increasing numbers and power, and goes on to indicate its policy and its demands. ‘It is an outward and visible sign,’ says Mr. Keir Hardie, ‘of the determination of the *disinherited* democracy to have government of the people, by the people, and for the people.’

He proceeds to ask, ‘What will be the attitude of Liberalism and Conservatism towards the Labour party?’

Liberalism, in the first flush of victory at the polls, has already hailed the Labour party as a friend and ally, though its transports of affection distinctly cooled down in proportion as successive gains day by day rendered the Liberal Government less and less dependent on the Labour vote. This, of course, is only what the practical latter-day politician had a right to expect. As Mr. Gladstone only became alive to the necessity of granting Home Rule to Ireland when the results of the General Election of 1885 showed the strength of the Irish Nationalist vote, and the dependence of his Government upon that vote, so the views of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his colleagues as to the practical wisdom and urgency of the Labour policy, as such, may be largely guided by the extent to which the

continued existence of their Government in power may or may not depend on the Labour vote.

Judged from this practical standpoint, the immediate realisation of the Labour programme is unlikely, even granting the existence of a Labour-Home-Rule alliance which might create a body of independent Parliamentary malcontents over 130 strong. The Government now possesses a Liberal majority of 88 votes in the House of Commons over all other parties combined.

My present object, however, is to try to consider the Labour policy on its merits, and apart from the temporary exigencies that may or may not be created by the strength of its vote. For it is on its inherent merits, in the long run, that it must stand or fall. The fortune of the moment, the swing of the pendulum, favourable but evanescent, and even mendacious electioneering cries such as 'Chinese Slavery' and 'Dear Food,' may all have contributed to a mushroom growth. But unless its foundations are securely laid on the solid good sense and intelligent beliefs of the British people as a whole, and unless its declared policy is capable of withstanding the continued test of time and of calm and enlightened criticism, then the newly-formed Labour party, with its Labour programme, is, after all, only a house built upon the sand.

As a Unionist who, after twenty years' service in the House of Commons, has been handsomely defeated in a great industrial constituency by a Labour candidate pure and simple, I may claim some personal knowledge of the Labour organisation and programme. As the successful candidate in five previous elections against five different Liberal candidates, I may also claim some direct knowledge of electioneering tactics. As a member of the defeated Unionist party now in opposition, and with ample opportunity for reflection, it is possible calmly to consider the situation.

First, as to the electioneering methods of the Labour party. These have been simple and direct, and, on the whole, consistent. Appeal has been made to the wage-earning classes to vote for men of their own class to represent them in the House of Commons, and to represent them independently. No alliance is to be made with any other party in the State. It has been a class appeal pure and simple. The 'disinherited democracy' is at length to assert its sovereign political power, and to exercise that power for its own ends.

I have said that their methods have been, on the whole, consistent. The L.R.C. (Labour Representation Committee) have insisted on the insertion of the following clause in their revised constitution, to which all Labour candidates are required to subscribe :

To form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own Whips and its own policy on Labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties, and not to oppose any other candidates recognised by this Committee.

All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by the decisions of the group in carrying out the aims of this constitution, or resign, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only.

But in addition to Mr. John Burns, formerly a 'Labour' champion, but now a Cabinet Minister, four strong Labour representatives, Messrs. Steadman, Richard Bell, Ward, and Havelock Wilson, have refused to subscribe to this condition, and yet they have all been returned to the House of Commons, presumably by the Labour vote. To this extent, therefore, there is an obvious flaw in their virtue as an homogeneous independent party. But the Labour party are involved in another compromise of a far graver kind. The Irish Nationalists have claimed them on English public platforms as allies, and Mr. Keir Hardie himself has publicly acknowledged the alliance.¹ Wherever Nationalist orators have addressed British audiences, they have usually appealed to the Labour vote. During the recent election Mr. Michael Davitt, speaking in support of the Labour candidate who defeated me at St. Helens, said : .

I have come to help as much as I can the Labour candidate. I am commis-
sioned by Mr. John Redmond and the Irish leaders to give whatever assistance
lies in my power where my own people reside in Great Britain, and where a
Labour candidate is coming forward. . . . We want more Labour members in
the House of Commons. When you have 100 or 150 Labour members there
— you can take it from me—when that day comes you will have as staunch
allies every single Nationalist elected in Ireland to the House of Commons.

No doubt many other instances of the same kind could be cited; while in the election addresses and speeches of Labour candidates for British constituencies where there is an appreciable Irish Nationalist vote virtual promises of Home Rule support have always been given.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Labour party in the House of Commons will inevitably find themselves committed to an alliance, tacit or expressed, with the Irish Nationalist party, and that the exigencies of Parliamentary warfare will cement this alliance. If the Nationalists can further Home Rule by supporting the Labour programme and so gain the Labour vote for their own purposes, they will assuredly do so.

Passing from these discrepancies, we find that Labour candidates

¹ The following report appeared in a Lancashire paper during the election :— Mr. Keir Hardie said that the Labour party stood first and foremost for Labour questions. Whilst that was so, if there could be—as it appeared there could be—a good friendly understanding arrived at between the seventy-five Irish members and the forty or forty-five Labour members, that would represent a voting strength in the House of Commons of 120, and he cared not how strong a Government might be, it could not afford to fly in the face of 120 votes. He said that because it gave them more than ever the hope that the new Parliament would see things attempted and done which hitherto had not got beyond the stage of platform promises.

and their supporters have made ample use of current electioneering cries for their own ends. 'Dear Food' and 'Chinese Labour' have been worked for all they are worth. In view of the lead given them in this respect by Liberal and Radical candidates, some of them Ministers of the Crown, they would have been more than human had they not done so, and nothing could have been more opportune for 'Labour' purposes. It is practically certain that these two cries alone, apart from the merits of the Labour programme, and apart from the wave of Socialism now going through the industrial classes, have gained thousands of votes and many seats both for Radicalism and for Labour.

It is not my intention here to touch upon the merits of 'Dear Food' and 'Chinese Labour,' beyond remarking that the whole political history of England may be ransacked without finding greater electioneering frauds than these two cries, or frauds that have imposed more successfully upon the British electorate.

We have seen, then, that in two respects the independence of the Labour party is open to criticism, and that some adventitious circumstances have helped the entrance of that party into the House of Commons.

But what is its real programme? What are the practical ends it has in view? And by what methods does it propose to gain them? Mr. Keir Hardie has classified the policy of the Labour party as laid down by its annual congresses into reforms that are fundamental, and reforms that are merely expedient, including among the latter such questions as Registration Reform and Payment of Members. In passing, it is instructive to note that he, for one, does not consider this latter question urgent, but rather seems to advocate the view that it is better that the members of Trades Unions who now find the funds should continue, for a time at all events, to hold the purse-strings, and so maintain full control of their representatives in the House of Commons. Here, again, is a new departure in British politics. The Labour party, unlike any previous political party, apart from the Irish Nationalists, that has ever existed in this country, are to be the paid delegates of a particular class of the community.

Under the head of Electoral Reform Mr. Hardie advocates the enfranchisement of women as urgent. He then goes on to mention the fundamental matters that, in his view, are also really urgent, among which, curiously enough, no mention is made of any proposed amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act. These fundamental matters include meals for school-children; amendment of the Unemployed Workmen Act, whereby the cost of labour colonies and other similar undertakings should be placed upon the public funds, if necessary by means of Treasury grants; and public subsidies for land afforestation and reclamation, and in aid of Trades Union sick funds. Then come old age pensions; acquisition of the whole

of the schools of the country by and for the nation ; and the conferring of full powers upon municipalities for the acquisition of land. To balance these proposals, which obviously involves an extravagant national and local expenditure—regardless of economics—of very many millions sterling, a graduated income tax and the reduction of our military expenditure are advocated as items to be placed on the credit side of our national balance-sheet.

Apart from these items of policy which directly concern our national finances, the Trades Disputes Bill, as presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Whittaker in 1905, is mentioned as a matter in which the Labour party will brook no delay. This measure is doubtless advocated merely as a means to an end. The Taff Vale decision has greatly hampered the action of Trades Unions in the case of trade disputes. Serious financial responsibility may now be incurred by the illegal action of Trades Union officials, and freedom from such responsibility is therefore most ardently desired by the Trades Unions and the Labour party, with the view, of course, of exercising greater power and control over the employer of labour should trades disputes unfortunately arise, coupled with absolute freedom as to the use and disposal of Trades Union funds. All, or nearly all the above proposals, in some cases amplified or amended, and with the addition of proposals for a minimum wage and an universal eight hours working day, are again set out in a further article by the same writer, appearing in the *National Review* for February, after the Parliamentary Labour party had become an accomplished fact. Mr. Keir Hardie now writes with all the added weight and authority of a true political prophet in this respect.

The above-mentioned main items of the Labour policy are given on the authority of a writer with some Parliamentary experience. Further information on the subject can be gleaned from other sources, such as, for example, from the articles of Mr. Robert Blatchford, the editor of the *Clarion*, and from the political addresses and speeches of the various Labour candidates throughout the country in the recent election. They all breathe the same tone, and in most cases are frankly socialistic. Direct appeal is made to the wage-earning classes as opposed to the capitalist and the employer. The 'tyranny of capital,' and 'Labour is the producer of all wealth' have been frequent and favourite texts.

Opposition to the class of 'wealth and privilege' has been openly declared. In his second article (*National Review*, February 1906), Mr. Keir Hardie is very outspoken. 'No amount of fine writing,' he declares, 'can obscure the fact that the advent of a Labour party, strongly imbued and leavened with Socialism, is a menace to the privileges and monopolies which enable the denizens of Mayfair to revel in riotous excess, whilst their victims, both in England, India, and South Africa, reek in poverty.' From this point of view the

proceeds, among other things, to comment on the concentration and increase of capital in various large enterprises here and in the United States, resulting, as he endeavours to show, in increased production on the one hand, and in decreased demand for workers on the other.

Turning again to our other sources of information, vague proposals for the nationalisation of land, railways and minerals have been boldly advanced in many quarters, the abolition or extinction by taxation of mining royalties in particular being a favourite and telling theme in English coal-mining centres. On these points details have not been entered into, the general ideas being considered sufficient for the purpose of capturing Labour votes. The abolition of the House of Lords is also advocated, doubtless as a means to an end.

I have endeavoured thus shortly to summarise the main items of the declared Labour policy, in order, if possible, to ascertain and analyse their underlying principles and motive power.

With some of the proposals enumerated above all right-thinking and earnest-minded men will, in principle at all events, no doubt heartily sympathise. We would all like to see school-children adequately fed, provided, of course, parental thriftlessness and neglect are not thereby to be too widely encouraged. Every humane man would like to support some practical scheme of old age pensions, again provided that the drunken and the thriftless shall not thereby be too generously relieved at the expense of the thrifty from the consequences of their own misdeeds, and so encouraged to further idleness and misconduct; and also provided the cost of any such scheme be not prohibitive.² So far the difficulty has been to evolve an old age pension scheme that will command the support of any large body of fair-minded and practical politicians.

The above sentiments, now they are written, appear almost as copy-book platitudes, and yet they are given as necessary instances of the economic and social difficulties that appear to be generally evaded or ignored by the leaders and supporters of the Labour party.

Here, then, is our first ground of criticism and comment on the Labour policy now under review. Making ample allowance for platform romance during the heat of an election campaign, the main fact remains that a purely class appeal has been made by the Labour party, in which all practical economic considerations have been thrown to the winds, and the inequalities of the human lot have been appealed to and played upon in order to secure Parliamentary support.

It thus follows that one great source of weakness in the Labour party will be their inability to satisfy, by Parliamentary action, the hopes and aspirations they may have raised among their working-class constituents. A few sessions in the House of Commons may help to convince some of the new Labour members how limited are

² The Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer confess themselves unable to solve this problem. See the daily Press of February 16.

the powers of Parliament, and how impossible it is to equalise the distribution of wealth by statute ; but by the time they have learnt this lesson they may have forfeited the confidence of the men who sent them there.

It seems clear that the underlying principle and motive power of the Labour party is true Socialism, or, in other words, a desire so to alter and readjust the liberty of the individual, the rights of private contract and of private property, and to interfere by legislation with the freedom of private enterprise as to bring about a social and industrial revolution.

In my opinion no stronger argument in favour of Tariff Reform can be advanced than the fact that the Labour policy, thus advocated, has met with a certain measure of success in this election. For it argues the existence of a strong feeling of discontent and unrest among the wage-earners to whom it has been addressed, emphasised as it has been by the large numbers of our unemployed. The seed of Socialism has thus fallen on fertile ground ; and, with the adventitious help—shall we say unsavoury top-dressing ?—of ‘Chinese Slavery,’ &c., and the fertilising swing of the political pendulum, has yielded a fairly good harvest of votes. But industrial discontent argues industrial disease, and in itself is a flat contradiction of the glib assurances of Free-importers that all is well with our trade and industries.

But the main weakness of the Labour party and the Trades Unions is, not that they are agitating without reason, but that their diagnosis of the case is altogether mistaken, and therefore that their treatment is wrong. Socialism is far too drastic a remedy, if remedy it be, for an old and complicated social and industrial system like our own ; and its advocacy can only result in ultimate discredit for its advocates and injury to those on whose behalf it is advanced. Let us take some simple illustrations of our meaning. The Socialism of the Labour party appears to take no heed whatever of our foreign and colonial trade. It is self-centred in these two small islands in the North Sea, which have long since been unable either to feed or to employ from their own resources the teeming millions of our home population. Our industrial employment, as well as our daily bread, is now largely dependent on over-sea supplies and on foreign and colonial trade. How then can a policy be sound and comprehensive which leaves out of account one of the most important factors in the case ? British Trades Unions can pass regulations controlling their own members, and advocate legislation involving extravagant national expenditure on the one hand, and restricting or interfering with the employment of private capital at home on the other, but they can exercise no control at all over foreign or colonial industries and over the investment of capital abroad. Here again is another fatal flaw in the soundness of their logic. Apart from other objections, unless their Socialism is worldwide, it can under no circumstances

be of any avail. The fugitive nature, the fluidity of capital, is entirely left out of account in the Labour propaganda. It is all very well to preach against the 'tyranny of capital,' but it is necessary first to catch your hare before you cook it. Capital will persist in seeking the best markets, will inevitably continue to flow into the most remunerative channels. The British holder of an adequate amount of Japanese bonds, for example, or the British employer of foreign labour abroad, can afford, so far as he himself is concerned, to smile at the legislation, be it never so socialistic, of a British House of Commons. The parliamentary sceptre which Labour seeks to touch has a strictly limited sway.

The pity of it is that, for the wage-earner himself, this part of the question is a matter of urgent concern, of most heart rending earnestness. For he cannot so readily follow across the seas the capital which once employed him, and which may have taken wings and flown either on account of competition from abroad, to which the wage-earner has been blind, or because of penal legislation at home, which the wage-earner himself has been misled into advocating.

I have beside me, as I write a list of nearly thirty British industrial firms or companies who have removed their capital and business, either in whole or in part, to foreign countries during the past quarter of a century. This means that a large amount of British capital is now employing thousands of foreign workmen, possibly to its own greater advantage, but to the direct and certain detriment of our own home-bred wage earning class. Yet the speeches and propaganda of the Labour party may be ransacked without finding the slightest reference to, or explanation of, this phenomenon, and *à fortiori*—without any suggested remedy for such an industrial evil.

We can find object lessons on every hand of British industrial disease with which the declared Labour policy is impotent to deal.

A certain factory was not long since erected in the south of England, at a cost of 200,000*l.*, for the manufacture of a product till then imported from Germany. The natural facilities for the manufacture of this particular product are at least as good in this country as in Germany. The calculations of profit on which the enterprise was started, and the necessary capital expended, were based on the ruling price of the German imported article. The day the works were started, giving employment at good wages to many hundreds of British workmen, the German producers, protected in their own home market by a tariff wall, cut down the price of their exported product to a figure below the cost of production, with the obvious intention of underselling the new British enterprise—England, with its open door, being the only country in the civilised world where such an operation is possible. The British factory struggled on for a few months, found itself working at a loss, and was finally compelled to close its doors. The capital expended was lost; the British workmen were discharged,

and the German producers, having succeeded in their design, then raised the price of their exported product even higher than before. Thus even the consumer enjoyed no permanent advantage.

Numerous other similar instances of the unfair operation—to the wage-earners—of free imports versus high tariffs could be given did space permit. One more will serve my purpose. Many years ago the manufacture of sugar-machinery for export to the Sandwich Islands was an important Glasgow industry, which gave employment at high wages to many skilled Scotch mechanics. At that time England and France had guaranteed the independence of the Sandwich Islands in return for the ‘open door.’ This guarantee was allowed to lapse. The United States promptly made a reciprocity treaty with the Sandwich Islanders; a prohibitive import tariff was straight-way clapped on to Glasgow sugar-machinery in consequence of this treaty; and now the Sandwich Islanders obtain all their machinery from the United States, that particular Glasgow industry was killed, and many skilled British workmen lost a good job. An ounce of (tariff) practice is worth a ton of (free trade) theory. The ‘Cobden’ politician has yet to be found who is capable of persuading the particular British workman thus deprived of employment that he is really benefiting by free imports versus high tariffs. But the main point here is that the socialistic programme of the Labour party does not and cannot deal with these processes which are yearly going on to the detriment of the wage-earning classes.

Again, we find an apparently absolute disregard by the Labour party of the economic conditions which necessarily govern the employment of capital. Judging from the general tone of their utterances I do not suppose that the loss of over 50,000^{l.}¹ shown by the accounts of the Thames Steamboat Service, for example, disturbs them in the least, or causes them to reflect that sooner or later the general community, including the wage-earner, must pay this loss, and, *pro tanto*, suffer in consequence.

One of the most remarkable instances of this disregard is their attitude towards the Transvaal gold-mining industry. ‘Chinese Slavery’ proved, as we have seen, so good an electioneering cry, that all respect for sober economic truth vanished when it was shrieked from the political platform. I do not suppose it is unfair to the ordinary British artisan to say that he really does not care a straw for the personal welfare of the Chinese coolie 8,000 miles away, whom he has never seen. What no doubt roused his ire—and rightly so, if true—was the thought that honest British labour was being wantonly displaced in South Africa by imported Chinese slaves for the sole benefit of a few rich men who live, for choice, in ‘riotous excess’ in their palaces in Park Lane. One can hardly be surprised, perhaps, that this wonderful fairy tale obtained so wide a credence amongst intelligent

¹ Now increased to over 70,000^{l.} loss.

British working-men, when a Cabinet Minister like Mr. Sydney Buxton, for example, is reported to have gravely informed a meeting of London artisans that the sole reason for the importation of Chinese coolies into the Transvaal was that a few rich men might get the gold out of the earth *a little more quickly*!

But my point here is the economic side of gold-mining generally from the Labour view. It may surprise Labour leaders to be told, what I believe to be absolutely true, that our wage-earning classes have everything to gain and nothing to lose by the encouragement of gold-mining enterprise everywhere, and particularly within the Empire. With them it is a case of 'Heads I win, tails you lose.' Pages could be written on this subject. Space will only permit a brief mention of it. More than half the gold obtained from Mother Earth, as well as at least half the capital expended in endeavouring to obtain it, goes directly into the pockets of the working-classes. A large proportion of the balance is circulated among store-keepers, machinery-makers, &c., &c. Only a comparatively small proportion of the total gold won is available for 'Park Lane debauchery.'¹ The risk of the enterprise, on the other hand, is almost entirely borne by the capitalist. Colonial law, for example, rightly makes mining wages an absolute first charge on the gold mine and all it contains. So the wage-earner runs little or no risk. Some indirect risk he must run, for the sudden paralysis of a gold-mining centre spells loss, and possibly ruin, for that particular centre or community, and the waves of such loss may spread far and wide.

Again, gold-mining is not a competitive industry, and, where successful, is a direct and undiluted material benefit not only to the particular community where it is carried on, but to the country at large. There can be no over-production of gold. At all events, the world has never yet witnessed it. Nature holds this precious metal in too tight a grip, and only gradually yields it in response to persevering and scientific mining. A sheet of plate glass, a ton of manufactured steel, a bale of cloth, a motor car, a horse, a diamond tiara, &c., &c., have no arbitrary fixed value. They are respectively worth what they will fetch in the world's market. But an ounce of gold is always worth a fixed standard value. In this respect, again, the gold-mining industry is differentiated from every other, for it follows that its cost of production must have a corresponding fixed limit. If an ounce of gold costs even one shilling more than its value (4*l.*) to produce, it is obviously not worth producing, and had better be left in the bowels

¹ The round figures in the Transvaal¹ industry are as follows: Average gold value of one ton of Transvaal ore, 80*s.* Of this amount, 8*s.*, or 33 per cent. of the total cost of production, is expended in (superior) white labour; 6*s.*, or 25 per cent., is expended in coloured labour; 10*s.*, or 42 per cent., represents expenditure for fuel and stores, leaving a profit of 12*s.* per ton for the industry, out of which taxes, depreciation, &c., have to be met. The average net profit on the whole capitalised mining value of the Transvaal is approximately 4 per cent.

of the earth. Apart from any other considerations, here is a law as fixed and immutable as fate, which prevents in many cases—where the ore is low-grade—the employment of high-priced white labour for manual gold-mining work. In the majority of Transvaal mines it means either the employment of coloured labour or shutting down, all socialistic legislation notwithstanding. Apart from the ethical view, which I am not discussing here, it is clearly better business for wage-earners the world over, in their own material interests, to encourage mining enterprise wherever and whenever possible. The greater the gold production, the better the labour market.

It has been calculated that if the Transvaal be left alone to manage its own industries as it thinks best, a sum approximating 100,000,000*l.* sterling will be spent during the next ten years in mining machinery, stores, &c., by the South African mining industry. Judging by past experience it may safely be estimated that three-fourths of this sum will, or should, be expended in the employment of British labour, or in the purchase of British labour products. The moral is plain. Yet during the recent election the Labour party strained every nerve—to say nothing of straining truth—in order to prevent such possible expenditure.

A Dutchman was once looking at the mountains of the moon through a powerful telescope. In answer to the question whether he thought there was any gold there he at once made reply, 'There can't be—I see no Englishmen there.' One of the reasons why London is now the financial centre of the world's gold market is doubtless the fact that the restless enterprising spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race has always led the van in the search for this yellow metal which, though intrinsically useless for the real wants of life, is yet the standard of the world's exchange, and the available amount of which, in any particular community, is the main factor in there determining the prices for labour and for labour products. Unfortunately, these abstract truths are unsuited for a political platform, and probably do not appeal to the man in the street. It is therefore not surprising that they find no place in the present philosophy of the Labour party.

So much then for this general survey. Mr. Keir Hardie has advanced one tentative proposal which I earnestly trust will be carried out, namely, that a Commission of Labour M.P.s should be sent to confer with their compatriots in each of our self-governing Colonies. No wiser or more profitable step, in my judgment, could possibly be taken, particularly from a general Trades Union point of view. The British Labour M.P.s who may go to our Colonies will doubtless return wiser men, with enlarged ideas and a wider field of vision. Also they may then be able to tell us why the British workman is always a Protectionist abroad, though the present Government would have us believe that he is always a Free Trader at home.

As an ardent Tariff Reformer I confidently look forward to the day when the Trades Unions of this country will wake up to the fact that our present system of free imports is opposed to their interests as wage-earners, and will insist on its reform. I even anticipate an expression of their keen regret that this great truth had not been realised by them before ; and they will then doubtless be prepared to co-operate with their colonial kinsmen and brother-workers in bringing about preferential trading throughout the Empire. All this is in the future ; but the future is with us. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit*. Possibly the happy result may be arrived at by a process of exhaustion. In the past Trades Unions have tried various false remedies in order to achieve a great and worthy end, namely, better industrial conditions, moderate hours of work, good wages and no unemployed. The false remedies have been, restrictions on individual enterprise, restrictions on labour-saving machinery, restrictions on production. These have all failed, though occasionally their enforcement has been attempted by the terrible method of prolonged and widespread strikes. Now they are trying Socialism and class legislation, and these also are bound to fail. So we may eventually see the evolution of a true Labour party pledged to Tariff Reform and Commercial Federation for the Empire.

Of one thing I am certain, the great Liberal and Labour victory of the recent election is in no sense whatever a victory for Free Trade (so-called), or a defeat of Tariff Reform. The victory has been the natural and combined result of (1) the swing of the political pendulum after a prolonged Unionist administration ; (2) 'Chinese Labour' and 'Dear Food' romances opportunely made use of ; and (3) a socialistic Labour wave in our industrial centres.

The great issues of Tariff Reform and Colonial Preference have yet to be decided.

HENRY SETON-KARR.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND TRADES UNIONS

THE great sympathy which exists on all sides, from the highest in the land to the lowest, with the unemployed, has caused large sums of money to be subscribed to relieve the suffering which exists. I would respectfully point out that this annual opiate, supplied by well-meaning people in order to deaden the pangs of hunger and relieve misery, is a mistake.

Let us bravely go to the cause of the evil, and, however painful it may be, apply the surgeon's knife to eradicate the germs of the disease that every winter breaks out with increasing violence.

Trades unions were formed in the early days of manufacture in order to secure a fair rate of wages for labour and to relieve the wants of subscribers to them when unemployed.

Not a word can be said against the noble men who originated the idea, but they never for one moment contemplated that their labours to avoid misery would in the future prevent starving men and women from accepting the relief within their reach when unemployed because the work offered by the relief organisation could not be paid for at the same rate as the trades unions had laid down as a correct price for regular employment.

Trades unions have for years been the champions of labour, and they should be prepared to meet the present crisis without outside help.

The drain, however, it is stated, on their resources has of late years been so heavy, in organising strikes, payment of their staff, and in assisting trade agitations abroad, that they fear bankruptcy if they come forward to cure the evil, caused in a great measure by a serious mistake in their policy, viz. strikes, when trade was improving, which although successful in many cases in raising wages, yet during the negotiations caused orders to be cancelled in this country and executed in Germany, France, Belgium, and Italy in such a highly satisfactory manner that the trade has stuck to those countries in many cases, and thus strikes are responsible for a number of the honest unemployed, who if the trade had remained in England would now be employed in executing these orders.

If trades unions in a straightforward way express their inability

to meet the present crisis, we, as an empire, must come forward and while recognising the good they did in the early days of manufacture in this country, now relieve them of a position they can no longer occupy either with dignity or with benefit to the working men on whose subscriptions they depend for existence.

It is a legal question whether the trades unions, in having sent large sums of money out of this country to assist and develop strikes abroad, have not been unconsciously guilty of a very serious breach of trust by utilising funds subscribed by working men in this country in order to secure for themselves individually assistance in bad times and direct personal benefit in periods of trade prosperity in Great Britain.

The following are the details of my proposal by which trades unions can be relieved of their responsibility and the honest workers of this land benefited and protected in the days of sickness and old age from want and misery.

(1) In every centre of manufacture let a 'Labour Tribunal' be formed, composed of working men and employers, at which all trade disputes shall be equitably and legally settled, consisting of six representatives selected by vote by the operatives, and six manufacturers or employers of labour, also selected by vote, with a duly constituted barrister judge to preside at the meetings and thus see that the requirements of the law are fulfilled.

(2) The tribunal might be elected by public vote, annually or for a stated term of years; vacancies by death to be filled up by vote when they occurred.

(3) In the event of votes on any matter brought before the tribunal being equal in number, the questions to be referred for a final decision to a permanent arbitrator, a man of the stamp of, say, Lord Strathcona, who would enjoy the confidence of both parties and knows both sides of the question.

(4) All operatives, all labour of any class, when accepting engagements, and all people engaging this labour, to covenant to abide in all things by the decision of the duly constituted Labour Tribunal.

(5) Every operative or labourer to pay to Government a weekly sum out of his or her wages, but the amount not to exceed what is now being paid to trades unions.

(6) This money to be collected by the employers, and weekly paid into the Government account at a bank appointed by Government, thus avoiding all unnecessary outlay in collecting the money.

(7) A set of books to be kept, and open to Government inspection at every place where labour is employed, showing the wages paid and the sum collected, and every operative or labourer to be furnished with a savings book showing the wages paid weekly and the money paid to his credit with Government.

(8) All employers of labour to covenant to engage no labour that does not agree to this arrangement.

(9) Men from twenty to thirty years old, who pay this sum, to have the privilege of enjoying a pension at an earlier age than men who commence subscribing when much older, with the option, in place of enjoying a pension earlier, of their wives, in the event of their death, receiving an allowance until they marry again, or their children arrive at an age to earn wages.

(10) The age at which pensions are to commence must at the initiation of this scheme be much higher than when it has developed into a flourishing financial position.

(11) A subsistence allowance to be granted when sickness disables a man from working, as certified by the doctor, and free medical attendance to be provided by the State.

(12) If illness or accident is clearly caused through intemperance, no allowance whatever to be made.

(13) Manufacturers and employers of labour to pay to Government one-half of the sum subscribed weekly by the labour they employ, in addition to the sum paid by the operative. In return for this to be relieved of the present insurance to which they now subscribe in order to meet the claims against accidents under the Employers' Liability Act. This responsibility would have to be met by Government and paid out of the funds thus subscribed.

(14) Women and children who labour also to subscribe *pro rata*.

(15) In the case of children of either sex commencing to subscribe as soon as they begin to earn wages, to be entitled to a certain sum of money on their marriage to assist in starting a household.

If the above plan were adopted pauperism amongst the respectable class would be much decreased, and the proud independence of the working classes would be respected. The working classes would be just as much entitled to an allowance during sickness and a pension in old age as the Indian Civilian is, for both have purchased it. Since I stated that I had been informed of the disgraceful state of finance which characterised the working of our present poor-law system, and that some 50*l.* to 60*l.*, it was reported, goes, out of every 100*l.* collected in poor-rates, in the cost of collecting and working the system, it is pleasing to see the guardians' expenses are being overhauled, and that at a recent meeting of the Stepney Board, a motion by the Rev. Father Higley, 'That considering the abuses which have crept in in charging cab fares when visiting persons chargeable in the various institutions, no cab fare be allowed when the institution to be visited is within one mile of a railway station, or omnibus or tramway route,' was referred to the Finance Committee. A further motion at the same meeting, in the name of Mr. Kain, 'That a return be furnished showing the amount received by each member in the shape of expenses during the past eighteen months,' was not proceeded with.

At the present time, a large number of our establishments erected for the benefit of the poor are not answering the purpose for which they were erected, as the poor cling in old age to their relatives, and do not like to be separated from them, and consider it a bitter disgrace to have, at the end of their lives, to live in establishments which stamp the dwellers as paupers.

Government has, therefore, in these establishments a valuable asset which, if realised, as far as the exigencies of the nation allowed, would go a considerable way to increase the fund, to solve the problem for old age pensions. It is also clear that by the eradication of pauperism from amongst the respectable class, Government would have funds at its disposal raised by modified poor-rates, and that, as it would also have the use of the money subscribed by the operatives and their employers, Government would be enabled without increasing taxation, but, on the other hand, after reducing it, to annually put aside a sum to be subscribed to the Government labour old age pension and sickness fund. We should, of course, still require, but situated in the country in place of cities and towns, Government homes of rest for the aged and sick who had no relatives—places where old couples or single people could inhabit a room, which they would keep clean themselves, with a common dining-room which would be under the charge of a matron, who would do the cooking, thus reducing the exorbitant expense of Bumbledom which characterises our workhouses of the present day.

Also, all the food required in these Government homes of rest could be contracted for at a certain rate per head with some great firm, and thus we should know the actual cost per head of paupers resident in these homes.

As for old people with relatives, these relatives would gladly, as a rule, receive them into their houses, provided they received 4s. a week per head.

As for orphan children, these should be placed in the country, with agricultural labourers or small working farmers, who would gladly receive them for about 3s. a week, provided they had the right to their services, free of charge, in the hours not taken up with schooling, say up to the age of thirteen or fourteen.

By this means we should, in place of creating 'guttersnipes,' develop a generation of healthy, country-reared children, who would learn agricultural pursuits and also to love the country, and thus fit themselves either to develop our soil or make respectable colonists.

Towns and cities are what ruin our rising generation. In consequence of parents labouring in cities and towns we shall always have, of necessity, a large portion of children handicapped in this way. Then, for God's sake, do not let us unnecessarily increase the number.

The cost of educating these children sent to the country must not,

however, increase the burden of taxation, already bearing so heavily on the residents in the country, but must be borne by Government, who will reap the benefit in the future of a healthy childhood being provided for destitute children, and thus making them strong and able to fight the battle of life either in this country or in our colonies.

It may interest your readers, and secure support for the measures I advocate, when I state that to-day, in every German factory and household, the workers are subscribing to a State provision against sickness and old age.

Also, that Germany treats that dangerous class of man belonging to the unemployed, who has no desire for work and will not work when it is provided for him, as a person incapable of looking after himself, and establishments are provided where these people are looked after and compelled by work to be self-supporting, in place of, as in England, contaminating the healthy, honest worker with their contagious disease.

If Germany can grapple with the problem of the unemployed and pauperism, surely England can. To Germany must all praise be given for having acted while we talked and by well-intentioned but misguided charity nourished and developed the evil which has led to the crisis which at present confronts us.

I believe I am correct in stating that it was after consultation with the late Canon Blackley and studying his writings that Prince Bismarck and the grand old Emperor developed the present scheme of old age pensions existing in Germany.

DAVID McLAREN MORRISON.

BRIXEN AND HEALTH

I MET the other day a friend whom I had not seen for a year or two. She had then looked out of tired eyes, her face was drawn, and her languid movements seemed more those of an aged invalid than of a woman on the right side of forty.

I now saw before me a creature svelte and strong, who seemed to tread on air like a goddess. Her eyes had the fire of youth, and her shining hair framed a face like a rose.

‘What have you done?’ I exclaimed. ‘You don’t look twenty.’

‘Oh, Brixen,’ she said.

‘What is Brixen?’ I asked.

‘The water and air cure, you know. Dr. Guggenberg’s! His is by far the best, since Father Kneipp is dead.’

I am interested in the regeneration of humanity, so I treasured this information, determining to go, if only for a few days, and judge for myself at my first leisure moment; not as a patient, for, having studied the philosophy of life, I do not, thank God, require cures, but as an anxious and intelligent amateur, with the hope of improving my knowledge of hygiene for the benefit of a world suffering through its own indolence, carelessness, stupidity, greed, or vanity.

One morning early in January I tore myself away from my beautiful southern home, with its garden still full of roses and the violets beginning to peep out of sheltered nooks, to face the battlefield of an Italian railway station. The one I am alluding to is a most dangerous place, as blows are freely dealt, right and left, while the more able-bodied passengers take the carriages by assault as the trains come in. They swarm up their sides like bees, and it is a real case of the survival of the fittest. The weaker vessels have to content themselves with departing standing up on their feet in the corridors of the cars. This time, however, after a few weeks’ correspondence with the railway authorities and the help of some tall and open-handed young men, I secured a place in a *coupé* and never emerged from it till midnight, when I stepped out on the frozen snow at the little station of Brixen. Long before my arrival I had noticed that the great mountains were swathed in spotless white down to their feet and that their frigid garments trailed over the whole valley, also I saw the frost embroider-

ing transparent flowerets on the windows of the compartment. Paracelsus or Ennemoser or Reichenbach or another of the older occultists says that these ice flowerets are the spirits of the flower-seeds lying about the earth, which manifest themselves thus in the winter. The bright northern stars were twinkling overhead, and I was prepared for cold, yet as I left the overheated railway carriage, the almost solid crystal atmosphere was a shock to me after the soft and mobile air of the South. I write as if I had been landed in Siberia, yet this was only a valley in the southern part of the Tyrol miles below the Brenner Pass and looked upon by North Germans and even Austrians as a mild winter resort.

In a few minutes I arrived at the 'Wasser-heilanstalt' (*anglice*, Hydropathic Establishment), and was ushered from the snowy road almost directly into a simple but well-warmed room by a silent attendant, who whispered with finger on lips that no noise must be made, for the curfew had been rung three hours ago, as nine is the fated moment when every properly educated patient ought to be in bed. As I drew the sheets of roughish Kneipp linen over me, I listened to the splash and rush of the mountain stream which came through the open window and breathed the liquid crystal of the air in long delighted gasps.

On the door of the large, bare, but scrupulously clean dining room a notice is posted that after nine o'clock no breakfast can be served and that those who come late to meals must begin at the point at which the others have arrived. I was in ample time for breakfast, and as I gazed at these injunctions over my cocoa and bread and butter (honey also being allowed) I reflected upon the profound wisdom and knowledge of human nature they displayed, for as many or most of the patients go to this water cure for what they are pleased to term nerves, but which is generally only the result of their own misunderstood way of living, it is well to enforce two of the most important conditions for the health of the body and the soul, viz. early rising and punctuality.

Somebody has said that the English were being left behind in the race of peoples because the whole nation rose an hour too late. I should almost feel inclined to make it two hours, instead of one !

Morgenstunde [morning hour]
Hat Gold im Munde [has gold in its mouth]

is a German and most true adage. Early risers alone know the delightful peace and vigour the first hours of the morning impart to work or exercise, also to them is given the luxury of having time for everything. The true hygienist is persuaded that there is nothing so fatiguing as getting up late. As to having breakfast in bed, we will not mention it in the same breath with Brixen !

As far as punctuality is concerned (to which the placard on the door

also alluded) there is no better remedy for nerve troubles than thinking of others, and is this not the essence of punctuality ?

Though only an amateur, I thought a bit of a cure would be interesting ; I therefore sought out Dr. von Guggenberg, the head and director of the establishment. He is a man much beloved by his patients for his ready sympathy, his almost unfailing diagnosis, and his cheerful upright and deeply religious character, no small factor in so many diseases in which body and soul are inextricably interlaced. It is much to be regretted from the hygienic point of view that the confidence which Dr. von Guggenberg inspires also in other respects has caused the Province of South Tyrol to elect him as their member into the Reichsrath, which forces him to make much lamented absences at Innspruck and Vienna.

During our colloquy the doctor told me that the most serious cases generally come to him in the depth of the winter, as then it appears the reaction is strongest. I cannot help thinking that the extreme purity of the almost always windless air at that season must also have a most beneficent effect.

With a smile at my assertion that there was absolutely nothing the matter with me except rare and very transitory reminders of a fall I had had years ago, the doctor said he would write out a little treatment that would meet my case. Every patient is given a small book into which these treatments are inscribed for the whole week. Every patient's treatment differs from the other patients' and no two days the treatments are alike. Mine consisted in being wrapped, at six in the morning, into a sheet dipped into a decoction of hay-seeds (cold of course), after which I remained an hour in bed. Then at half-past ten, after half an hour's very brisk walk, cold water was poured out of a common watering can over my arms, beginning from my hands to the shoulder and down again. After this, another even quicker walk. During the afternoon between two more walks my feet and knees were treated in the same way. Some days I had large pine-needle baths, and after them cold water was dashed all over me. It is impossible to exaggerate the invigorating effect of these treatments and the perfectly delicious glow that follows. One afternoon I neglected my walk before the treatment, and I got no reaction and felt shivery for the rest of the day.

The bath cabins are all open at the top and only separated by wooden partitions, and while undergoing one's treatment one hears the shrieks and wails of the weak-minded and the self-indulgent under the cold jet and the voice of the active and intelligent bathing woman commanding the courageous ones, who bear the streams poured over them with befitting dignity.

A favourite remedy for a cold is the so-called Spanish mantle. This ample garment is dipped into cold water, wrung out, and placed on the sufferer's bed. The shivering patient is laid upon it and tightly

rolled up in it, from chin to toes, just like a mummy. Several blankets are now spread over the utterly helpless victim and energetically tucked in. Thus he remains for an hour and a half, not able even to drive a fly away if it settles on his nose. When he is delivered from his bonds he arises cured. Influenza and too ample proportions are treated in the same way.

One is, of course, always dressing and undressing all day long, therefore the simplest garments are recommended, especially to those patients who have complicated sitz and electric baths with massage. Many are also made to saw wood and lie for hours on deck chairs in the sun, with the snow all around them, in a large wooden shed called the 'Liegehalle.'

Such abominations of civilisation as stays, tight shoes, high heels, and stiff collars have to be discarded at once, and are not replaced at all, or only in a very modified form. Thus sandals are all the fashion, and I used to see a stately and dignified princess taking her morning walk in heelless sandals with only small caps to them to protect her stockingless feet, while a pretty young Polish girl with nothing but a pair of leather soles held on by straps bravely scattered the frozen snow with her bare pink toes. Nobody at Brixen would dream of taking any notice of such things, and it is this great simplicity of life which rests and rejuvenates exhausted constitutions, and makes those who have ruined them by absurd indulgences understand that there still exists such a thing as health in the world and that it is in the grasp of almost anybody.

Perhaps the greatest trial for spoilt society beauties, who go there to regain their looks even more than their health, is the wearing of the Kneipp linen undergarments. This linen is of very open and rather coarse texture, and the friction it sets up produces a most wholesome action of the skin especially useful to those who have deteriorated and blocked it by warm baths or noxious unguents containing poisonous matter.

As all those who appear at meals have every time to pass through the open air, this by itself constitutes a hardening cure. At first I wrapped up my head and put on a cloak, but in a day or two I constantly neglected these precautions, as one gets so accustomed to the many changes that one hardly feels the bite of the dry and icy air.

Quite half the patients, I was told, were so ill that they never appeared at all. At the end of our passage lived the Mother Superior of a Convent of Sisters of Charity. She is renowned at Vienna for the great good she does in the hospitals. I used to hear the sweet-faced little nuns murmur prayers at frequent intervals, and on Sundays and Feastdays Mass was celebrated in their rooms and a delicious and purifying odour of incense pervaded the passage and made me regret for the hundredth time that the burning of incense, instituted by wise

pagans, at first I imagine solely as a hygienic measure, should be banished from our Protestant churches.

This saintly lady had arrived completely paralysed, but she was already much better, and was daily taken for quite long walks in her bath chair. She was a large woman, with a gentle and serene face under her great white coif, and the bevy of five or six little nuns around her, with their winged headdresses, looked like a flight of white pigeons settling on the snow. There were invalids in such pain that they never showed, poor children with St. Vitus's dance who never left their beds, but the little company assembled in the dining-room was always cheerful and gay. The excellent breeding which generally distinguishes Austrians of all ranks asserts itself here. Each person on entering acknowledged those who were seated already by a bow and a smile, and if a new man appeared on the scene he was formally presented to the rest of the company by the amiable and able young assistant physician who sat at the end of the table. This young doctor lives in the house and attends to the wants of the patients with inexhaustible patience and good humour.

The cultured and interesting prince and the kind and amiable princess at the head of the table were not really patients. They pay a yearly visit to Brixen to stave off, like sensible people, advancing years and all that hangs thereon. The princess, like all great Austrian ladies, is very pious, and in spite of her cure she attended Mass in the town every morning at half-past six, and so did the shy and silent chanoinesse, though suffering from nervous exhaustion. The discipline the Roman Catholic Church enjoins is most admirable.

Then there was a witty and what schoolboys would call an extremely jolly Anglo-German lady, fluent in both her native tongues, who kept her neighbours in fits of laughter, and a very charming young one quite English, who with admirable pluck and patience was persevering in a cure of many months, keeping up all the time her fresh enthusiasm for her surroundings and loving the beauty of the little town and of the mountains above it.

Opposite to me sat the very young-looking Polish mamma of a pretty daughter and a little boy dressed in a Russian semi-uniform. He told us he had gone through all the horrors of Odessa, and his sister said that they had been bereft of all their estates and that her uncle had had a hundred Arab horses *coupé en morceaux* by the people. She added, with a resigned smile, 'The peasants did not want to do it, as they loved my uncle,' but the agitators insisted, and they had to obey or they would have been killed themselves.' They had been shut up for months in their house. No wonder mother and children looked anæmic.

There were more Poles and Russians, men all of them, and Austrian officers, come, I suppose, to heal the smart of some old wound. The whole of the little company was quiet, contented, and extremely well-mannered.

The food, which is in great part vegetarian, is quite good and very nourishing, as it is cooked to retain all the salts and phosphates in the vegetables. Nothing but clear icy water stands on the table.

Brixen is a bishopric and stands on many waters. At the end of every tortuous street a bridge spans a rushing stream. The ancient houses have an architecture quite their own, with the fantastic German element much accentuated, especially in some flat bow windows, which look as if the wall had been pressed out after it was built.

One evening, walking quickly along a narrow street, I nearly stumbled over the end of a bier set half-way out of a small doorway. On the black cotton velvet pall, which was thrown over the coffin, a wreath of artificial very pink roses with crudely green leaves and some gilt Christmas-tree paper was placed around a little lamp with a transparency of the Virgin upon it. It must, I think, have been the coffin of a child, it was so very short. Some women in black stood around it.

The bishop's palace is built in a bold uncommon German Rococo style, with an interesting doorway, flanked by two windows which form part of it; but the most unique and enchanting feature of the town are the ancient Romanesque cloisters entirely frescoed, which possess the mysterious charm and attraction produced by the union of the Byzantine and the earliest Gothic. I had not time to learn their history, and the frost nipped too fiercely to stand for long under those sunless vaults; but on a summer's day one might pass a few delightful hours communing with the quaint figures on those walls. Around the town, among trees, or in the middle of white fields, which in summer would be green, stand little houses, each one by itself, dotted about rather like the houses out of Nuremberg toy-boxes. They are very square and all of them rather high, and their surroundings are often perfectly bare. Upon entering, you are astonished to find in them apartments not spacious, but the acme of comfort, beautifully warmed, thickly carpeted, and replete with good furniture, plate, and pictures. These flats are often inhabited by ladies, highly cultured, who come to Brixen in search of health and then have stayed from affection for the place or gratitude for the cure achieved. One of them told me that she had been sixteen years on her back in agonising pain, she could not even bear to be touched. She is now straight and lithe, and walks with quick elastic steps. A miracle to look at, when one knows what she has gone through.

One afternoon late I was sitting in one of these pretty retreats, to which the French term *calfeutré* applies so well. It had been snowing all day, but now the moon was beginning to struggle out. All round the square house lay a spotless, pathless shroud of snow, and the great white mountains loomed up into the sky, with the serried ranks of dark firs straggling up their flanks. On one side of the house a few hundred yards away, just on the edge of its own particular snow field,

stood quite by itself a grey Franciscan church. It was Gothic in style and very plain, but right down its façade, from the roof to the portal, ran a wide and vividly frescoed band upon a gold ground. It stood out when the rays of the moon touched it in a curious and unreal way, like the leaf of a missal in limelight. As I walked home the absolute stillness of the air, the utter solitude, and the absence of sound gave me the idea of being in a dream.

The sunsets in that valley are stupendous in colour and effect. The clouds and mists that hang about the mountain sides take most fantastic shapes and shades. In the daytime the pointed peaks of the Pusterthal gleam like frosted silver on a dark and stormy horizon, and at sunset they glow on a background of serene and translucent blue in every scale of gold and apricot, to the flaming of live coal and then fade back into the ghostly green which sends a shiver of regret through all those who know and love the mountains well. I left Brixen as I came, silently in the dead of night. I was sorry, even after so short a time, to lose sight of the kind faces that had surrounded me, no more to feel the icy kiss of the pure air upon my cheek, to miss the well-filled, reposeful life which braces one up till one feels one cannot be ill. I reflected as I leant back in my railway compartment upon the problem why so many live out their day without ever grasping what health really is, without ever trying to arrive at it or finding out how easy it is to attain. That it is positively wicked to be ill when one might be a joy to oneself and a pleasure to others many will even not own. When one considers how simple and safe the means, how delicious the feeling of vigour and exultation, and, most important of all, how lasting the effect of this knowledge of a healthier, simpler, better life must be on those who have any character and intelligence, one cannot help wondering how few there are who can muster the courage to root themselves up out of their sluggard ways and try the experiment!

WALBURGA PAGET.

THE HOLY SEE AND FRANCE

THE Church is freer in the Catacombs than in a Concordat. Yet the Roman instinct of the practical and afar-reaching view of the necessities of each case lead the Holy See, from time to time, to enter into treaties with various civil states for the purpose of securing for the faithful the exercise of religion. Hence a Concordat is an agreement which the Pope makes with some supreme civil power. By it the Church delegates and communicates some of her powers to the State in return for an acknowledgment and the free exercise of duties and rights inherent in her constitution. A Concordat is, therefore, on the part of the Church a concession ; and its mutual relation is that of a bilateral contract based, according to the teaching of Leo the Thirteenth (the 3rd of February, 1884), upon justice. It follows, also, that neither of the contracting parties can derogate or abrogate from it without the consent and knowledge of the other. The contract is bilateral because each party, by the very nature of a concordat, promises to observe the conditions, and makes an obligatory and reciprocal engagement so to do.

Such a Concordat, which, since 1801, has existed between the Holy See and France, has been recently broken by the law of the 9th of December, 1905, which separates the Church from the State. It is needless to say that the breaking of a treaty, which has secured to France for more than a century the blessing of religious peace, has been the sole work of one of the many Cabinets of the French Republic. The Pope's consent was not asked. *Culpam qui meruit ferat.* Were the principle of a Free Church in a Free State carried out, things being as they are, I, for one, would rejoice if I saw the Church in France as independent of the State as it is in England or in the United States. But in a country like France, with its traditions, freedom can only be bought at a heavy price ; and I have my doubts whether in the present temper of the French Government, which in its religious policy seems only to be acting for the Lodges in their ceaseless warfare against religion, the provisions of the law will be carried out on the lines of liberty. It is true that on the eve of an election there are all sorts of good things said and promised ; but the attempted regulation about opening the tabernacles, which outrages

Catholic feeling in its most sensitive part, was no hopeful sign. I remember how the seemingly innocent Law of Associations was applied ; and how the invention of the *bloc* completely changed the nature of that law and made it one of exclusion instead of control. On the other hand, the strong logical French mind must see eventually that if the Church be separated from the State, the civil power cannot any more control it as a religious institution. Catholics in France can henceforth claim no privileges, but only the same rights as every other citizen. Thus, with a fair field and no favour, the future of the Church in France is, humanly speaking, what French Catholics choose to make it. I allow that the separation of Church and State is not ideally the best arrangement ; for a State has duties towards religion, which should not be given up. Pius the Ninth in the *Syllabus* condemned the proposition that 'The Church is to be separated from the State and the State from the Church.' But I would remind my readers that the *Syllabus* is only true in the sense of the *Syllabus* ; and that before they accuse Pius the Ninth of being an enemy of modern life, they must know what it exactly was that he was referring to, and in what circumstances he spoke.

The separation of the Church from the State is, now, in France an accomplished fact. There has been an extraordinary conspiracy of silence in the English press about a subject which is the great event of the time in France. How the order seems to have gone round, not to mention anything hostile or opposed to the views set forth by the Cabinet, I will not here say. But it may be useful to take this opportunity of setting before the readers of this Review the various steps which led to this momentous act ; and an impartial study of the matter will put beyond doubt one striking point, viz. that all along these painful years the Holy See has kept most faithfully to the Concordat, and has done nothing, absolutely nothing, to warrant, or even to give a legitimate pretext for the rupture. It was M. Combes's Cabinet which, with no special mandate from the country on the subject, deliberately violated the agreement and poisoned the wells of public opinion by endeavouring to throw the blame of their own misdeeds on to the shoulders of the innocent and injured party. I refuse to look upon it as the work of the French Republic, which is not to be held responsible for the extravagancies of one of those many Cabinets that fall as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa. Were it only a matter that concerns France, or had the separation taken place with mutual consent, it would not become me to write. But when the blame is put on the Pope, and the integrity of the Holy See, which is an international interest, is at stake, I, as a Catholic, have every right to correct the false impression. When I speak of the French Government, I must not be understood to mean the President, who is constitutionally irresponsible, and can only offer advice to his ministers (and M. Loubet has, I understand, not been wanting in

this respect); nor do I refer to the French Republic. I mean that the act has been that of the Cabinet with M. Combes at the head. He has been the direct agent of the anti-religious parties; and now, his work done, he has gone. I feel free to say that if he has accomplished his task thoroughly, it has been in a singularly offensive way; a verdict which France, I am sure, will not be long in arriving at. There will then be no hesitation in making such an *amende honorable* as a great nation can afford to do. The Republic will not have to go to Canossa, for what is done is done. But, I venture to think, France will soon re-establish such an *entente cordiale* with the Holy See that will not imply a Concordat.

The documents on which the following account is based have recently been set before the world in a White Book, issued by the Vatican, under the title *La Séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat en France, Exposé et documents*. The book, not at present on sale, is a studiously calm and impartial survey of the whole question, based on the official documents, which are printed in full. The *Exposé* is so thorough, and the documents so telling, that no rhetoric is needed to point the moral or adorn the tale. The contentions set up by M. Combes fall to the ground like a house of cards; and I cannot imagine a more deadly blow to his idea of what, God save the mark! the French Republic should and must be, than the plain unadorned recital of the White Book. It may even prove an evil day for the Republic itself when Jacques Bonhomme, who has hitherto had his religion without paying for it, finds that he has to put his hand into his pocket to pay what the State undertook to provide as part of the restitution of property taken from the Church and people at the Revolution.

To set fully before my readers the steps which led to the separation would be a long task; but I can here briefly give the outlines, and will base them entirely upon the documentary evidence contained in the White Book, which I have submitted to a close and careful study.

The Concordat between the Holy See and the First Consul was signed on the 15th of July, 1801. This is the only agreement that exists between the Church and State. Before it was presented to the legislative body, Talleyrand and Portalis drew up a series of seventy-seven restrictive regulations which are known as the *Articles organiques*. These were presented the 9th of April, 1802, together with the Concordat, to the Legislative Assembly as one and the same thing. But they are vitally and essentially distinct. The Concordat is an agreement signed by the authorities of the Church and of the State: the *Articles organiques* are the sole responsibility of the French authorities. The Pope accepted the Concordat; he did not and could not accept the *Articles*, which in some respects are destructive of the very spirit of the Concordat, being a collection of Church laws emanating from

an entirely incompetent power. The Holy See has always protested against these Articles, and has consistently refused to be bound by them. She has demanded their derogation, or at least a modification of many of their provisions. How could the Pope accept, for instance, the first article which subordinates the Church, even in questions of faith, to the civil power? Pius the Seventh, on the 24th of May, 1802, as soon as he heard of their existence, denounced them in Consistory; and, on the 18th of August, the Legate, Cardinal Caprara, sent a detailed protest, which drew from the French Government the acknowledgment that these Articles were only the work of the civil power. Portalis writes to Caprara: 'Je conviens que le Saint Siège a été partie contractante dans le Concordat, et qu'il n'est point intervenu dans les *Articles organiques* . . . Le Concordat est un traité, les articles organiques sont une loi,' &c. Talleyrand himself recognised this during the negotiations about the Coronation oath: 'Cet acte (Concordat) est le résultat de la volonté de deux puissances contractantes. Les lois organiques, au contraire, ne sont que le mode d'exécution adopté par l'une de ces deux puissances.' There are some, however, who say that the *Articles organiques* are implicitly agreed to by the first article of the Concordat, which says that: 'The Catholic worship should be free, conforming itself to the police regulations which the Government shall consider necessary for public tranquillity.' It is enough to reply that the preservation of good order in acts of public worship is one thing; and a complete ecclesiastical code is another. In England the State provides against brawling as a disturbance of public tranquillity; but we surely do not consider that to hold a synod or any deliberative assembly without the express permission of the Government, or for a bishop to go outside his diocese without the leave of the civil authority, is a proper matter for the police. The recent work on the Concordat by Cardinal Matthieu puts beyond question the sense of the first article of the Concordat; for he publishes, for the first time, the long discussions, and the notes that passed between the plenipotentiaries as to the sense and extension of the very words of the article. It is clear then, that the Articles are distinct from the Concordat; and therefore, to accuse the Pope of breaking the one because he refuses to accept the other, which he never agreed to, is to have recourse to subterfuge, and to throw dust in the eyes of honest men.

This being the nature of the Concordat I must now make it clear that the policy of the French Government has, during these last years, been steadily directed towards séparation. The drift of events has been seen at Rome, where, at the summit of Peter's Rock, the atmosphere is clear and serene. The experience of centuries enables the Holy See to grasp principles in the first stage of their birth, and to estimate with singular forethought their ultimate effect.

M. Waldeck-Rousseau admitted in the Chamber, on the 7th of

December, 1899, the principle of separation, though he considered it then premature. He said that the Law of Association, which he was introducing, was the necessary preface to the larger measure. He, however, evidently shrank from the actual separation. Another Prime Minister was found, M. Combes, who would carry out the policy imposed upon the Lodge-ridden French people by their masters. By the by, which is preferable, to be Lodge-ridden or Priest-ridden? Both I hold to be objectionable. But if priests go out of their legitimate sphere they can be checked, by Church as well as by State; whereas the remedy is more difficult in the case of secret societies. Here is one of the sensible reasons why the Church condemns these as inimical to the true interests of society at large.

M. Combes was not long in showing his hand. In a speech in the Senate (21st of March, 1903) he declared himself on the question of denouncing the Concordat. He said:

To denounce it at this moment without having sufficiently prepared minds for this denouncing, without having manifestly established with multiplied proofs in support that it is the Catholic clergy that provokes and wills it by making it inevitable, would be a bad policy on account of the resentment, though unmerited, which would ensue in the country against the Republican Government. I do not say that the rupture of the ties which exist between the State and the Catholic Church will not take place at a given day, I do not even say that this day is not at hand, I say simply that it has not arrived.

Again, on the 14th of January, 1905, in the Chamber, he said: 'I have always been a partisan of the separation of the Churches and the State. But when I took power, I judged that public opinion was insufficiently prepared for this reform. I judged it necessary to lead it in this direction.' In the *National Review* (March 1905) he repeats that it was inopportune and imprudent until he had sufficiently prepared the country; and he clearly indicates that part of this education was to incite the country by making use of what he calls *désaccords inévitables*. These deliberate plans of M. Combes should be borne in mind. He was going to lead the people by making them think it was impossible to observe a Concordat which the clergy themselves wished to abolish. Did they want proof? Look at the *désaccords inévitables*. Yes: not to respect the rights of others, not to acknowledge the obligations of treaties, not to accept any proposals at accommodation, is certainly the way to bring about *désaccords*; but whether in themselves these be *inévitables*, is a question of mere honest plain-speaking. It would seem as though M. Combes upholds the axiom that the end justifies the means. It is not the first time that the fine morality of the French Lodges appears to be the same as that which they ascribe falsely to the Jesuits.

M. Combes's method of educating the country is instructive. The first lesson, by vilifying the Papacy, was to teach the people that the Pope is an enemy of France, an enemy of the Republic, and an enemy

of civilisation itself. And yet, while M. Combes was pursuing this line of attack, the Pope was a sovereign with whom France had diplomatic relations, and whose Nuncio was the *doyen* of the Diplomatic Body in Paris. This was a strange idea of international courtesy. The second lesson was to teach the people that the Pope was violating his own Concordat. For this purpose M. Combes deliberately created causes for disputes, notably by nominating for vacant sees candidates such as the Holy See, for canonical reasons, could not possibly accept. Some of these candidates had been rejected several times under other ministries. Under the Concordat it is well to note that the head of the French State has a right to nominate persons for vacant sees, the Pope giving, as he alone can, the canonical institution. In other words, the Pope makes the bishops, but chooses those named by the head of the State, unless there be canonical reasons against acceptance. This necessarily implies an examination on the part of the Holy See as to the fitness, knowledge, and good repute of the candidate. It was always the custom before the official nomination was made that a preliminary private discussion should take place between the Minister and the Nuncio, so that useless nominations might be saved. This *entente préalable* M. Combes utterly rejected as 'a humiliating haggling, as a take-in, as a culpable abandonment of the right of the State.' It is difficult to see how the useful preliminary discussion was so shameful; but it is easy to see that without it M. Combes could very easily bring about his *désaccords inévitables*.

I must now turn to the suppression of the religious Orders. M. Waldeck-Rousseau, November 1899, presented to the Chamber a law on the right of Association which was directed against the religious Orders. If it were true that the sisters and nuns who spend their lives in the service of the sick and the poor and the wretched were enemies to the Republic, foes to civilisation and an injury to humanity, then the State might plead justification; although one would think a Government was in a parlous state indeed that need fear such foes. If the wealth that came to the Carthusians by the manufacture of their liqueur was spent upon themselves, instead of the poor and needy, there might possibly have been grounds for holding that the monks were traders who made religion a means of commercial profit. If other religious Orders were foes to the Republic, it would have been within the rights of the Government to protect itself by measures repressive of such abuses. But when, it may be, it is only the actions of individuals that give rise to legitimate complaint, wholesale suppression is uncalled for, as it is an open avowal of incapacity for dealing with a very simple question that admits of the easiest effective treatment. The existing machinery, both in State and Church, is quite sufficient to remove and silence individuals who forget that, by belonging to an Order, they are bound to restrain what may be perfectly lawful in an independent person. But for the life of me,

I have never been able to see why, as individuals, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits should not be allowed to have opinions on political questions as are tolerated in Anglican, Nonconformist, or Presbyterian ministers. I will even go further ; I do not see why an Order, say the Jesuits, may not have, and may not act upon, their own political views, as well as the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, so long as they do not identify their policy with the Church. Be this as it may, advantage was taken of the sayings of certain foolish firebrands or windbags to expel all the Orders, male and female. The real object of the Law of Association, though it seems to have been unknown to M. Waldeck-Rousseau, was the destruction of the religious Orders. He, it is true, made the country understand that the projected law was only one of control, not of proscription ; and on this understanding it was passed, the 1st of July, 1901. There was not much that was absolutely objectionable in the law itself, although parts were contrary to natural and evangelical liberty ; the evil was in the application of the law under the regulations which came out the 16th of August, 1901. These laid down in detail all the formalities which the Orders had to fulfil in order to obtain authorisation. The Holy See left complete liberty to the various Orders to put in their petition if they judged it fitting ; and certain canonical difficulties which regard ecclesiastical discipline were got over, to the satisfaction of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, who wrote, the 3rd of September, 1901, to M. Delcassé 'that in applying the law of the 1st of July, 1901, the Government should be inspired with the spirit of the widest tolerance and kindest liberalism.' He gave orders that the application for authorisation should be dealt with in this spirit. On this, about five hundred Orders, representing many thousand houses, applied for authorisation, after having duly fulfilled all the legal formalities. It seemed plain sailing. But the monks and nuns reckoned without their host. M. Combes became Prime Minister in June 1902 ; and under him the commission for considering the petitions, proposed to reject them all *en bloc* without discussion. What a farce it all was, to be sure ! But it soon turned into a tragedy of the deepest import for many. After some deliberation it was considered wiser to divide the Orders into three categories, and to reject each group without discussion. The Cabinet made the proposal a question of confidence, and the Chamber accepted it in spite of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's contention that, under pretence of applying the law, a new one was made which utterly destroyed what was passed on the 1st of July, 1901. The gay French nation seemed to have lost altogether on that occasion their usual saving sense of humour. The teaching Orders were rejected because they were incapable of forming free men and citizens ; the preaching Orders, because they interfered with the principal prerogatives of the secular clergy (although no member of a religious Order can preach in a diocese without the licence of a bishop, or in a secular

church without the leave of the clergy) and were crusaders against the most liberal laws of the Republic ; the trading Orders (are there any such ?) because they degraded the religious idea by trafficking unworthy of men of faith and detachment from the things of this world. A common subject for the carving of old misereres in cathedral stalls was that of a wolf, preaching to a flock of sheep on the iniquity of eating mutton.

The wholesale rejection of the petitions was followed by an equally wholesale expulsion. To take one case which I know personally, though it is by no means one of the most heart-rending. Since 1605 the English Benedictine monks, gentlemen of spotless reputation, have been associated with Douai, where they had a school for the education of English boys. The monks minded their own business, interfered in no way with politics or other French affairs, were good neighbours and spent a great deal of money to the profit of the town. They presented their petition, had it rejected, were thrust out of their house ; their plates, knives and forks, books, pictures, beds, tables, and chairs were seized and confiscated. How these British subjects were defended by their own Government is a story that had better be kept in the secret archives of the Foreign Office. The same sort of conspiracy of silence that exists now to such a large extent in the English press was then in force. Had the Englishmen at Douai been soap-makers, or following any trade, what an outcry there would have been on this outrage of British interests. But they were monks, and that made the difference. What befell them, befell in worse form the French Orders. Our monks were driven home ; the others into exile, misery, and beggary, by the break-up, in many cases piteous, of old homes, by the loss of friends, and cruel treatment. M. Combes must feel proud of his victory over the hapless womenfolk that were the majority of his victims. The breaking up of the Orders entailed, of course, the closing of countless schools conducted by them ; not only the schools of those Orders whose petitions for authorisation had been refused, but also those of the Congregations that had received legal authorisation as teachers. The liberty of teaching secured in 1850 by the *Loi Falloux* had for a long time been the object of attack. Somehow or other words seem to have one meaning in France and another in England. Liberty spells one thing there and another here. I have noticed the word *Liberté* on the outside of churches in France ; I have missed the thing inside. Ten thousand schools were closed by the 20th of November, 1903, and by the 7th of July, 1904, M. Combes was able to boast at Auxerre that he had closed 13,904 schools out of a total of 16,904, and was ready to close 500 more. One of his last acts, before resignation, was to obtain signatures for closing 500 more.

This, then, was the plan that M. Combes pursued to lead the French people to accept the breaking of the Concordat. The Pope is hostile to France and to the Republic ; the clergy are seditious ;

the religious Orders a plague-spot in the State. The Concordat is the cause of it all. Therefore away with it.

It however will be only fair to examine M. Combes's premisses before we accept his conclusion. His whole plan of campaign is based on begging the question and then taking it for granted. Let me take the case of the Pope and clergy as enemies of France. In one of his Encyclicals Leo the Thirteenth lucidly explained the teaching of the Church as to civil government. Any form of government, if carried out with justice and wisdom, can provide for and safeguard the welfare of the people. Therefore no form of government, based on the eternal laws of justice, is alien from the Church, which takes a position above all changing forms of parties and stands apart from the clamour of competitions. Her business, above all things, is the progress of religion and the salvation of souls. She need only come into conflict with the civil power when these two objects for which she exists are in jeopardy. On the other hand, she respects all constituted authority, and leaves us at perfect liberty to choose for ourselves that form of government which seems best suited for our circumstances. She goes further, and teaches us our duty of respecting constituted authority ; for the preservation of public order is one of the most urgent wants of society and one of the first duties of a citizen. But the Church is no upholder of tyranny ; she remembers that laws do not depend on forms of government so much as on the men who make them. Bad laws and good laws can exist under any kind of government. Hence come the rights of citizens to protect themselves and employ any legal means to obtain the repeal or change of any law which is unjust or oppressive to a part of the nation. But these are commonplaces to English people.

After 1871, when the Republic was substituted for the Empire, many Catholics, cleric and lay, held that the republican form of government was opposed to the Church, and that one could not be a good Catholic and a sincere Republican. This idea was due either to ignorance of doctrine or to political interests. The Holy See took absolutely no part in the opposition ; on the contrary, the Republic was recognised by sending a Nuncio to Paris. As public opinion declared itself more and more decidedly in favour of a Republican form of government, the Holy See became more active in repressing the opposition which many Catholics made in the name of religion. Here the Church was not directly acting on politics, but correcting a false view of her own functions and relations with the civil power. Leo the Thirteenth even went further than this. Time after time he went out of his way to show extraordinary signs of his goodwill towards France ; so much so that other nations felt that 'the eldest daughter of the Church' was receiving more than her share of the pontifical benevolence. Leo the Thirteenth wrote to M. Grévy, the 12th of June, 1883 : 'Chaque fois que le Saint Siège a pu déferer

aux désirs de votre gouvernement, soit pour des affaires intérieures, soit pour ce qui regarde l'influence française à l'extérieur, il n'a jamais hésité à le faire, ayant toujours en vue de concourir à la prospérité et à la grandeur de la France.' The Pope became instant in season and out of season in calling upon French Catholics to rally to the Republic and to cease from systematic opposition. He freed the Church in France from a traditional alliance with the Monarchy, and thus created many enemies who were not slow to show their displeasure. 'The famous toast of Cardinal Lavigerie in 1890 was Leo's doing, and early in the following year he sent out an Encyclical letter exhorting all French Catholics to accept the Republic, without *arrière pensée* and with that perfect loyalty that became Christians. The episcopate, as a body, followed their head, and it is impossible to bring forward even one official act of any French bishop which is contrary to the Republic. The clergy, too, as a whole, were obedient to the Pope, and the exceptions were beneath the contempt of any strong, free government. M. Waldeck-Rousseau (17th of December, 1901) said that if ten or twelve years ago the pulpits rang with politics, with diatribes against the Republic, the age, and the laws, yet now 'I can bear witness that what was hitherto almost a rule has tended more and more to become an exception.' M. Constans at Toulouse (4th of June, 1893) said :

Long ago, Catholics, mixing religion with politics, fought against us as we were obliged to fight against them, while respecting the Concordat. To-day Catholics, obeying the order given by the head of Catholicity, declare that they renounce their hostility. We will follow them on this new ground, for we have no interest in keeping up divisions in the bosom of children of the same country.

'The recognition of the work that Leo the Thirteenth did for the Republic came from all sides. Yet, in spite of all this, M. Combes has the effrontery to declare that the Papacy is a systematic opposer of the Republic and an enemy of France.

It is said that the protest made by the Holy See on the occasion of the visit of M. Loubet to the Quirinal was the cause of the rupture. This is absolutely untrue. A word as to this charge. Towards the end of his life Leo the Thirteenth, who had proved himself so staunch a friend of France, suffered from the Government what he felt was both an injury to the Church and a direct personal insult. To put the matter simply. The Pope was despoiled by the House of Savoy of the temporal dominions which he held in trust for the Church, and Rome passed under what was an actively hostile power. Force does not take away right, and often all that is left to the injured is the power of protesting against the injury. It has been declared, over and over again, that a stable, full, and entire independence of all civil authority is necessary for making the Pontiff's authority and divine mission efficacious. He whose office is beyond that of kings

and presidents, whose jurisdiction is widespread, whose legitimate influence is international, cannot be, without injury to his position, the subject of any one nation ; and he cannot, under the actual circumstances, reside willingly in the territory of another without public opinion considering his independence as gravely compromised. To secure this necessary freedom no other means has hitherto been found save that of having his own independent territory. The question of how much territory does not enter into the matter ; it must, however, be such as will make his independence a real and effective one. Now the Pope has been unable to accept the Law of Guarantees which, as a matter of fact, guarantee nothing stable ; for having their force solely from the Italian Parliament, that same body can change the provisions or abolish them. I put it, what would be the case of the Pope if he were to-day to accept the Law of Guarantees and to-morrow find the Socialist party in power ? He would have given up the independence he has gained by not accepting the Law of Guarantees and by remaining within the Vatican. And what for ? Now, the situation of the Pope is the concern of all Catholics ; hence, if the head of a Catholic nation, by any public act, does something which is held by all as a mark of approval of the present position of the Pope, he not only is wanting in his duty, but forces the Pope to protest, unless his silence should be taken for acquiescence. The world recognises this. For instance, when there was a talk last year of the Austrian Emperor visiting Rome, the *Daily News* remarked that the visit means that finally and definitely the Papacy abandons its claim to the old temporal sovereignty of the Church, that the Pope accepts the accomplished fact of thirty-four years ago, the consolidation of Italy with Rome—the Rome of the Popes—as her capital. This being so, why should the Pope not protest against M. Loubet's visit to Rome, especially when the anti-religious press gave it a hostile character. Those who disliked the protest shouldn't have forced it on the Pope.

The difficulties that arose about the phrase *Nobis nominavit* in the bulls appointing bishops, and also the cases of the Bishops of Laval and Dijon, need not detain us. The Pope was only acting according to the sacred obligations of his office as bishop of bishops and in keeping with the Concordat. He could not have yielded without the greatest scandal to the Church. Pius the Tenth was firm as to principle, and his very firmness afforded the opportunity M. Combes was looking for when wanting to create another of his *désaccords inévitables*. Official relations were broken off by the Government on the 30th of July, 1904, and the shield of the Republic was taken down from the French Embassy to the Holy See. In less than a year and a half the separation was an accomplished fact.

Here, then, are the steps by which the Concordat was broken by the French Government. The Holy See has kept faithfully its part

of the contract ; it was broken without its consent. I shall follow the admirable reticence of the White Book and refrain from describing M. Combes' course of action in the language I might legitimately use. Having done the work demanded by his masters he has gone to his own place.

But what of the future ? The recent disgraceful scenes in the churches only afford one more proof of the folly of some French Catholics. They who had received the *Articles organiques*, which made for bondage, now fight against the transfer of church property to Catholic associations which make for liberty. Better to be ruled by a godless Cabinet than to have freedom to manage their own temporalities. Is not this straining at one poor gnat after contentedly swallowing a whole herd of camels. But judging from the action of the Pope and that of the French Cardinals, the position of separation is to be given a fair trial. Nothing on the part of the Church will be done to prevent a renewal of an *entente cordiale* in the work of reconstruction which must come to pacify the country, nothing will be done by the Church to make the position of the Republic precarious. I feel sure, now that the Church is free from the restrictions of the Concordat, every step will be taken to secure the liberty which Catholics, as citizens of the Republic, have the right to enjoy. What I fear is, the French mind being what it is, lest, at a future date, an attempt may be made on the part of the State to force back the head into the noose. That interesting book, *Le Journal d'un Evêque*, by Yves le Querdec, after describing the breaking of the Concordat and the painful work of reconstruction, which was followed by the ultimate victory of the Catholic party, ends with the framing of a new Concordat ! Verily the French love of grandmotherly government is strange to an Anglo-Saxon mind.

And now as to one of the practical results of the separation. The protectorate that France has enjoyed over Catholics in the Levant and China naturally ceases. France, by international treaties, shares with the other Powers in a protectorate over its own subjects in the Levant and China ; but the special and exclusive protectorate which has been exercised by France over all Catholic missions comes solely from the Holy See, which has obliged the Catholics of the East to apply to the French representatives in all cases, and has forbidden them to make use of others. Even in China, where France, by treaty, has received a privileged position towards Christians, the Holy See has ordered the missionaries to make use only of the French Consuls. Without this order of the Pope, France could not effectively make use of her special protectorate ; and it is not to be thought, now that she has cut herself adrift, as a nation, from the Church, that she will continue to enjoy a prestige and influence that came as the spontaneous gift of the Holy See. What the political effects of this withdrawal of the protectorate will be only time can show. There is already evidence

that missionaries of other nations are hoisting their own flags and are no longer recognising the rights of France to protect them.

History repeats itself. There is a curious likeness between what has taken place in France and what took place in England under the Tudors. In the sixteenth century England separated from the Holy See; and the destruction of the monasteries was a gradual process, brought about by fraud and calumny. Thomas Cromwell, so far, has found a very fair representative in M. Combes. The separation was completed at the death of Mary Tudor. As a writer has recently said : 'From two death chambers, one at St. James's Palace and one at Lambeth, the Church of God in our land, where all hope seemed lost, went forth despoiled, humbled, crushed but free.' May this be so in France, the *Gallia Christiana*. There is every hope, as she is steadfast in her union with the Pope. For, as Newman says in eloquent words :

When was Peter ever unequal to the occasion ? When has he not risen with the crisis ? What danger has ever daunted him ? What sophistry foiled him ? What uncertainty misled him ? When did any power go to war with Peter, material or moral, civilised or savage, and get the better ? When did the whole world ever band together against him solitary and not find him too many for it ? All who take part with Peter are on the winning side. . . . Has he failed, in his enterprises up to this hour ? Did he, in our fathers' day, fail in his struggle with Joseph of Germany and his confederates—with Napoleon, a greater name, and two dependent kings—that, though in another kind of fight, he should fail in ours ? What gray hairs are on the head of Judah, whose youth is renewed as the eagle's, whose feet are like the feet of harts, and underneath the Everlasting Arms ?

ETHELRED TAUNTON.

Rome.

FOOTBALL AND POLO IN CHINA

IT was on the 9th of November 1905, while watching the Cambridge University team make their splendid stand against the famous 'All Blacks,' that I began to wonder if anyone would take an interest in, or even believe, the fact that football was played by the Chinese several centuries before Julius Cæsar landed in Britain. Some Chinese authors, indeed, have mixed up football with polo, though both games have been described separately, and with considerable detail, by more exact scholars. There is little or no excuse, moreover, for such a jumble, as the various characters used for football all contain the element *foot*, which naturally suggests kicking; whereas all those used for polo contain the element *hand*, which is equally suggestive of striking. One writer actually says, 'Ball-striking (polo) is the old game of ball-kicking (football).' Another writer, after a similar remark, adds, 'for kicking and striking are the same thing.' Of the two, football is by far the older game. Its invention has been ascribed, *cum omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, to the mythical Yellow Emperor of the third millennium B.C. Others assign its appearance to the age of the Warring States, third and fourth centuries B.C., when it formed part of the military curriculum of the day, and was a means of training soldiers and of putting their powers to a test. It is generally admitted to have been originally a military exercise, and a handbook on football, in twenty-five chapters, is said to have been in existence under the Han dynasty, say two thousand years ago.

The historian Ssü-ma Ch'ien, who died about B.C. 80, in his biographical notice of Su Ch'in of the third century B.C., has the following passage: 'Lin-tzü (capital of the Ch'i State) was very rich and powerful. There were none among its inhabitants who did not perform on the pipes, or on some stringed instrument, fight cocks, race dogs, dice, or play football.'

Football (*tsu chü*) is mentioned more than once in the *History of the Han Dynasty*, B.C. 206-A.D. 25; and the famous commentator Yen Shih-ku, who died in 645, provides the following note: 'Tsu is to kick with the foot; chü, the ball, is made of leather and stuffed,

and is kicked about for amusement.' In one passage we are told how the great general Ho Ch'ü-ping, when campaigning in the north, and almost destitute of provisions for his troops, 'hollowed out a place for them to play football in,' whatever that may mean.

In the *Hsi ching tsa chi* we read :

The Emperor, Ch'êng Ti, B.C. 32-6, was fond of football; but his officers represented to him that it was both physically exhausting and also unsuitable to the Imperial dignity. His Majesty replied: We like playing; and what one chooses to do is not exhausting. An appeal was then made to the Empress, who suggested the game of tiddlywinks for the Emperor's amusement.

Towards the close of the Eastern Han dynasty (end of the second century A.D.) it appears from the *Kuei chi tien lu*, quoted in the *T'ai ping yü lan*, that the Emperor made archery and riding his chief business, and in his private life gave himself up to football, the result being that literary studies ceased to be cultivated as before. The *Mirror of History* does not disdain to record that the Emperor Hsi Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, who was almost wholly given up to sport of various kinds, of which football, cockfighting, and polo are especially mentioned, in the year 881 put to death a loyal Minister for venturing to remonstrate on the subject.

The ball, as originally used by the Chinese, was a round bag made of leather, or, as a poet tells us,

Eight pointed strips of leather made into a ball,

and was stuffed with hair; its roundness or otherwise does not seem to have been a matter of great importance. But from the fifth century onwards, the ball was filled with air, and its name was changed from *chü* to *ch'iu*, and roundness became an essential, because the ball was required 'to roll, as well as to fly through the air.' One authority, already quoted, says that the air-ball dates only from the T'ang dynasty, and adds that 'two long bamboos were set up, several tens of feet in height, and with a silken net stretched across, over which the ball had to be kicked. The players formed themselves into two parties, and the game was decided by points.'

A writer who has dealt very fully with the game, and to whom we owe many of the following particulars, states as follows :

To inflate a football seems easy, but is really difficult. The ball must not be very hard, or it will be too bouncy, and full force cannot be used in kicking. Neither must it be very flabby, or you will have an opposite result, and the ball will not travel when kicked. It should be about nine-tenths full of air; this will be found to hit off the mean.

Several writers have left us accounts of actual games: 'On the Emperor's birthday two teams played football before the imperial pavilion. A goal was set up, of over thirty feet in height, adorned

with gaily coloured silks, and having an opening of over a foot in diameter.' The object of each side appears to have been to kick the ball through the opening, the players taking it in turns to kick, and points being scored accordingly. The winners 'were rewarded with flowers, fruit, wine, and even silver bowls and brocades. The captain of the losing side was flogged, and suffered other indignities!'

In an illustration of a Chinese football goal the player who is kicking is placed in the middle, while on his right and left are seen the positions of those who have not and those who have already kicked, respectively. Immediately behind the actual player stands the *ch'iao sé*, whose function it appears to be to hand the ball to the captain during the progress of the game. There is also the net-keeper, who throws back the ball when it has failed to go through. The duties of the other attendants are not explained. The score consists of major and minor points, which are gained in particular ways; and there is a regular terminology to be used by the players, such as *ace*, *deuce*, *tray*, &c., besides other phrases peculiar to the game. As regards play, 'the body should be straight as a pencil; the hands should hang down, as though carrying things; there should be great elasticity of movement; and the feet should be as though jumping or skipping.' There are over seventy different kinds of kicks enumerated, besides endless over-elaboration in minor details. Kicking is forbidden under eleven separate conditions which constitute 'fouls'; but no penalties seem to be attached; and all play is to be avoided in ten special cases, such as on windy days, when the ground is slippery, after wine, by candlelight, &c.

Besides the game of kicking a ball through a hole in a goal, the Chinese, to judge from another illustration in a well-known encyclopædia, must have had some other form of play with foot and ball. This supposition is borne out by several passages—e.g., in reference to a Taoist priest of the sixteenth century, who was a good player, we read, 'He used shoulders, back, breast, and belly, to take the place of his feet; he could withstand several antagonists, making the ball run around his body without dropping.' Then again, in an account of a game, we have such sentences as, 'The ball was never away from the foot, nor the foot from the ball;' in fact, 'dribbling,' which would be meaningless as applied to the game described above.

It only remains to add that the names of several great footballers have been handed down to posterity, as witness: 'Wang Ch'i-sou was a man of great talent; not one of the nine branches of learning came amiss to him. In the *Hsüan ho* period (1119-1126) his reputation as a footballer was spread over the empire.'

K'ung Kuei, a descendant of Confucius, is said to have excelled at football; and there was also a man named Chang Fén, who often, at the Fu-kan Temple, would kick a ball half as high as the pagoda.

A poet, named Li Yu, who flourished between A.D. 50 and A.D. 130, has left us an inscription which he wrote for a football ground :

A round ball and a square wall,
Suggesting the shapes of the *Yin* and the *Yang* ;
The ball flying across like the moon,
While the two teams stand opposed.
Captains are appointed, and take their places,
According to unchanging regulations.
No allowances are made for relationship ;
There must be no partialities.
But there must be determination and coolness,
Without the slightest irritation at failure. . . .
And if all this is necessary for football,
How much more so for the business of life !

Polo seems to have become known to the Chinese under the T'ang dynasty, or from about A.D. 600 onwards, when it was at first considered by some writers, as stated above, to be a revival of football, though it was, no doubt, quite a separate game, learnt most probably by the Chinese from the conquered Tartars. The earliest mention of the game is by Shén Ch'üan-ch'i, a poet who died in 713, and it was in reference to a game played before the Emperor and his Court in the year 710 :

His Majesty, who was paying a visit to his famous Pear Garden, had given orders that all officials *above* the third grade were to take part in the game ; but certain eminent statesmen were worn out and aged, the consequence being that they were tumbled over on to the ground, and remained there, unable to rise, to the great amusement of the Emperor, Empress, and Court ladies, who all shouted with laughter at the sight.

The son and heir of this precious monarch was the famous Emperor who ruled China from 712 to 756 ; brilliantly in his earlier years, surrounding himself, as he did, with men of distinction in literature, science, and art ; later on giving way to dissipation and extravagance, until rebellion drove him from the throne. Not content merely to watch polo, he used to play himself. A poet who lived two or three hundred years afterwards has left us this verse on

THE EMPEROR MING HUANG PLAYING POLO.

The thousand doors of the palace are open, when in broad daylight
San Lang comes back, very drunk, from polo. . . .
Ah ! Chiu-ling is old and Han Hsüi is dead ;
To-morrow there will be none to come forward with remonstrance.

Public opinion seems always to have been against the appearance of Emperors upon the polo field, and many of the remonstrances of loyal statesmen have been preserved. Ma Tê-ch'en, who died about 984, disgusted that his Majesty 'played polo to excess,' presented a

long memorial on the subject, from which the following is an extract:—

Your servant has heard that when two of your Majesty's predecessors went out boar-hunting and hawking, and when their Ministers remonstrated with them, they joyfully followed the advice given. Now, your Majesty takes delight in polo (literally, horse-ball), and your foolish servant has found on reflection three reasons why this is not a fitting sport, and will state them even at the risk of the axe.

(1) When sovereign and subject play together, there must be contention. If the sovereign wins, the subject is ashamed; if the former loses, the latter exults. That is one reason.

(2) To jump on a horse and swing a club, galloping madly here and there, with no distinctions of rank, but only eager to be first and to win, is destructive of all ceremony between sovereign and subject. That is a second reason.

(3) To make light of the responsibilities of empire, just for an hour's enjoyment, and run even the remote risk of an accident, is to disregard obligations to the State and to her Imperial Majesty the Empress. That is the third reason.

If your Majesty does not deem my words of small matter, graciously bestow a glance thereon; for the happiness of the empire is what all your Majesty's servants desire.

When this memorial was handed in, we are told, 'the Emperor sighed over its excellence for a long time.'

Polo was, as it still is, a sufficiently dangerous game. In 901 an important statesman was killed, and about twenty years previously a general lost an eye. The latter had reached his high position entirely through his skill at football; and as a solatium for his lost eye he was promoted to be President of the Board of Works. So that it was not without cause that the gifted consort of an emperor, who died in 859 from an injudicious dose of the elixir of life, hearing that an official was teaching his Majesty to play polo, sent for him and said, 'You are a subject, and it is your duty to aid the Emperor to walk in the right path. Can this be done by teaching him to play? If I hear any more of this I will have you well flogged.'

In 1163, the reigning Emperor, who suppressed banqueting and encouraged athletics, had a very awkward accident. He had issued instructions for polo to be played regularly;

in the event of wind and rain, the ground was to be covered with a kind of oiled cloth well sprinkled with sand. His ministers, because of the importance of the Imperial life, were unwilling that his Majesty should expose himself to danger, and handed in many memorials, to none of which any attention was paid. One day, the Emperor decided to join in the game; and after playing for a short time, he lost control of his pony. The animal bolted under a verandah, the eaves of which were very low; there was a crash, and the terror-stricken attendants crowded around to help. The pony had got through, and his Majesty was left hanging by his hands to the lintel. He was at once lowered to the ground; but there was no trace of alarm on his face, and, pointing to the direction taken by the pony, he quietly gave orders for its recapture, at which the spectators cried out *Wan sui! Wan sui!* (Long live the Emperor!—the Japanese *Banza!*).

The Kitan Tartars were great archers and polo-players, and we are told that their successors, the Nü-chén Tartars, carried on the tradition. On festival days the whole Court would appear in full dress on the polo ground, and after worshipping God with offerings of food and wine and other ceremonies, the Emperor would change his dress for the various sports. There was archery to begin with; and,

when that was over, there was a game of polo. The players mounted well-trained ponies, and each one was provided with a club (ball-staff), of a good many feet in length, and shaped at one end like the crescent moon. They were then divided into two teams, the object of contention to both sides being a ball. Previously, at the south end of the ground, two poles had been set up, with boarding in between, in which a hole had been cut, having a net attached to it in the form of a bag. That side which could strike the ball into the bag were the winners. Some say that the two teams were ranged on opposite sides of the ground, each with its own goal, and that victory was gained by driving the ball through the enemy's goal. The ball itself was as small as a man's fist, made of a light but hard wood, and painted red.

Thus we read that when the young Duke of Lu was playing polo, and the ball fell into the hollow stump of a tree, his Grace poured in water and floated it out.

As regards ponies, it has already been stated that these animals were specially trained, and it may be added that in the year 951 a present of polo ponies, together with suits of clothes for the players, was conveyed by a Chinese envoy to the Court of the Kitan Tartars. Ponies, however, were not the only animals employed. We are told that the Prince of Ting-hsiang, under the T'ang dynasty, 'taught his ladies to play polo on donkey-back, providing them with inlaid saddles and jewelled bridles, together with the clothes and other paraphernalia required.' Elsewhere we read that under the Sung dynasty 'over a hundred young men dressed up as women, with bound feet and ornamental veils hanging down their backs, half of them in red and half in green brocaded robes, with elegant girdles and silken shoes, mounted on donkeys with carved saddles and ornamental trappings.' Then they divided into two sides under their respective captains, and played polo for the amusement of the Court. So great, indeed, was the enthusiasm for polo, that it was played even by night, the ground being illuminated by a huge display of candles. Extravagant rewards were heaped upon polo-players, and also upon footballers, who were actually received in audience by admiring Emperors. In 881, when there was a question of certain official posts to be filled up, the Emperor caused the four candidates to play a polo tournament, and allotted the chief post to the winner. The climax is perhaps reached when a maker of polo clubs, as duly recorded in the *Book of Marvels*, was taken up to heaven in broad daylight.

HERBERT A. GILES.

• *THE FIRST GENTLEMAN OF EUROPE*
AS PATERFAMILIAS •

‘THE evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones—so let it be with Cæsar.’ How well did Shakespeare understand mankind! How often does this happen, especially to persons who have held a prominent place in Society!

The opinion of the world is generally biassed by the circumstances that surround them at the time of their death. If it happens at a moment of success, then nothing is remembered but the success—any previous mistakes being all forgotten—but if they make their exit from this world when in some way their failure is more apparent, then *that* is the impression that is most enduring, and which maintains unquestioned by that generation and the following. Should something occur to resuscitate the doings of that particular epoch, then many events, long forgotten, are brought to light again, and the actors in them subjected to a new and calmer criticism unbiassed by personal feeling. At such a distance of time it is possible to obtain a more extensive grasp of the circumstances that have surrounded them from their cradle to their grave, and to make allowances accordingly.

Among Princes, who are, as it were, set on a most slippery pinnacle, ‘exposed to that fierce light that beats upon a throne and blackens every blot,’ the circumstances of life are constantly accentuated. If they do what seems right and what ordinary people consider suitable to their position, they are lauded on all hands, but equally every slip from that pinnacle is noted and frequently enormously exaggerated. Undoubtedly, Princes have a great deal in their favour, but for every advantage they hold over ordinary mortals they have heavy counter-balancing drawbacks, and the ordinary mortal is very apt to forget the drawbacks, and only to envy the advantages. In the olden days of Rome a great conqueror had at the supremest moment of his triumph to submit to a slave at his side whispering in his ear a reminder that after all he was only mortal. In these latter days the whispering slave is replaced by a most critical Press, which must be often far more mortifying in its verdicts.

Our readers, probably amongst their own acquaintance, could point to persons now holding prominent positions and doing excellent work for their generation who began life in a thoughtless and irresponsible manner, causing untold anxiety to their parents and best friends; to others, again, who began with great promise, possibly from no special fault of their own, but from a series of adverse or conflicting circumstances telling upon a weak point in their character, as one often sees a brilliant sunrise followed by a stormy noon. Just now it is the character of George the Fourth that is greatly under discussion, through the publication of the letters of Mrs. Fitzherbert, recently brought to light from among the archives of Windsor Castle. These have revived the memories of that period.

'The First Gentleman of Europe' has not usually been credited with many domestic virtues, or even with the appreciation of them in others, and it is a revelation to this generation to discover that he was not always a heartless *roué*, and was even capable of noble sentiments. Who knows if the lovely and fascinating lady, who was also virtuous and religious, who inspired these sentiments, and to whom he was entirely devoted during many years, might not have been an abiding influence for good, had it been possible for her to take her place at his side as his recognised wife and Queen Consort? This he was most anxious she should do, and often conferred privately with the Minister Fox as to its feasibility. But at that time the Roman Catholic religion was so dreaded by the nation at large that no Government would have dared do anything to promote, still less to sanction, such a union, even had she been of Royal birth.

She came of a good old Roman Catholic family, and adhered unflinchingly to the faith in which she had been brought up. When they first met she was a widow of twenty-five, and he, with all the ardour of twenty, fell in love at first sight. That he went through the marriage ceremony with her privately there seems no doubt. At one time, so great was his desperation, he threatened to throw up his position and all his prospects and go to America. But as time went on and debts and other perplexities hemmed him in, he was induced to consent to marry the German Princess Caroline of Brunswick, who was welcomed with enthusiasm by the nation, as settling the Protestant succession, but to whom the Prince took an aversion the first moment he saw her, never being able to forget the real love of his life, from whom he had now separated heartbroken. In reading of the festivities and rejoicings, in celebration of this ill-assorted union, one hardly knows which of the centre figures most to pity—the exasperated heart-broken man or the forlorn foreign Princess. But that the Prince still retained a high ideal of what a woman should be is shown by some letters written in his own hand soon after the

birth of his daughter, Princess Charlotte, to the lady who had been appointed to watch over her upbringing. In one he writes :

Ten thousand thanks, dearest Lady Dashwood, for your kind note respecting my dear little girl, which I received just as I was stepping into my carriage yesterday to leave town. My mind was too much agitated to admit of saying or writing anything.

In all probability, my amiable friend, you may suspect the step I have been at last driven to take, in a letter to the King, by the Princess's ill-advised conduct, but which is not to be known till after the birthday. You, therefore, must not acknowledge it whatever you hear, but human nature could stand it no longer. With regard to the dear child, in you, my amiable and much-respected friend, do I look for every source of good that she is to receive. Promise a much-distressed parent never to forsake her, both for his and her sake, and watch her with the eye of a second parent, and as the bloom of virtues first appear cultivate them with that delicate and sound judgment you have so strongly and meritoriously shown in the education of your own children; but check, even with severity, anything that may appear to savour of falsehood or deceit, which I dread more than any other earthly circumstance. In short, all I have to wish, all I have to pray for on her account is, that you may make her as like my sister and yourself as her disposition (moulded by the education you will give her) can admit. Forgive my not saying any more, but I am not equal to anything; I am come here in search of what I fear I shall not experience for some time, and that is quiet and repose. God knows when we shall meet again; in the meantime may every happiness attend you, my dear friend, and once in every three or four days let me learn from your kind pen the state of health of my dear child. God bless you!

Your very sincere friend and humble servant,

GEORGE, P.

Grange,
June 1st, 1796.

What father could show a deeper interest in the moral well-being of his child? Surely this is not the letter of a thoroughly abandoned, unprincipled man, but rather of one aiming at the best, but distracted by antagonistic feelings and many disappointments.

Another very general impression with regard to those days is that the King and Queen were so annoyed by the extravagance of their eldest son that there was no sympathy between them. But on the occasion of a difficulty in the Royal nursery, the Queen writes to this same lady

I am just come from dinner, and have seen Mrs. Cheveley, who brought me your message about my little dear angel refusing sucking . . . was it my own child I should wean it directly, and I desire you to mention this to the Prince with my best and kindest love. . . . Believe me, dear Lady Dashwood, my inclination would have carried me immediately to Carlton House, but the fear of appearing meddling suppresses many feelings, which is at times a painful thing, but Providence must guide me.

CHARLOTTE.

The very appointment of Lady Dashwood to this most responsible post in the household of the Prince of Wales was through the recom-

mendation of the Queen and his favourite sister Princess Elizabeth, who afterwards married the Landgraf of Hesse-Homburg. Lady Dashwood was wife of Sir Henry Dashwood of Kirtlington, and though she died more than a hundred years ago, still survives in the memory of many of her descendants as the embodiment of much beauty, talent, and many virtues. She is mentioned in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* as 'the beautiful Miss Graham.' She married very young, and at the time of her appointment as governess was the mother of many children, one of whom, George, was godson to Princess Elizabeth, and had been appointed Page of Honour to the King at the age of seven. Within three months of the birth of her Royal charge another infant was added to her own nursery. It was this circumstance impending that for some time made it doubtful whether it was advisable for Lady Dashwood to undertake such a responsibility, but her great devotion to Princess Elizabeth, and the very intimate affection with which for many years she had been treated by the Princess, overcame all scruples, and she entered on the very interesting duties. Much anxiety of mind was inevitable in such a position, and coming at a time when her own health could ill bear any extra fatigue, told fatally on her constitution. The tradition is that she caught a chill whilst holding the Royal infant at the christening, from which she never recovered, and died within the year. Within this short period many other letters came from various of the Royal personages most intimately interested in the Royal Princess, but those already quoted suffice to bear out our argument, viz. that George the Fourth has been harshly judged on many points. The world in general of his day was so disappointed with the despicable ending of his life, that they forgot the early promise, and making no allowance for the many difficulties that beset his path condemned him utterly as a monster of wickedness. We do not ask our readers to go to the other extreme, and call for admiration of his character at any time, but we do ask posterity to be fair, and to consider if they would have been likely to do much better had they been born in his position, with all his bewildering surroundings, both political and domestic.

ELLEN L. DILLON.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION

THERE is nothing so dull as a big majority. Even daily prophecies that it cannot last, from newspapers which have signally failed to exercise the smallest influence upon public opinion, cannot stimulate the jaded appetite of readers who like something fresh by way of a change. When Mr. Balfour dined with Mr. Chamberlain the fly-catchers opened their mouths wide. When it was announced that they had disagreed, the wonder grew. When Mr. Chamberlain wrote to Lord Ridley, who seems to represent the great man in the House of Peers, and announced that Tariff Reform was not to be laid on the shelf, which Mr. Balfour, after his experience at Manchester, naturally regarded as the proper place for it, the *Times* began to deal out schism by the column. Mr. Balfour was to accept Mr. Chamberlain's policy, or there was to be a new leader, unhappily specified in a manner which provoked irreverent mirth, or Mr. Chamberlain would exercise his undoubted right, as a free-born Englishman, and found a party of his own. But whether Mr. Chamberlain understands commercial business or not, he understands political business very well, and he can distinguish noise from numbers. Some there were who would no more desert him than Mrs. Micawber would desert her husband. How many? Mr. Chamberlain, who is credited with a design of approaching the Labour members, did not care to begin by disputing with Mr. Keir Hardie for the honour of leading the smallest Parliamentary group. Mr. Balfour, on the other hand, who has a sense of humour, could not fail to perceive that the future legislation of the party which he and Mr. Chamberlain destroyed between them was a problem lacking immediate urgency. To avoid the ridicule which must needs be excited by unrestrained indulgence of fissiparous tendencies, he invented a formula which has not much less meaning than some of his previous maxims. The general unsettlement of his economic principles, which cannot even be called fallacious when they signify nothing at all, has now spread to the taxation of foreign corn, and to a 'general tariff,' as the Gothamites call a special tariff for particular interests. That being so, Mr. Balfour is considered to have finally purged himself from the taint of Free Trade, and

Mr. Chamberlain is willing to co-operate with him in the patriotic design, avowed by himself, of 'harassing the Government.'

At this point the Unionist party, which was intelligibly so called twenty years ago, and is so called still, held a monster meeting at Lansdowne House, and, as *the Times* proudly remarked, were as numerous as the whole House of Commons. These imposing dimensions were attained by inviting Tory Peers and defeated candidates. It was thought, not unnaturally, desirable to exclude reporters, and to issue an official report, which describes the scene as one of complete harmony and universally diffused satisfaction. Even the Duke of Devonshire, though he took the opportunity of mentioning that he was a Free Trader, was made to say that he could find no other point of difference between himself and a Protectionist. The Duke is not incapable of sarcasm, and he may have said something of the kind. It is to be hoped that Free Traders, whether Liberal or Conservative, will henceforth cease to trouble themselves about imaginary differences between Mr. Balfour's policy and Mr. Chamberlain's. It is a trite saying, but not less true than trite, that there are many sorts of Protection, and only one sort of Free Trade; namely, a tariff for revenue alone. Retaliation and Preference are only two forms of Protection, slightly more plausible than most, but demonstrably mischievous and unsound. Both involve the cardinal vice of Protection, which is taxing the many for the benefit of the few. When the people have just decided by an overwhelming majority against anything of the kind, it seems rather childish to quarrel about details. But that is the business of the Protectionist party. Free Traders, whatever may be their opinions on other subjects, will henceforward recognise that Mr. Balfour has finally gone over to the enemy. The number of Free Traders who sit on the left of the Speaker in this new House of Commons has been ludicrously underestimated in the newspapers. The Tariff Reformers compiled a list of their representatives in Parliament, which led to numerous disclaimers in the *Times*. But it is not everyone who takes the trouble of contradicting these things, and even among those described as followers of Mr. Balfour there are many who will not follow him now. There are quiet men who do not advertise themselves, steady-going Conservatives who yet on the subject of Protection agree with the Cobden Club. Mr. Chamberlain appears to think that the immense prestige which the General Election has given him will enable him to treat the British Empire as if it were Birmingham, and the Conservative party as if it were a branch of the Brummagem Caucus. We shall see.

The position of those who prefer the absurd nickname of 'Free Fooders' to the good old name of Free Traders has hitherto been intelligible, if not altogether honest and straightforward. They have argued, as I understand them, that though Mr. Balfour called himself a Retaliationist, he had pledged himself not to tax food, or material,

and therefore he could not possibly retaliate. So there was no reason why Free Traders should not support him. They cannot say that any longer. For Mr. Balfour, being unmuzzled by his defeat at Manchester, has cancelled his promise not to tax corn, as if it mattered any longer what he promised, or did not promise, to tax. Even Lord St. Aldwyn, though as good a party man as ever lived, can hardly persuade himself, or allow himself to be persuaded, that to tax poor people in England for the benefit of rich people in the Colonies is a principle of Unionism, or a method of consolidating the Empire. The Conservative party will never be a power in the State again until it gets rid of these quack nostrums altogether, and comes back to the position which it occupied before the disastrous month of May 1903.

The King's Speech has not been severely criticised, even by the accredited representatives of the Opposition. Ministers have avoided the great historic blunder of 1893, when Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, vainly hoping to facilitate the passage of Home Rule, put the Newcastle Programme into the mouth of the Sovereign. Their list of measures is on this occasion a moderate and a reasonable one. First and foremost comes, of course, the Education Bill, of which Mr. Birrell has given notice. Two things emerge with absolute certainty from the long and protracted controversy which is still raging round this subject. In the first place the Education Act of 1902 cannot be simply repealed. In the second place it must be materially modified. School Boards are things of the past. Board schools, now called provided schools, are permanent elements of our educational system. County Councils and Town Councils will keep their honourable and arduous responsibility for the teaching of the children. In the schools under their complete control, education, both secular and religious, has been given in a manner which, though capable of improvement, is upon the whole satisfactory to the vast majority of parents. The difficulty lies in dealing justly with the unprovided or sectarian schools. For thirty years after the great Act of 1870, Mr. Forster's Act, this difficulty slumbered. Mr. Forster's Act, though passed by a Liberal Government, was regarded as a victory for the Church of England. Most Nonconformists would have preferred, and many of them passionately demanded, that no school should be recognised by the State, or receive a Parliamentary grant, in which the special tenets of one religious body were taught. Some, among whom Mr. Chamberlain was conspicuous, urged that public education should be compulsory, secular, and free. The Liberal Government, with the substantial approval of the Conservative party, decided that grants should be paid to all efficient schools alike, that rates should be available for Board Schools only, and that the question what religious instruction, if any, should be given in a Board School must be left for the local authority, the School Board, to determine. This compromise, as it was called, excited the bitter animosity not of political

Churchmen, but of political Dissenters, and was one of the main causes which led to the Liberal defeat of 1874. The law, however, remained in principle unaltered for a generation, and in most Board Schools the rudiments of Christianity, those parts of it which are suitable to children, were taught with excellent results. There was a conscience clause, but it was little used, and parents, whether Churchmen, Nonconformists, or freethinkers, were perfectly satisfied with the general training which their children received. The Roman Catholics kept to themselves, receiving their share of the Parliamentary grant, and otherwise relying upon the generosity of their own Church. Even free education, which the Government of Lord Salisbury conceded, did not impair the vitality of the compromise so easy to attack, so hard to destroy. Fluent writers and speakers have exercised their tongues and pens in proving that 'undenominationism,' which means Christianity, was an insoluble problem. *Solvitur ambulando*. While they were sharpening their wits, which were often in need of it, and airing their vocabularies, which stood in more need of enlargement, hundreds of teachers were doing undogmatically, day by day, what they said dogmatically could not be done.

The Act of 1902 changed everything. It tore up the compromise, and its promoters frankly aimed at saving the denominational schools from the competition which all privileged institutions hate and dread. Though subject to some changes in Parliament, not altogether pleasing to the clergy, such as the Kenyon-Slaney Clause, the principle of it, rates for sectarian schools, was directly demanded by Convocation, which consists entirely of bishops and clergymen. One of the ablest prelates who ever sat upon the English Bench, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, uttered, when he was Bishop of London, a solemn caution on this very point. 'If,' he said in effect, 'you take the rates for your schools, popular control will follow.' His warnings, like the warnings of Cassandra, were neglected. Unlike Cassandra, he himself ignored at Lambeth what he had said, in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility, at Fulham. The clergy wanted the money, not for themselves, but for their schools, and they took their chance. If I may say so with all due respect for their sacred calling, they gambled in futures. Their friends were in office, Mr. Chamberlain was still a Free Trader, and a Liberal Administration seemed as likely as a thaw in Zembla. This time the Nonconformists had a much stronger case, and they were thoroughly roused. The result we see. Rates have proved to be, just what Dr. Temple called them, a slippery slope, and the clergy are landed in popular control. When I say the clergy, I mean the High Church, Tory majority. Liberal clergymen, including some of the most eminent and distinguished dignitaries of the Establishment, are on the popular side. And this leads me to make a remark upon the licentious use, or rather misuse, which is made of the phrase 'the Church.' The

Church of England by law established is a national institution. It consists of all Englishmen who do not voluntarily proclaim themselves to be outside its pale. To confound it with the clerical profession, to confine it within the limits of the Conservative party, is unconstitutional and against common sense. Thousands of active, earnest Liberals, who regarded the Education Act of 1902 as fundamentally unjust, have been steady, unhesitating Churchmen all their lives. They would smile, if they thought it humorous, at the idea of taking their politics from Convocation, or from the clergy. The word minister, which may be found in the Book of Common Prayer, means servant, not master. The clergy have their rights as citizens and the special privilege of being represented by the Bishops in the House of Lords. The laity are represented only in the House of Commons.

The logical view is that secular education alone should be given by the State, that is, by the national schoolmaster, and that religion should be left to the parents, or to the Churches, established and free. This was the view of Charles Kingsley, as sincere and devoted a Christian pastor as ever lived. It is the view of the Independent Labour party. Mr. Gladstone was, I believe, more than half inclined to adopt it. It cannot, therefore, be called irreligious. But it is thoroughly unpopular and hopelessly unpractical, because it means that nine-tenths of the children in this Christian country would grow up without any religious training at all. Lord Hugh Cecil and other fervid enthusiasts have persuaded themselves that all Englishmen are either convinced agnostics, or ardent dogmatists, eager to propagate or to destroy some form of faith. They live in a world of their own imagination. The English people, who hate logic, and love the Bible, are not made like that. With a few exceptions, chiefly clerical, they care little or nothing for scientific theology. They are anxious that their children should be brought up to fear God, and to follow Christ. But multitudes of them have not the leisure, even if they had the inclination, to teach religion themselves. They expect it to be taught for them in the schools to which they are compelled by law to send their children. If it were not taught as it has been taught in the Board schools, and is taught in the provided schools, a tremendous, incalculable injury would, I fear, be inflicted upon the youth of the nation, who, as Disraeli so finely said, are the trustees of posterity. A witty lawyer is reported to have observed that the education of the future would be neither religious nor irreligious, but Birrelligious. The term is a doubtful compliment. But even if I had only his public speeches to go upon, I should feel sure that Mr. Birrell would never approve of excluding the Bible from English schools. The old syllabus of the London School Board, which the County Council has not altered, puts religion in its proper place, which is first as well as everywhere.

What, then, is to be done with the denominational schools?

The two main principles submitted to the electors in January, and affirmed by large majorities, are first that schools which receive public money should be under public control, and, secondly, that in such schools there should be no sectarian tests for teachers. These are simple and intelligible propositions. To carry them out with wisdom and justice is the delicate and difficult problem which the Cabinet have had to solve. Some schools are the absolute property of private owners, who could close them, if they pleased, to-morrow. Most of the schools attached to the Church of England are held in trust, and could not lawfully be diverted to any object except elementary education. If they were closed, even the buildings ~~would~~ pass from the ownership of the trustees. Some have been built by voluntary contribution. Others, chiefly the oldest, possess endowments. There is, I believe, provision in all the trust-deeds that the distinctive formularies of the Church of England should be taught. An Act of Parliament can of course override any deed, as it can transfer the ownership of any property. But it has always been held that to take away property without compensation is a cruel injustice and wrong. On the other hand, nobody will maintain that Parliament may not fairly impose such conditions as it thinks fit upon grants of public money, whether they take the form of taxes or of rates. The Church of England, which has been since the reign of Henry the Eighth a Parliamentary Church, is bound to accept such form of religion as the State thinks fit. And while it would be a scandalous absurdity for a modern House of Commons to draw up a new creed, or a new faith, there is nothing absurd or scandalous, as the Bishop of Carlisle sees clearly enough, in laying down a law that schools which come upon the public purse should teach only such cardinal principles as are common to all Christians. I doubt whether any considerable number of freethinkers would in such circumstances avail themselves of a Conscience Clause. But of course there would have to be such a clause, as there is in all schools, provided and unprovided, now.

Special treatment for Catholic schools would be contrary to the principle of religious equality. The only distinctions which can be even plausibly drawn are between taxes and rates, or between a district where there is a provided school and a district where there is not. From 1870 to 1902 denominational schools received substantial and increasing aid from the taxes without protest, or at least without effective protest. The control of the Education Department was generally, if not universally, accepted as a due recognition of public right. It was only when rates were added to taxes that discontent became indignation, and passive resistance set in. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who is a statesman, has condemned, in a dignified and temperate letter, the adoption of that policy by Churchmen. His Grace naturally put the case with gentleness and consideration. But really there is no case on the other side. Having paid

rates to undenominational schools for five-and-thirty years, Tory Churchmen could not, with any consistency or decency, begin to refuse payment now. They will struggle, like Englishmen, by constitutional methods against anything in the Bill which they dislike. When it has become law, they will obey it, remembering that passive obedience was part of their creed before representative government began. The Roman Catholics will not take public money on condition of admitting the equality of Protestantism. They could not do so. It would be apostasy. They would rather go without the rates. That the local authority, the educational committee, would appoint Protestants as head teachers of Catholic schools is a preposterous suggestion, even if any Protestant wished to occupy such an uncomfortable post. Legal principles are applied in this country with tact, propriety, and common sense. It may be argued on paper that agnostics or materialists would endeavour to obtain, and would succeed in obtaining, the office of religious teacher in a national school. Any law would break down if its administration were entrusted to the insane, and depended upon men who tried to make it ridiculous. Secularists do not wish to teach Christianity, any more than they want to take holy orders. The great security for the new Education Bill is the fact that the people of England, who are neither cranks nor fanatics, ardently desire, and will actively aid, the success of a reasonable measure, with exclusion for none and justice for all.

HERBERT PAUL.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



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*THE FUTURE OF ANGLO-GERMAN
RELATIONS*

A REPLY TO LORD AVEBURY,

THE future development of Anglo-German relations is of the very greatest importance, not only to Great Britain, but to all Europe. In fact, it may be asserted that the development which Anglo-German relations will undergo in the near future will have a most far-reaching, if not a decisive, influence upon the future of Europe and of the world.

In the March issue of this Review a very interesting paper, written by Lord Avebury and entitled 'The Future of Europe,' was published. In that paper peace and good will among nations and international arbitration were warmly recommended, and we were told that Great Britain's armaments rather threatened Germany than Germany's armaments Great Britain, that Germany feared a British attack, and that she had not the slightest intention of attacking Great Britain. As the following pages are intended not only to throw light upon the future of Anglo-German relations, but also to

serve to some extent as a reply and a corrective to Lord Avebury's paper, I purpose first to consider the influence which arbitration is likely to have upon nations in general and upon Germany in particular, and then to describe Germany's political ideals and her fundamental political ideas, her position, her interest, and her political and economic aims. Thus fortified we shall be able to make a forecast of Germany's foreign policy and to gauge the future development of Anglo-German relations, looking at these relations from both the British and the German points of view.

Lord Avebury is one of our most distinguished Free-traders. 'Free Trade,' in the words of Professor Bonamy Price, 'knows nothing about political divisions,' for Free Trade is an international and unnatural, one might say an anti-national, doctrine. Free Trade is interested solely in buying and selling, in cheapness and profitability, but not in national greatness, national efficiency, and morality. It occupies itself with 'commodities,' and it ignores politics, treating the whole world as one country, the inhabitants of which are enjoined freely to exchange their productions.

As Lord Avebury is an ardent Free-trader we cannot wonder that he treats in his paper international relations in general rather from the point of view of the cosmopolitan Free-trader than from the point of view of the British citizen. Therefore Lord Avebury tells us that 'international good feeling is, if not nobler, at any rate, wider and more generous than patriotism' (p. 421). He thinks the fostering of cosmopolitanism in preference to patriotism particularly important for this country because 'we have immense investments abroad' (p. 421). He laments our heavy expenses on our army and navy, and the absence of contributions to the same on the part of our colonies, and tells us, 'if a colony gets into trouble with any first-class Power, any assistance we might give would be an act of grace ; they cannot claim it as a right ' (p. 425). In plain terms, Lord Avebury asks us to protect our investments in foreign countries by a piece of paper, which costs nothing, and to leave the protection of our colonies, which costs much, to themselves, unless they pay for our protection. Lord Avebury is indeed guided by those principles of cheapness and profitability which are the pith and essence of the Free Trade doctrine. According to Lord Avebury, we ought apparently to defend our colonies, which do not contribute to our military expenditure, 'as an act of grace,' only if the amount of British money invested in those colonies would be sufficiently great to make that defence 'profitable.'

During sixty years Great Britain has vainly endeavoured to cause other nations to abolish their economic frontiers for the special benefit of our exporting industries, but so far she has gained not a single convert. Will she be more successful in 'heading a League of Peace and of Disarmament' in accordance with Lord Avebury's recom-

mendations, and in trying to persuade other nations to follow our example and abolish their political frontiers? Is it likely that other nations will disarm because we find our expenditure for national defence intolerably heavy, and because we should like to defend 'cheaply' British capital invested abroad, capital which has fled from the paradise of Free Trade to the shelter of Protection?

After having, at the bidding of our Free-traders, abolished our industrial defences and handed over our industries to the mercy of foreign countries, we are now asked by our cosmopolitan Free-traders to entrust our military defences also to the generosity of our competitors, because Free Trade has crippled our resources to such an extent that we find those armaments unbearably heavy which are cheerfully borne by Protectionist nations. We are bidden to find national safety, not in our own strength, but in a beautiful doctrine, a piece of paper, and the problematic generosity of our competitors. Surely shortsightedness cannot go much further.

Let us see whether international arbitration is a practicable policy, or merely a chimera and a delusion, as is international Free-Trade, which exists only in the textbooks. International arbitration is by no means an invention of yesterday, as many believe. Since the day when, more than two thousand years ago, the Amphictyonic Council was created, which, by-the-by, did not prevent Greeks exterminating Greeks, numerous international tribunals have been in existence, but they have invariably proved utterly unsuccessful, and the cause of their failure is obvious. Every vigorous State pursues two principal aims: to enlarge its dominions and to preserve its independence. Every healthy nation, like every healthy tree, endeavours to grow and to increase. Besides, neither right nor chance but the instinct, and before all the will, of expansion supported by might have created nations out of tribes, and evolved empires out of nations. By the right of the stronger a little tribe of Northmen possessed itself of England, and by the right of the stronger England acquired her enormous empire. By the right of the stronger the Hohenzollerns, a poor Swabian family who came to the wilds of Prussia with a handful of retainers a few centuries ago, created modern Germany. Russia, Austria-Hungary, France, Switzerland, Holland, the United States, in fact all States were created by might, not by right. To might all States owe the title of their possessions, and only by might can their possessions be retained.

Might being the foundation of every State and practically the sole title to its possessions, no powerful nation is willing to stake its possessions which were won by force upon the hazard of a judicial decision, especially as the law is proverbially uncertain and unsatisfactory. Therefore every great nation, and none more than Germany, relies upon its armed strength for the defence, not of her 'rights' which are disputable, but of her 'interests,' of which every nation claims to

be the sole competent judge. Only trifling questions have so far been submitted by nations to the decision of foreign arbitrators, and it seems unlikely that any great nation would leave the adjustment of her vital interests to outsiders who can only be expected to weigh legal 'rights,' but who cannot be expected sympathetically to weigh justified national aspirations, pretensions and claims to expansion, to supremacy, and to dominion. Prince Bismarck said on this subject :

It is true that great armies are a great burden. By our armaments we conduct a kind of warfare with other nations in which we give blows to one another with ~~our~~ money-bags. Armed peace may be ruinous, but disarmament is a chimera, for who will enforce an unpalatable decision upon a strong nation unwilling to submit to it? To make international decisions enforceable by third parties would mean to make the *casus belli* permanent among nations.

The leading German authority on political theory agrees with the leading German authority on practical statesmanship, for Professor von Treitschke wrote in his *Politik* :

The institution of a permanent international court of arbitration is incompatible with the very nature of the State, for a State can only by its own will set limits to itself. Only questions of secondary or tertiary importance can be submitted to arbitration, for in matters of vital national importance an impartial referee does not exist. Could we seriously expect to find an impartial arbitrator to decide on the question of Alsace-Lorraine? Besides, it is a matter of national honour that a nation should settle her difficulties without foreign interference. An authoritative tribunal of nations is impossible. To the end of history national arms will preserve their rights, and herein lies the sacredness of war.

In another place von Treitschke says :

Wars will never be abolished by international courts of arbitration, for in judging of the vital questions between two States other States cannot be impartial. In the society of nations the interests of every nation are so interwoven with the interests of every other nation that impartiality cannot be reckoned on.

Numerous speeches of William the Second and innumerable declarations of German statesmen and professors confirm that the leading political, scientific, and social circles of Germany rely exclusively on Germany's army and navy for the defence of German 'rights,' among which there is the 'right' to the possession of extensive colonies in a temperate zone. Therefore, all German statesmen and responsible thinkers unconditionally reject a League of Peace and Goodwill and international arbitration in Lord Avebury's sense. By her attitude at the Hague Conference, official Germany has clearly shown her conviction that the international tribunal and the Czar's scheme of international disarmament were not to be taken seriously. Germany's statesmen believe with Lord Bacon that 'wars are no massacres and confusions, but the highest trials of right.'

The corrosive influence of Free-trade cosmopolitanism has no doubt blunted the sense of nationality and of patriotism in this country, and has raised in it many supporters of internationalism in the form of international Free Trade, international disarmament, and international arbitration. Whilst at the bidding of unpractical doctrinaires, pushful manufacturers and political intriguers, Great Britain has wasted her political and her economic strength to the benefit, the delight, and the derision of foreign countries, Germany has steadfastly and determinedly pursued a thoroughly national and deliberately selfish policy, a policy which is based on might, which is promoted by a most unscrupulous diplomacy, and which is furthered by conquest.

It cannot be pointed out too strongly that Anglo-Saxon and German ideas of the State, its nature, its functions, and its policy, vastly differ. The German political philosophers teach, in accordance with Machiavelli, 'the State is power.' Bismarck stated 'the only healthy basis of a great State is national selfishness, and not romantic idealism;' and in taking office he gave to the world his programme, to which he unflinchingly adhered, in the words 'the German question will be decided, not by parliamentary speeches, but by diplomatic action and by war.' A year later Bismarck made the ominous declaration, 'Not by speeches and resolutions of majorities are great questions decided, but by blood and iron.' Germany is determined to rely for her greatness on blood and iron rather than on beautiful sentiments and foreign investments.

The romantic and idealistic ideas of a league of peace and of international goodwill created and headed by Great Britain, which Lord Avebury propounds, are excellent in the abstract, and they are very profitable, if adopted, from the British point of view, for Great Britain has all the territory she wants, and she strives only to preserve what she has won by force. However, Englishmen must indeed be simple if they believe that beautiful speeches and beautiful sentiments will cause Germany to be satisfied with the fact that Great Britain has practically all the colonies in the world whilst Germany has none.

Sixty years ago Mr. Cobden so blatantly and persistently assured a credulous public that within ten years all protective tariffs would be abolished if England only would set the example, and that England could easily afford to set the example because 'England was and always would be the workshop of the world,' that we threw down our customs walls and invited all nations to help themselves freely to the fruit in our garden which the industry of centuries had made the envy of all nations. The result of Mr. Cobden's brilliant ideas has been that Free Trade has depopulated the country districts and ruined our agriculture, and that it has driven 10,000,000 British workers and several thousand millions of our national capital out of

Now let us look into the foundations of Germany's policy. Reliance on force has always been a characteristic of the German race. *Macht geht vor Recht*, Might is better than right; *Eine Hand voll Gewalt ist besser als ein Sack voll Recht*, A handful of might is better than a sackful of right, are proverbs which are in current use in Germany, for they have a strong historical foundation. Two hundred years ago the Hohenzollerns ruled over 2,000,000 people, Berlin was a village of 10,000 inhabitants, and Prussia occupied a position in the world not dissimilar to that held at present by Servia or Roumania. To-day William the Second rules over 60,000,000 people, and Prusso-Germany has in wealth and strength become the foremost Power on the Continent. How has that marvellous growth from insignificance to greatness, which is unprecedented in the history of nations, been effected? The cause of Prussia's marvellous growth can be summed up in one single word which, it is worth noting, exists only in the German language. It can be summed up in the word '*Machtpolitik*,' which, translated into English, means 'the policy of force.' '*Machtpolitik*' is a word which is consequently on the lips of every German who discusses foreign policy, and no wonder, for Prusso-Germany has put all her trust in the policy of force, which is her traditional policy and which has stood the test of ages. If we read the history of Prusso-Germany we find that by the constant use of force Prussia has become great and powerful, and has welded into a homogeneous mass the numerous nationalities and races which originally inhabited modern Germany.

That the policy of force has been the main cause of Prussia's marvellous growth may at a glance be seen from the following most instructive table, from which it appears that Prusso-Germany has, during more than two centuries, constantly maintained proportionately not only the largest but by far the largest army in Europe.

		Inhabitants	Square Kilometres	Number of Soldiers in Standing Army during Peace Time	Percentage of Soldiers to Population
1688	:	1,500,000	118,000	88,000	2·5
1740	:	2,250,000	121,000	80,000	3·6
1786	"	5,500,000	199,000	195,000	3·6
1865	:	18,800,000	275,500	210,000	1·1
1887	:	28,600,000	847,500	260,000	1·1
1905 (Germany)	:	60,000,000	541,000	610,000	1·1

The foregoing table illustrates Prusso-Germany's policy more clearly and more forcibly than would a lengthy historical account. However, the full meaning of this table will appear only if we remember

that Prusso-Germany has achieved all her great successes in war by attacking with her enormous and ever-ready army an unsuspecting or unprepared enemy. From the attack of Frederick the Great upon Silesia in 1740 during a time of profound peace to the Franco-German war of 1870-1 the Hohenzollerns have always crushed their enemies by the startling suddenness of their attack. Frederick the Great's maxim, 'The best defence is the attack,' has become the guiding principle of Germany's military and diplomatic policy. Moltke was the disciple of Frederick the Great. Prussia's invasion of Austrian Silesia in 1866 was modelled on Frederick's historic example.

The foregoing should suffice to show the broad general ideas upon which German policy is founded, and the traditional and time-proved aims, principles, and methods of German statecraft. These principles and methods are as different from British principles and methods as night is from day, as Protection is from Free Trade, and these fundamental differences between the British and the German political mind utterly preclude all hope that Germany will ever *bona fide* enter Lord Avebury's League of Peace, for by such a step she would voluntarily abandon her ambitions and her claims to become a world-power.

Now let us look into Germany's position, aims, interests, and policy. Germany's greatest problem is no doubt the problem how to find an outlet for her rapidly growing population. According to Adam Smith's shrewd remark, 'the supply of men is determined by the demand for men.' Through 'the blessings of Free Trade,' as Lord Avebury would say, our industries have become partly stationary, partly retrogressive, partly have they decayed, and our population, which used to increase faster than that of any other country in the days of our prosperity, is gradually becoming stationary, whilst the population of Germany, notwithstanding her inferior industrial resources, and notwithstanding conscription, is rapidly growing under the 'crippling influence of Protection.' Whilst Great Britain adds every year only 400,000 people, mostly paupers and unemployed, to her population, Germany adds almost 1,000,000 prosperous workers every year to hers. Therefore we have to ship every year 200,000 able-bodied workers out of the paradise of Free Trade to those countries which 'groan' under Protection, whilst Germany suffers from lack of labour and on balance has to import men. We ship away our 'surplus' population like so much surplus stock or so much refuse, but Germany, being unscientific enough, in contradiction to the teachings of Free-trade political economy, to believe that men and producers, not commodities, foreign investments, and consumers, make a State rich and powerful, wishes either to keep her population at home, or to send it to German colonies in a temperate zone.

By sedulously fostering all her industries, agriculture included, Germany has so far not had to complain of over-population and of

the prevalence of unemployment, for she has, since 1870, given employment in her industries to 20,000,000 additional workers. But the day no doubt will come when Germany must resort to emigration. Germany cannot indefinitely add every year almost 1,000,000 people to her population, and she is not willing to strengthen and enrich other nations to her own hurt, in the manner in which Great Britain, guided by Free-trade doctrinaires, has strengthened other nations and impoverished and weakened herself.

The fruitfulness, self-confidence, vigour, push, and prosperity of the German race, coupled with the fact that the formerly so manly British race is, owing to the blessings of Free Trade, rapidly being converted into a puny, sickly, ill-nourished, sterile, incapable, and unhappy slum proletariat, has suggested to Germany the most natural and the most desirable solution for her greatest problem. If Germany should succeed in wresting from Great Britain the rule of the sea, she would find no difficulty in creating a greater Germany oversea. After the opinion of thinking Germans the British colonies, and Great Britain herself, with her matchless resources, could in a few years be made marvellously prosperous by a sensible administration, the enforcement of discipline, the development of natural resources, and the protection of the national industries. A German administration in Great Britain would not endeavour to gain the cheap applause of the electorate by a shallow, superficially advantageous, and popular policy, but by a policy which, though unpopular at first sight, would give to the workers solid advantages instead of imaginary ones.

After having become the greatest Continental Power, Prusso-Germany strove to become a great, and perhaps the greatest, world-power. Thirty years ago Bismarck said to Bucher :

Up to the year 1866 we pursued a Prusso-German policy. From 1866 to 1870 we pursued a German-European policy. Since then we have pursued a world policy. In discounting future events we must also take note of the United States, who will become in matters economic, and perhaps in matters political as well, a much greater danger than most people imagine. The war of the future will be the economic war, the struggle for life on the largest scale. May my successors always bear this in mind, and always take care that Germany will be prepared when that battle has to be fought.

The distinguished political economist, Professor Schmoller, expressed similar sentiments in *Handels- und Machtpolitik* when he wrote :

What the conquest of Silesia has been in the time of Frederick the Great and the foundation of the German Empire in the time of Bismarck, that will be to the present and the coming generation the foundation of Germany's sea power.

Germany's world policy was not initiated by William the Second, as many believe, but by Bismarck. Having surveyed Germany's chances

in all parts of the globe, Bismarck had come to the conclusion that South Africa offered the best chances for gigantic German settlements. As early as 1876 Bismarck tried, according to Poschinger, to gain a footing in South Africa, where the British element was to be crushed with the help of the Boers. This attempt miscarried, as did a second and more deliberate attempt in 1884, when Bismarck endeavoured to acquire Santa Lucia Bay in order to join hands with the Boers. Ever since 1876, and especially since 1884, Germany has assiduously cultivated her 'interests' in South Africa, and Great Britain experienced the humiliation that she had after the Jameson Raid to listen to Germany's official and formal declaration that 'the continued independence of the Boer republics was a German "interest."'

Between the time of the Jameson Raid and the outbreak of the South African war, Germany strengthened the Boers against Great Britain with arms, with advice, and with encouragement, and during the same time the German Emperor feverishly agitated for a huge expansion of the German navy. During that period William the Second uttered many winged words, such as 'Neptune's trident must be in our fist,' 'Our future lies upon the water,' 'Without the consent of Germany's rulers nothing must happen in any part of the world,' &c., &c. The speeches delivered by the Emperor during that period unmistakably pointed out that it ought to be Germany's policy and aim to wrest from Great Britain the rule of the sea in order to acquire South Africa and perhaps other British colonies as well.

The outbreak of the South African war, which at least for a time foiled Germany's attempts upon South Africa, was considered as a national calamity, and a humiliation, by all Germans who desired for their country the acquisition of South Africa. The war was felt like a great defeat, and caused consternation, grief, and rage throughout Germany. Therefore it was only natural that the South African war gave rise to the two greatest popular movements which Germany has known: the celebrated anti-British campaign of vituperation, for which the only parallel is the enthusiastic agitation against Napoleon the First in 1813, and the great campaign in favour of an overwhelmingly strong German navy. The Navy Bill of 1897 was comparatively a modest affair, but by the Navy Bill of 1900 the thrifty German nation enthusiastically voted the stupendous sum of 200,000,000*l.*, to be distributed over a number of years, for naval purposes, and this enormous amount has, during the last few weeks, been increased to 250,000,000*l.* by the additional votes passed almost unanimously by the Reichstag. Evidently nothing is too dear for the German navy. Germany means to spend in a few years more on her fleet than we spent on the South African war. What is the purpose of the great and rapidly growing German navy?

The reply to that question is furnished by the preamble of the

German Navy Bill of 1900, in which we read : 'Germany must have a fleet of such strength that a war against the mightiest Power would involve risks threatening the supremacy of that Power'; and I recommend Lord Avebury to ponder over this significant and ominous phrase, and over the commentaries on that phrase which Prince Bülow and the Secretary of State for the Navy, Admiral von Tirpitz, made in the Reichstag. Can Lord Avebury really be so blind as not to see Germany's aim ?

We have lately floated a monster battleship, the *Dreadnought*, which will mount ten 12-inch guns, and which is the largest and the most powerful warship afloat. But in a few years Germany will have about twenty battleships, each of which is to cost almost 2,000,000*l.*, and is to be larger and more heavily armed than our own *Dreadnought*. We shall therefore be compelled by Germany to build, in self-defence, at least twenty, perhaps thirty or forty, monster battleships, costing 60,000,000*l.* or 80,000,000*l.* Nevertheless Lord Avebury wrote in his paper, ' How anyone can seriously allege that we have any right to complain of the German programme passes my comprehension ' (p. 424).

Lord Avebury, in his anxiety to prove that the German navy is not dangerously strong, has compared the tonnage of the German, French, and British fleets. However, figures without facts are apt to be misleading, and they are misleading in this case. The German fleet is numerically distinctly inferior to the French fleet, but the German fleet is composed of new, homogeneous, well-found, swift ships, whilst the French fleet is chiefly composed of old, slow, badly built and indifferently armed ships, of which hardly two are alike. The French *flotte d'échantillons* is considered by M. Lockroy, and by, perhaps, the highest German authority, whom I am not at liberty to name, to be inferior to the German fleet. Therefore, the German fleet is now the second strongest in Europe. The German coasts are perfectly protected by enormous shallows and sandbanks. In 1884 Moltke stated that Germany did not require a fleet for her defence. In 1888, Admiral von Stosch, the commander-in-chief of the German navy, said : ' The North Sea harbours defend themselves. If the buoys are removed from the endless sandbanks, which change their shape from year to year, even the most expert pilots would not dare to take a ship through the tortuous channels.' Only a few years ago Admiral Hollmann, who then was the chief of the German navy, declared, ' We require no navy for coast defence ; our coasts defend themselves.'

The configuration of the German coast has not changed during the last few years, and the great German seaports, Hamburg, Bremen, and the rest, lie still far inland on rivers. Germany's coasts are unapproachable for big ships, and on those unapproachable coasts there are no towns which can be damaged. Consequently the enormous

German fleet has not been created for the defence of Germany's coasts, and Germany is in the most favourable position, which no other country enjoys, that she can use her whole naval forces for an attack. Great Britain, France, and many other countries have much to protect, and can therefore strike only with part of their naval forces. Germany's huge navy is also not destined to defend her trade, for she has built almost exclusively battleships, neglecting fast cruisers for the protection of her trade, and her leading naval men have declared that Germany's merchant ships would have to look after themselves in war-time. These few facts make it abundantly clear that the great German fleet has been created not for defence but for attack, as the highest German authorities have publicly stated.

Against which Power is the German fleet likely to be used? Germany need not spend several hundred million pounds on her fleet in order to be able to defeat France, which has an open frontier towards Germany, nor need Germany fear the Russian fleet. Therefore the great German fleet, unless it is meant to be used against the United States, can have only one conceivable antagonist—Great Britain.

According to all great Austrian authorities, it was hopeless for Prussia to attack Austria in 1866. According to most of the great French authorities, it was hopeless for Prussia to attack France in 1870. According to Lord Avebury and various British authorities, it is hopeless for Germany to attack this country. 'Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.' In the knapsacks of Austrian prisoners, taken by the Prussians in 1866, proclamations to the inhabitants of Berlin were found; the troops of Napoleon the Third were lavishly supplied with maps of Germany, but with none of France; our own troops entered upon the South African war with maps of the Transvaal, but with none of the British colonies, where they so often were defeated. History is apt to repeat itself, and Great Britain may experience a naval 'black week' if she thinks that the German navy need not be taken seriously.

Of course, if Germany was stupid enough to give us fair warning and to meet us in fair battle, the superiority of the British fleet would be overwhelming; but wars are not conducted, at least not by Germany, on the principles of a cricket match. Germany will, in a difficult war, certainly follow the advice which Bismarck gave to his nation in his memoirs. He said:

When it becomes a matter of life and death, one does not look at the weapons that one seizes, nor the value of what one destroys in using them. One is guided at the moment by no other thought than the issue of the war.

In diplomatic and military warfare Germany has no other object than to defeat and crush her opponents. In politics and in war

she leaves sentimentality to old women and amateur statesmen who have gathered their wisdom from shallow theorists, for Germany is administered by men of action, not by a miscellaneous crowd of glib orators and skilful vote-catchers, who pander to popular sentiment.

The highest naval officers of Germany have an astonishing confidence in their well-handled and ever-ready fleet, and they do not fear an encounter with a superior British force. At the same time the German navy would not rashly attack a superior British fleet under normal conditions. A declaration of war is, according to usage and to the law of nations, unnecessary. Therefore Germany need not scruple to choose the most convenient moment for an attack on this country, and she may conceivably defeat a superior, but unprepared, British fleet in the same way in which she has defeated superior forces on land throughout her history.

Very likely Germany will endeavour to effect a landing in Great Britain. It is true that Mr. Haldane has, on the 8th of March, assured us that 'the navy in the present strength is capable of defending these shores from invasion,' and that 'our coasts are completely defended by the fleet, and our army is wanted for purposes abroad and oversea.' Therefore Mr. Haldane proposes, for the sake of economy, to 'do away' with numerous defensive positions on the coast and around London. Although Mr. Haldane considers that a landing in considerable force is impossible on our shores, Lord Roberts and the leading German officers who have studied the question are of a different opinion. The German army is constantly ready for war. In a few hours all the ships which happen to be in the German harbours could be seized, filled with soldiers, and sent to the British coast, in accordance with detailed plans which the general staff has prepared. According to Mr. Haldane, the risk of such an enterprise would be very great, but in reality the risk run by Germany in such an expedition is so infinitesimally small that it certainly will be run in time of war. The Germans know quite well that we are a humane people, not cannibals. If forty or fifty thousand men can be landed in England, Germany's object will probably be attained. If the transports are discovered in time and are attacked by a superior British force they will hoist the white flag and we shall have to feed forty or fifty thousand prisoners, whose loss will make no appreciable difference to an army of 6,000,000 trained men. Mr. Haldane's arguments may seem plausible to the average voter, but they are singularly unconvincing to all those who have had some experience in handling large bodies of troops. After all, arguing, not war, is Mr. Haldane's profession.

A superior British fleet, 'capable of defending these shores from invasion,' may at the critical moment have been lured away, or it may be occupied in another quarter of the world, for we cannot

permanently tether up our fleet at our front door and convert our ships into floating coast fortifications. In the absence of our fleet, forty or fifty thousand German soldiers, perhaps more, could be landed, but, according to the Parliamentary armchair strategists, they would soon be 'cut off from their base' by our ships. That operation would be very serious if Great Britain was a savage country. However, as the troops landed would find in this country plenty of guns and ammunition in our arsenals near the coast, and as plenty of horses, carts, &c., could be 'commandeered,' the lightest equipment and a few guns would suffice, and immediately a rush for London could be made. With London the British Empire would fall. I do not think that I betray a secret if I mention that the German General Staff has made a most careful study of England, and that the country has to such an extent been travelled over and surveyed by German officers that a German invading force would feel as much at home in our winding lanes as on the straight *chaussées* of Germany.

The German troops would meet with the resistance of some hastily collected British regulars, militiamen, and volunteers, but the highest German officers have singularly little respect for our troops, as I have had occasion to ascertain. Since Free Trade has ruined our agriculture, our army has become composed of starving slum-dwellers, who, according to the German notion, are better at shouting than at fighting. German generals have pointed out that in the South African war our regular and auxiliary troops often raised the white flag and surrendered, without necessity, sometimes to a few Boers, and they may do the same to a German invading force. Free Trade, which 'benefits the consumer' and the exploiter, has, unfortunately, destroyed the manhood of the nation, and Lord Roberts' recent statement that 'our armed forces as a body are as absolutely unfitted and unprepared for war as they were in 1899' is, unfortunately, only too true. Of course, if Lord Roberts and the German generals are right and Mr. Haldane is wrong, which very likely is the case, we may impeach Mr. Haldane after our overthrow—if there is a Parliament left by the invader who may have come to stay.

For Mr. Haldane's information I would remark that the essence of maritime warfare, especially for a country the interests of which are worldwide, is mobility. Therefore we cannot tie our ships to our shores. Our shores must defend themselves. The army cannot leave the defence of our coast to the navy. Our coasts can easily be defended, for we have a sufficient number of citizens willing to bear arms and to defend their country, and owing to the density of our population and of our railway net we can, with some little preparation, assemble 200,000 armed men, almost at any possible spot of debarkation, within a few hours. But that cannot be done if the necessary organisation is created by orating amateurs. Military

experts must be allowed to manage military affairs and to create our army.

Mr. Haldane's ideal of military local government connected with the existing units of local administration has raised a very broad smile throughout Europe. Mr. Haldane tells us that he wishes to copy Gambetta's armies, which, according to the best German sources, did more harm to France than to Germany, and which were practically useless. Are we to have County Council brigades and local district corps? Apparently Mr. Haldane wishes to revive our ancient 'trained bands' which gloried in awe-inspiring titles, gorgeous uniforms, banners, bands, and other warlike paraphernalia, but which ran away from every enemy, and covered the name of British soldiers with disgrace. We have been copying the French army, the German army, and the Japanese army, and we may presently be found copying Gambetta's armies, and the result will probably be the creation of a military force no more terrible than the Salvation Army. Uniforms can be copied, but armies cannot be copied. Armies are composed of men, and must be organised and trained in accordance with the peculiar character of the people. The English spirit, the German spirit, and the Japanese spirit are totally different. If Englishmen had the fortitude and patriotism of the Japanese, we could copy the Japanese army; if they had the docility of Germans, we could copy the German army; but Englishmen are totally different from Frenchmen, Germans, and Japanese. Therefore we must not copy foreign armies, but we may learn much from the armies of our great commanders, the Duke of Marlborough and the Duke of Wellington, and most of all from the greatest of British generals and organisers—Cromwell.

If, in case of an Anglo-German war, an invasion of Great Britain, which almost certainly will be attempted, should prove a failure, Germany would either try to cause Russia to invade India, or she would strive to invade India in co-operation with Russia. Such an attack would be exceedingly dangerous, since the new Russian railways have placed Moscow within easy reach of India. The support of Russia against Great Britain would be invaluable to Germany, and this is one of the principal reasons for Germany's unvarying friendship for her Eastern neighbour, but our armchair strategists have apparently never thought of a Russo-German attack on India. From his speech of the 8th of March it would appear that Mr. Haldane is of opinion that, since Russia's defeat, all danger of an attack on the north-west frontier of India has passed; but let Mr. Haldane act warily. Some day a Russo-German force, a force in which German intelligence, organisation, and foresight would be combined with Russian numbers, might impetuously knock at the gate of India, and the most beautiful speeches of Mr. Haldane and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and the loftiest sentiments of our philan-

thropical Free-traders, headed by Lord Avebury, will not turn them back.

The foregoing shows that a war between Germany and Great Britain might, even at the present time, not be confined to target practice on moving objects on the part of the British fleet. Ten or fifteen years hence Germany may even be able to challenge our fleet on the high sea. At any rate she will be able to immobilise our entire naval resources and confine our naval power to the seas in the immediate vicinity of our coast, especially if we neglect our coast defences and home army, and thus Germany will make it impossible for us to assert our rights in any quarter of the globe except with Germany's permission. Is that a desirable state of affairs?

It is true that theoretically we can build two ships for every one built by Germany, but the young German shipyards may prove as successful under the fostering care of the State as the German iron, chemical, and electrical industries have proved, to our cost. We may lose our superiority in shipbuilding in the same way in which, under the *régime* of Free Trade, we have lost the supremacy in most of our industries. Free Trade may be good for the consumer and for the capitalist, but it is very bad for the producer and for the nation. Protection may be very bad for the consumer and for the capitalist—in Germany large capitalists are almost unknown—but it is excellent for the nation, for it looks after the national interests, and it is excellent for the people, for Protection protects labour, whilst the Moloch of Free Trade has 'consumed' our agriculture, our manufacturing industries, our national health, strength, and prosperity, and is converting Great Britain into a desert dotted with workhouses and peopled with British and alien paupers.

Germany is not only preparing herself with feverish haste for a naval struggle with Great Britain, but she endeavours at the same time to weaken this country by bringing it into collision with other countries, by undermining our economic strength, and by alienating the Colonies from the Motherland. All these attempts of Germany must be duly weighed in gauging the future development of Anglo-German relations.

It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that Germany made the South African war. Had Germany not sedulously cultivated the Boer connection, encouraged Boer ambitions, and flattered Mr. Kruger to the top of his bent, the Transvaal war would not have occurred. The South African war cost us 250,000,000*l.*, and we may thank Germany for the loss of that enormous sum. Our Free-traders pretend that the expenses of that war are the cause of the miserable state of our industries, because they say the war has exhausted the country; but that assertion is untrue. A century ago, when Great Britain 'groaned' under the severest Protection, we fought France during twenty years, and although Great Britain,

without Ireland, had then only 10,000,000 inhabitants, we could spend more than 1,000,000,000*l.* on that war. Now, when our population has immensely increased and when Free Trade has made us so enormously wealthy, on paper, we seem to suffer more through the expenditure of 250,000,000*l.*, of which most has gone into British pockets, than we did from an expenditure four times larger a century ago. The assertion that the South African war has impoverished us may be Free-traders' logic, but it is neither truth nor common sense.

After the South African war Germany nearly got us into trouble with the United States over Venezuela, and with Russia over the Baghdad Railway. At the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war all Germany devoutly hoped that we might be drawn into the war, for, whilst our fleet would have been fighting France and Russia, the German fleet might have undertaken most instructive tactical exercises, on a large scale and under war conditions, in the North Sea. After all, it is Germany's interest to see Great Britain involved in war, for then Germany's best chances of aggrandisement will arise.

Germany's Protectionist policy is offensive as well as defensive. By a judicious arrangement of duties, our manufactures are excluded from Germany, but the raw materials which we want ourselves are drawn away from our industries. Formerly Germany furnished us with grain, timber, hides, &c., and received our manufactures in return. Now, owing to her ingenious tariff, we are swamped with German manufactures, and send to that country chiefly British coal and fish and foreign timber, gold, hides, &c., for our manufactures sent to Germany are but a trifle. We have become hewers of wood and drawers of water to Germany, who planfully spoils our home and foreign markets by continued dumping of surplus stock. Lastly, by penalising our Colonies for treating the Mother Country preferentially under their tariffs, Germany has deliberately endeavoured to drive a wedge between Great Britain and our Colonies, and to prevent the unification of the Empire.

The foregoing should suffice to show that it is not Great Britain's fault if Anglo-German relations are unsatisfactory. Lord Avebury has assured us that 'His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Prince Bülow are not unfriendly to this country,' and I willingly believe him. Friendliness and unfriendliness are sentiments which may affect the relations between private individuals, but not between States. The policy of a nation is not directed in accordance with the feelings and predilections of its rulers or ministers, but in accordance with its interests. A ruler or minister who would allow himself in his policy to be influenced by his personal feelings or fancies would betray his country. It is true that Great Britain feels friendship for France, but the Anglo-French *entente* is not a sentimental arrangement.

ment. It is only the business-like expression of a community of interests between France and this country. William the Second and Prince Bülow may love England much, but they will love Germany better. Political business and sentimentality do not go together, at least not in Germany.

Lord Avebury tells us, on page 421, that 'the greatest of British interests was peace ; not only that we should be at peace ourselves, but that other countries should be at peace also.' That proposition is wrong. Formerly, when Great Britain was the manufacturer, trader, banker, and engineer to all nations, we were told by Palmerston, Disraeli, and Derby that peace was the greatest British interest ; but since then things have altered. Through the blessings of Free Trade, we have lost our industrial superiority and we have gained powerful national competitors. Although Great Britain must wish that her national customers should flourish and prosper, she has really no cause to desire that Germany, her keenest industrial competitor, should flourish. On the contrary.

The record of facts shows the course of policy with regard to this country upon which Germany has entered, and no declaration of sympathy and regard on the part of Germany can alter or explain away these facts. Therefore the tension between Great Britain and Germany is bound to increase, and to increase to the breaking point, unless Germany shows by deeds, not by words, that she means to steer the German ship of state in another direction. If she continues extending her enormous fleet, which can only be meant to serve against this country, Great Britain will, in course of time, have to face the alternatives of losing her position and her Empire by war or of losing them by ignominious surrender, and she will naturally select the former course, our Free-traders notwithstanding.

Germany desires not only to acquire colonies but also to expand in Europe. She has not enough harbour room for her warships, for Kiel is awkwardly situated, and Wilhelmshafen is a narrow, artificial port. Therefore Germany is almost compelled to acquire the harbours of Holland and Belgium. Furthermore, in Austria-Hungary 12,000,000 Germans dwell among 30,000,000 Slavs, and the former are being rapidly absorbed by the latter. Naturally Germany desires to save the Germanic element in Austria-Hungary, and she may feel compelled to acquire the western half of that monarchy. Providence will decide the direction in which Germany's accumulated energy and repressed ambitions will find an outlet.

At present Germany dominates the Continent, but if her frontiers should become further extended she would rule it, and Germany's military, naval, and industrial power might become irresistible. She might then become able to vanquish not only Great Britain, but the United States as well. Anglo-Saxon civilisation might eventually

be replaced by German civilisation the world over. For these reasons it may be expected that Great Britain would feel impelled to assist the weaker European Powers in opposing any further extension of Germany. Germany seems to be standing at the parting of the ways, and a few years may decide the fate of Europe and perhaps that of the world.

J. ELLIS BARKER

IS THE BRITISH EMPIRE SAFE?

A NOTE ON NATIONAL SERVICE

IN advocating the idea of universal military training for the youth of the country, compulsory if not otherwise attainable, I must, of course, speak as a civilian. What is the proper naval and military defence of the country and empire is a technical question for strategists—those who handle armies and navies. What we as civilians have to consider is our attitude to expert opinion—what expert opinion should we follow?

To put this question is almost to answer it. We must act upon the opinion of the best experts, and that opinion, as far as this particular question is concerned, undoubtedly is that the British Empire is not safe, and we may be exposed to great disasters and loss, unless the principle of extensive military training is adopted and preparations made in time in view of an emergency that may arrive at any moment. This is the opinion of Lord Roberts, as he has told us lately in his admirable speeches. He advocates, as a minimum standard, that a million men should be available in the United Kingdom, trained and ready to be armed and put in the field when the emergency comes. Some authorities may think less will suffice, how much less is never clearly explained, but then they are not Lord Roberts! Lord Roberts again does not express a personal opinion merely. He focuses the preponderant military opinion for years past, though our system of political parties has prevented its being acted upon.

The simple logical view then is that as civilians, if we are wise men, we should act upon the expert opinion. Lord Roberts is the one man we should turn to if we got into a mess. Why not accept his opinion and advice in order to avoid a mess? In every other business this is what we should do. In the conveyance of property, in building a house, in buying a motor-car, in getting cured of our diseases, and especially in critical operations, it is always the best expert available that we go to. Why should we not do so in the important matter of naval and military defence?

Personally, I have looked into the discussion a good deal, and conclude that not only authority but the best arguments are on the

side of Lord Roberts and those who agree with him. Even, however, if some experts who believe less will do have right on their side, as a bare matter of argument, and less preparation than universal military training will suffice,—I doubt the existence of any such experts myself, but still granting that there are,—it would still remain true that the prudent course for civilians is to 'make sure.' It will do no harm if we make more provision than is found necessary, whereas if we run things a little fine, and happen to do less than is necessary, or perhaps there is accident or oversight, we may not escape utter ruin.

There is another consideration in this matter. When we are told by extremists of the Blue Water School, as it is called, a school with which for one I am in entire agreement, as the navy must be our main defence,—when we are told that successful raids upon these islands or any vital part of the British Empire, and still more successful invasions, are impossible,—the question that may be asked is, How about attempted raids and invasions that prove unsuccessful? The security to be aimed at is not merely that raids and invasions, if they are attempted, will be unsuccessful; but that obviously they will be such immediate and utter failures that they will never cause a panic or inflict great losses while they are being repelled. The supreme importance of this aspect of the matter to civilians is obvious. It is conceivable, for instance, that an invasion of Ireland or a raid upon Ireland, that would eventually be defeated, might so far succeed for a time as to inflict untold injuries and even shake the foundations of our empire. Similarly an invasion of Egypt is possible,—by the Turkish Government for instance, in concert with a European Power,—which would cut our communication with India by the Suez Canal for a time. Say the invasion is repelled, as the French were defeated and expelled from Egypt at the beginning of last century, what of our position meanwhile? It is questions of this sort which are apt to be overlooked in purely technical discussions. A general guarantee our success with such and such forces; but what degree and kind of success?

Such is the main argument as I understand it; but there is much besides to be said for universal military training. (1) It will be a good thing physically and morally for the manhood of the country. (2) It is essentially a cheap method of defence, because it permits of the reduction of our regular army to the smallest possible limits. It is to be feared that there are extravagant expectations on this head, but nothing can safely be done at all without universal training. (3) The proposal if adopted gives the public a real finality in these incessant discussions about defence. So long as we stop short of universal training, there will be endless controversies as to whether we are *doing enough*. If the training is universal, we have done our *best, and can do no more*. (4) *It is a final advantage that the idea if followed here will give a lead to our great dependencies and thus add*

indefinitely to the reserves of the British Empire without any additional burden on ourselves, while the empire itself will be all the more secure. (5) If we are fully prepared for war we shall probably have peace, but not otherwise. And we must be fully prepared on every point. In the present conjuncture of international politics, it appears to be the sacred duty of free self-governing States to prepare and to be vigilant, in the hope that the great military despotisms, finding no opening for attack among weak non-aggressive States, may themselves be transformed into peaceful self-governing democracies.

One word upon the objection, that what is proposed is conscription. It is nothing of the sort. Upon this head there is much confusion. The regular army we require in peace time fixes the popular idea of soldiering, and the notion of making people soldiers, in an army like our regular army, liable to serve in all climates, against their wills, which is the thing understood by conscription, is naturally repugnant. But the preparation for defence contemplated by universal training is essentially different, and if made compulsory is not conscription. It is rather analogous to those fundamental laws of our constitution which enable magistrates to enrol special constables in time of civil disorder; which entitle an ordinary policeman, if obstructed in making an arrest, to call upon any passer-by to assist him; and which empower the captain of a ship to call upon passengers to assist in the navigation, though they are no part of his crew. It is the elementary duty of the citizen of a free State to obey the call of the community when at grips with an enemy for national existence, and to prepare himself in time of peace for the call which war may make upon him. No State is safe without such a fundamental rule. We have become so soft by long peace, and by the efficiency of our navy and our army, that elementary duties are all but forgotten; but must we not all become a little harder and ready for the worst, which may not be so very far off?

•ROBERT GIFFEN.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

I

MY DEAR SIR JAMES KNOWLES,—In our conversation of a few days ago relative to the need for further reforms of procedure in the House of Commons, you suggested that I should place on record my views thereupon. Briefly, and in somewhat rough outline, I proceed to do so.

That drastic changes are imperatively required if Parliament is to be a thoroughly effective instrument in the service of the nation and of the Empire will hardly be denied. Our vast and ever-increasing territory, peopled as it is with tens of millions of inhabitants so diverse in race, religion, habits, and civilisation ; the starting to new life of democratic forces at home which are calling aloud for much-needed reforms in our social and industrial life—these factors but intensify the demand that the House of Commons shall be made into a really businesslike assembly. Already the new Parliament has discussed the subject, and an influential Committee, under the able chairmanship of Sir Henry Fowler, has been appointed to consider what can be done.

Before I touch upon suggested changes in procedure there is an initial problem which calls for remark—I refer to the utter inadequacy of the present Chamber to afford anything like sufficient accommodation for its members. I suppose few candidates at the General Election would imagine that after they had won what, in playful irony, is called a seat in the House of Commons, there would be no seat provided for them. When the electoral battle was fought and won, they would think that the conflict was over. As a matter of fact, the struggle for seats is a daily struggle. There are scores of members, of whom I am one, who have not yet been able to obtain a seat this Session. Day after day every place on the ministerial side of the House is bespoken long before business commences.

Arithmetically, the position stands thus. The total membership of the House of Commons is 670. On the floor of the House there are seats for some three hundred members. When the benches behind the Speaker's chair, and those below the Bar, are deducted,

there are not more, I should say, than 260 places from which members can deliver speeches or ask questions.

In other legislative chambers—in the United States of America, in France, in Germany, and in every country endowed with representative institutions, every elected member is provided with a seat of his own. Is it not almost incredible in its grotesqueness that our own great Parliament House should be so constructed that it affords fitting accommodation for only about one-third of the elected representatives?

It may be urged that this insufficiency of accommodation is due to the great influx of new members, that the same difficulty always shows itself immediately after a general election, and that when the novelty of membership has worn off the present Chamber, under normal conditions, will afford space and verge enough for all who care to be present. Experienced members will admit that there is some force in this contention. But, after thirty-two years in the House of Commons, I have found in every Parliament and in every Session many occasions when great numbers of members were unable to obtain seats. Beyond all doubt, too, every successive Parliament sends a greater proportion of members who make it their business to give constant attendance, and who are keenly interested in the debates and proceedings.

But important though this point is, and though I believe that it must force itself on the attention of the Government, I shall not dwell further upon the subject, since it is not within the province of the Select Committee to provide a remedy.

Within the compass of this letter I can touch only upon a few of the more important questions of procedure, and these I cannot fully discuss. The general problem is how to make our Parliamentary machine more efficient in the public service. The work thrown upon that machine is huge, multifarious, ever-increasing. Can the load be lightened? Can the instrument be improved? Something may be done in both ways. Again and again efforts have been made to amend the rules of procedure—not, perhaps, wholly in vain, not certainly with complete success. Once again the subject is under the consideration of an experienced influential Select Committee. That Committee is empowered to amend the existing rules, and to formulate any new rules which may be required for the more efficient despatch of business. The final decision will, of course, rest with the House of Commons itself.

The subject was last before Parliament in 1902. Some of the rules then adopted have worked fairly well, some have proved abortive, and others have been entirely mischievous. In the last category are the alterations in the hours for commencing business, and in the interval for dinner.

Two o'clock is a most inconvenient starting-time. It is too early

if the House must sit till midnight, or, as it often does, till long after midnight ; it is too late if, like every other legislative assembly in the world, the House of Commons has to transact its business in the fresh hours of the day and to adjourn in the earlier hours of the evening. Almost to a man the Labour members would favour earlier sittings, commencing, say, at 10.30 or 11 A.M. and ending at 8 or 9 P.M. That, I believe, would meet with the approval of a majority of the House of Commons as at present constituted. In support of this view it may be urged—and I should entirely agree with the sentiment—that members of Parliament should give the best hours of the day and their freshest energies to the service of the public. But there are great practical difficulties in carrying out a reform so drastic. Such an arrangement would exclude many able men whom nobody would like to see excluded, and whose absence would distinctly weaken and injure the House of Commons. Then, again, much necessary and valuable Committee work is done in the earlier hours of the day.

Looking at the whole circumstances, I think it would be well to revert substantially to the hours which were in operation before 1902, except that the usual hour for adjournment should not be later than 11 o'clock. Midnight sittings should be avoided. Whenever the House of Commons has disgraced itself by scenes of turbulence and violence it has been at these all-night sittings.

The interval for dinner, nominally from 7.30 to 9, should be abolished. In last Parliament it often happened that the hour between 9 and 10 o'clock was worse than wasted by Unionist members, who talked against time until the Government forces had returned from dinner in sufficient numbers to prevent defeat. Nobody wishes the actual working time to be diminished ; nor would it be by such a proposal as I have sketched. Were the House to meet, say, at half-past 2 or 3 and sit continuously till 11, the available time for business would be increased rather than diminished. More work, and better work, would be accomplished. The time for questions, now too limited, could be extended.

If current rumour may be trusted, the Committee will recommend some such change as I have indicated. To have no interval whatever for dinner might seem to be hard upon the Speaker and upon the officials of the House ; but I have reason to believe that some of the highest authorities who are themselves directly affected have testified that, in practice, there would be no difficulties which could not be easily surmounted.

Whether the short day should be Friday, as it is now, or Wednesday, as it was prior to 1902, is not of vital moment so far as the transaction of business is concerned. The half-past 5 o'clock adjournment on Wednesdays afforded a pleasant and often a much-needed break in the middle of the week when the sittings on other days were long,

and when the weather was hot and oppressive. With an earlier adjournment the need for this short Wednesday would be diminished. It is a mistake to suppose that only frivolous pleasure-seekers care for a short day on Friday and a long week-end. Many Labour members, especially those of them who are trade-union officials, often have business meetings in the country on Saturdays, and a short Friday is of distinct advantage to them. But as this mainly concerns the convenience of members, it may well be left to the decision of the House itself.

The hours of meeting and of adjournment once determined, how can they best be utilised? Much time might be saved by shortening speeches and by expediting divisions. As a rule, speeches are far too long. Sir Carne Rasch has for many years persistently and consistently advocated the application of a time-limit to the duration of speeches. The gallant major's example 'strengthens his laws,' since his own utterances seldom exceed ten minutes, and they are always terse, witty, and to the point. But then he has never been called upon to introduce a Budget or to expound a great policy. I agree that speeches should be shorter, but I do not think that a mechanical, universal rule can be laid down which would be applicable to all members in all circumstances. To apply a time-limit to some members and not to others would be both invidious and unworkable.

I have myself heard a speech which occupied three hours in its delivery. A crowded House listened to every word with rapt attention, and nobody wished the speech had been a minute shorter. But the orator was Mr. Gladstone, and he was expounding a large and an intricate policy.

Many another speaker I have heard who had not spoken half a dozen sentences before it became abundantly clear that he could contribute neither entertainment nor enlightenment to the assembly. Members soon discovered that the moment was opportune for them to go to the library to write their letters or to read their favourite authors. Those who remained in the House could hardly be termed, in any proper sense of the word, an audience, for nobody listened.

Some remedy, no doubt, is needed, but it must be left mainly to the good sense and good taste of the House itself. The Speaker is already fully armed with powers to check irrelevancy and vain repetitions. The House, too, is not wholly defenceless in protecting itself against the prosy inanities of its bores.

After all, it is well to remember that ours is a government by debate. 'No State,' says Walter Bagehot, 'can be first rate which has not a government by discussion.' Government by discussion may be less expeditious than government by closure, but it is more likely to yield permanently satisfactory results in sound, beneficent legislation.

Few persons outside the House of Commons are aware that so large a portion of time is spent—much of it misspent—in recording the votes of members. A division ordinarily occupies from fifteen to twenty minutes, the period varying with the number of members and with the celerity or slowness of their passing through the lobbies. In a full House, with members preponderatingly on one side, a longer time is of course required. The two divisions in the Free Trade debate a few days ago took about three-quarters of an hour. Multiplied by a whole Session, the total time required or taken is something formidable.

Mr. Balfour, when introducing his procedure rules in 1902, stated that there had been 482 divisions in the preceding Session. Reckoning five divisions per hour—a very moderate estimate—that was equivalent to twelve eight-hour days in which members had perambulated the lobbies to put their opinions on record. Is there no possibility of saving time by altering the mode of voting? Something has been attempted and a little has been done in that way, but there is surely room for still further reform. The German Reichstag has recently changed its voting methods—with good results, I am informed. Even if we adhere to our present slow, cumbrous system, much time might be saved, amounting during a Session to many hours, if members would enter the division lobbies more quickly, and pass the tellers more continuously, when a division is in progress. The present method lends itself to dilatory and obstructive tactics. More than once I have known divisions in which a minority—a very small minority—has taken a longer time than the large majority in passing through the lobbies. The minority was palpably and avowedly wasting time. But even a majority eagerly bent upon utilising every moment often unintentionally delays a division. Many members are unaware, or they forget, that the tellers cannot begin to count until all members who are in the Chamber after the outer doors have been closed, have passed out of the House into the division lobbies and the doors between the House and the lobbies are locked. A few nights ago, when I was proceeding into the division lobby, a new member, accosting me, said there was no need for haste. 'We can wait,' said he, 'ten minutes longer in the House, and still have ample time for the division.' He did not know until I told him that we should thus prolong the division by the full ten minutes during which we remained in the House.

Another important matter of procedure relates to the suggested suspension from one Session to the next of the same Parliament of such Bills as may have reached, and perhaps proceeded far through, the Committee stage. Every member who has had any considerable parliamentary experience must know numerous instances in which a vast amount of labour has been expended upon Bills of more or less importance, and in which this labour has been entirely thrown

away. After long debate the Bill has passed its second reading. Many hours, perhaps many days, may have been given to its consideration in Committee, when its further progress is checked for lack of time. Next Session the same Bill may be introduced, the same arguments advanced, the old speeches redelivered, with probably much the same result. This is not highly rational. Can it be mended without introducing other evils?

Some sixteen years ago, a powerful Select Committee, with Mr. Goschen (now Lord Goschen) as its Chairman, carefully considered the subject. The Chairman presented a draft report recommending that, under specified conditions, Bills which had reached a certain advanced stage of progress in one Session might be taken up at that stage in the next Session (being a Session of the same Parliament), the questions of the first and second readings having been put forthwith from the Chair and agreed to by the House. A majority of Lord Goschen's Committee supported the proposed reform. But there were high authorities and great parliamentarians—some of the highest and greatest—who were strongly hostile to a change of the kind. Probably the question will be again considered by Sir Henry Fowler's Committee.

But whatever may be the need—and the need is assuredly great—for improving our Parliamentary machine and for adjusting it to modern requirements, still more imperative is it that the overwhelming burden of work which is now thrown upon that machine should be lightened. Mr. Gladstone, a master of everything relating to Parliamentary methods, laid great stress upon what he termed devolution as a means of relief. He urged that much of the business then transacted in the House of Commons itself could with advantage be done by large Committees. To his initiative and advocacy we owe the idea of the Grand Committee system; an idea which was afterwards formulated and put into operation by him.

It is the fashion now in some quarters to disparage these Committees, and to declare that they have proved a failure. I do not at all agree with that opinion. For many years I was a member of one of these Grand Committees, and I attended the sittings with fair regularity. In the earlier years of these Committees, if I may judge by my own experience, I should say unhesitatingly that they did good work, and did it excellently well. Obstruction there was none. The speeches, not being reported in the public Press, were short, direct, and to the point. Divisions were comparatively few, they occupied little time, and, so far as I remember, they were never on party lines. Every question was decided on its merits.

If, more recently, these Committees have been weakened and discredited, it is mainly because Bills have been sent to them with which they were entirely unfitted to deal. Such Committees are but ill adapted to the consideration of questions of a highly contro-

versial character, and especially of such as generate strong, bitter party feeling. Mr. Gladstone's dictum was that no Bills of the kind should be remitted to them. There is therefore no case, in my opinion, for abolishing the Grand Committees. The case is strong for further developing and perfecting the system.

Mr. Gladstone would, of course, have carried devolution far beyond the establishment of Grand Committees at Westminster. He would have relieved the House of Commons of a great mass of business by empowering Ireland to manage her own affairs. I shall not, in a letter which has already extended far beyond what I had intended, attempt to discuss the complex, thorny theme of Irish government. In my first election address, issued more than thirty-two years ago, I declared myself a Home Ruler. I have never swerved from the principle of that declaration. But I fully recognise that no scheme has been yet formulated which has been approved by Parliament, or which has commended itself to the masses of the British electorate. But, short of Home Rule, surely something might be done to transfer business of an essentially local, sometimes of a petty, character from the Imperial Parliament to local assemblies possessing, as the House of Commons does not possess, a full knowledge of all the facts and circumstances. As it is, valuable time is lost, and too often the work is ill done.

A few nights ago we had a striking illustration of this. A great debate on the army was interrupted by the interjection of the Rathmines and Rathgar Extension and Improvement Bill. This was an Irish Bill relating to a suburb of Dublin. The Irish Nationalists to a man opposed the measure, and, after an hour and a half's debate, it was rejected by a majority of more than 200. Probably not a man who voted on either side will say that the decision had anything whatever to do with the merits of the particular Bill. Many members no doubt felt that a purely Irish question should be decided by the opinions of the great majority of Irish representatives, and accordingly they went into the lobby with these representatives.

I am, &c.,

THOS. BURT.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

II

It is now twenty-five years since I made bold, in two articles in this Review (September 1881 and January 1882), to urge on Mr. Gladstone the reform of parliamentary procedure. Much has been done in the way of reform since that date. But many of the old evils remain—some of them have actually increased in mischief. Now, as then, the system of business in the House of Commons has been generally felt to have ominous defects. Now, as then, we have seen the House silenced, and paralysed by its own rules ; legislation has been choked by the plethora of forms that it involves ; the historic 'inquest of the nation' tends to become an inorganic public meeting. Now is the time to reconsider this burning problem. A new House and a reforming Government are pledged to take it in hand. And as an old student of comparative jurisprudence I again make bold to ask, Why does the British Parliament adhere to obsolete methods of work which all other parliaments abroad and all modern councils and boards at home have utterly condemned and rejected ? Why does it do its business in ways which would ruin a railway or a bank, and would make a county council an idle debating club ? .

In 1881-2 all thoughtful critics of the 'deadlock in the House of Commons' were insisting on some mode of closing the interminable debates. I protested against the use of the outlandish word *closure*, but urged that some form of closure was indispensable and just. Well, closure has been adopted and has come to stay, and has been too often used in arbitrary and oppressive ways. To protect minorities against its abuse will be one of the first tasks of the new majority ; but as no rules can make such abuse quite impossible, the real protection against abuse of the closure must always be found in the good faith of the minister in charge and of the Speaker and his deputy. It being agreed that closure is an indispensable instrument of serious debate, the new rules to safeguard its exercise may well be left to the experience and just mind of the present Prime Minister ; and they need not be further discussed here.

A second reform which we demanded five-and-twenty years ago was some check to be placed on the monstrous perversion of the

right of *questions*, which had grown to be an intolerable and grotesque nuisance. In the absence of any power to reply or to cross-examine a minister, 'questions' had become a mere means of advertising busy-bodies, wasting time, and cultivating bores. This too has been to a certain extent remedied. But until 'questions' can be subjected to some responsible control, and carry the right to press the minister who answers, they had better be got out of the way altogether. They amuse the House as a game of 'cross questions and crooked answers' —bridge not yet being allowed. No minister worth his salt (of 2,000*l.* to 5,000*l.*) ever tells anything that he does not desire to be known; and, as he seldom tells more than a fraction of the truth, he only misleads those who are weak enough to believe him to be telling the whole.

Years ago we protested against the intolerably long hours of debate —twelve hours, and at times 'all night sittings,' and sessions prolonged into September. And all this waste of time for nothing except now and then a petty administrative change, and, in happy times, one substantial reform, cruelly mangled and sterilised. Something has been done to redress the evil of late sittings and sessions in the dog-days; but it is agreed that there is still an immense amount of sheer waste of time, play, dawdling, and parading in futile divisions through the lobbies. We all look to Sir Henry, for the first time at the head of a really business House of Commons, to put his foot down on the vulgar scandal of tea-parties on the terrace, dinner-parties in the cellars, gabbling nonsense to stave off a division, systematic pairing, 'blocking' by sheer trickery, and majorities consisting of overfed, noisy young 'bloods,' whipped up from balls and supper-rooms. If 'society' hopes to keep its prestige and its privileges a little longer, it must cease to treat the Parliament of the Empire as if it were a music-hall or a smoking concert.

It is not the part of those who have not sat in Parliament to discuss the details of practical procedure, which may safely be left to the experience of the Prime Minister and the reforming zeal of a House entirely recast in tone, even more than in persons. But it is quite open to those who have studied the working of other parliaments and have sat in a business council to suggest one substantial change in form, which would at once relieve the House from pressure, and immensely facilitate the work both of government and of legislation. That reform is to delegate the whole of the business now consigned to committees of the whole House to small departmental committees, specially selected, sitting in suitable rooms 'upstairs,' and reporting to the House in printed reports after careful deliberation. This, no doubt, has been done at times in what are known as 'grand committees.' But from their constitution and methods of work they have not been of very much use, nor have they materially relieved the House of its ordinary work in committee. The proposal now made

is that at the opening of each session the House should nominate as many standing committees as there are separate ministerial departments, say finance, foreign affairs, army, navy, education, local government (or possibly, agriculture, post and railways), law, home, Scotland, Ireland, Colonies, India—that is, at least twelve or fourteen standing committees, each consisting of eleven or thirteen members, more or less. To one of such committees every Bill, or motion when passed by the House, would be referred for consideration.

If the committees altogether absorbed 165 members, this would amount to one-quarter of the whole, and would so far set free the other three-fourths. It is not proposed that the committees, should be selected by the Government, or by the majority, but by a system of proportional representation. The incurable defects of proportional representation as applied to the parliamentary suffrage throughout the kingdom, or in separate constituencies, are these, that in a constituency of 10,000 or 15,000, those who agree in opinion have no adequate means of conferring and meeting; and, if they had, the masses of electors have no definite opinions cut and dried, and have no distinct choice of persons or policies ready formed to hand. The House of Commons is exactly the body where proportional representation could have a fair field and could be used with entire ease and success. It would be easy to apportion the members of the committees so as to give each party or group exactly the same proportionate strength in the committees that they hold in the House. If the total number of committee men were 165, a party that commanded two-thirds of the House could elect 110; a group which numbered one-fifth could elect 33; a group which numbered one-tenth could elect 16; a group which numbered only twelve could elect 3. Every four M.P.s could elect one committee man; and, by careful selection, the whole body of committees would be an exact mirror of the House.

The twelve or thirteen committees should sit as committees on private Bills now sit, with power to call before them and examine any minister in either House, to hear any M.P. who desired to address them, and to obtain information from Government offices or elsewhere. They should have power to sit at convenient hours whether the House were sitting or not, and even to meet when it was not in session. If they had power to summon and examine any minister they would be able to exercise a control which the House itself has long lost. Such a power would necessarily imply the right to sit at need with strictly closed doors; and, in the case of such committees as those on foreign affairs, army, or navy, the members of them might be sworn in as privy councillors, and deliberate with the secrecy and the responsibility of a Cabinet.

A small committee, not in any case exceeding fifteen, sitting *in camera*, if it chose, with no person present but those specially summoned, could give a thorough examination to every clause of any Bill,

especially if it could summon to assist it the legal and official servants of the State. The right to examine and even cross-examine any minister, principal or subordinate, whether peer or commoner, would really make the answering serious and responsible questions an important duty, and would obviate the resort to a miscellaneous and idle system of public questions which never receive honest or complete answers. It does not follow that every piece of information obtained in committee need be made public, or even reported in express terms to the House. But the committee would make their report with full and accurate knowledge of all necessary facts. As things now are, the House, has to pass Bills and clauses without more knowledge of facts than it suits the minister to disclose, and in the absence of the draftsmen and lawyers who alone can enlighten it on the effect of the intricate verbiage of a Bill. The proper chairman of each committee would be the minister, principal or subordinate, for that department.

When the committee had fully considered its Bill the chairman would submit to the House a printed report containing the conclusions of the committee or of the majority, with reasons and, if necessary, tables of returns or legal opinions obtained. The minority could add their own report, and any member could raise a new point when the report was before the House. It is obvious how greatly superior in convenience and business efficiency would be such a course of patient study of clauses, with expert advice, as compared with the rough and tumble of committees of the whole House, where intricate clauses are tossed about from side to side in a noisy House, with one or two hundred members chatting, sleeping, running in and out, not one in ten having an idea what the immediate business is about.

The way in which Acts of Parliament are hatched has long been the scandal of our constitution, the despair of business men, and the insoluble puzzle of the law courts. The Legislature is found to have said things it never meant to say, and to have left unsaid that which it intended. Who can be surprised ? A minister, with his draftsmen, has prepared an elaborate Bill full of technical details which he himself understands most imperfectly, and which the ordinary M.P. does not understand at all. They have been wrangling for hours over clauses. A few men on the Opposition side, with expert knowledge, press for amendments which favour their own interest. The minister cannot meet them with equal readiness. His supporters are tired, puzzled ; they have ladies on the terrace, or they cannot be got away from dinner-parties, dances, or theatres. The whip gets anxious, and whispers that he thinks the troublesome people must be squared. A hurried draft of concession or compromise is prepared, without time for due consideration or expert advice as to its working. The opposition is placated ; the minister saves his credit by the skin of his teeth ; the Bill becomes law ; and the public smarts under some fresh miscarriage of justice and administrative knot.

This is no exaggerated picture of legislative methods. Ministers, officials of all kind, permanent secretaries of departments, draftsmen, lawyers, judges are all agreed that it is a system of miserable impotence and confusion. They struggle against it; and by energy and self-sacrifice stave off some of the worst consequences. But they have to endure many of its evils in silence. The evils are absolutely inevitable so long as Parliament persists in the obsolete system of settling the intricate details of long Bills in committees of the whole House, which necessarily become either a scramble with varying chances, or else are passed mechanically without consideration at all by arbitrary guillotine. The House would never have ensured such methods so long, had it not been that Mr. Gladstone revelled in argumentative tussles where he had no rival or match; and in Mr. Balfour's time the majority acquiesced in automatic closure by compartments, calmly abdicating all the duties of a House of Commons.

It would pass the wit of man to devise any plan whereby a complicated Bill of 150 clauses could be settled in an assembly of 200 to 300 persons, moving up and down, in and out, three-fourths of them busy with other things, and not one in ten able to follow the discussion without expert advice and printed materials before them. Many a ministerial Bill is as complicated and technical as some private Bills promoted by a railway or a corporation. But who would dream of sending a Bill for a new branch line, or a gas or water Bill, to be settled by the whole House in loose order? Yet this has to be done with many a public measure of infinitely more importance than any railway or gas Bill.

If the whole of the business now muddled over in committee of the whole House were relegated to special standing committees sitting in proper chambers 'upstairs,' it is obvious that an immense saving of time would be effected, and also a great acceleration of legislative output. As things now stand, one large contentious Bill, at most two or three such Bills, are the utmost any Government can succeed in pushing through in the weary seven months between January and September. Sometimes a ridiculous little Bill, like the sham Aliens Bill of last year, blocks the way and drags on week after week, ending in mere flourishes and wanton mischief. So, too, the hollow Unemployed Bill ended in a nauseous kind of smoke. And the late Government plaintively wailed out that they could not proceed with large and urgent measures because, in fact, they were choked with their own smoke. Why this deadlock? Because a Bill, even a bogus Bill, meant as a vulgar election cry, or a sham Bill, designed to meet an awkward demand, has to be tossed about, like a football in a scrimmage, in a full House which gives every facility for bunkum and obstruction, and yet where no serious business can be taken up until the scrimmage has kicked itself off the field.

Real working committees would sit, of course, simultaneously, not
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necessarily all at the same hour, or even on the same day ; but there would be no reason why eight or ten serious Bills might not be considered in the same session, just as eight or ten private Bills now are considered day by day in different rooms. Between January and April eight or ten measures could have been in due order reported to the House. The House, of course, would not be bound by the finding of the committee. It might reject the whole scheme once for all, or it might return it to the committee for reconsideration, with any 'instruction' or comment. The point would be that the whole House would not attempt the impracticable and mischievous task of trying to do the work of committee in a miscellaneous scramble of 200 or 300 members, many of whom have neither special knowledge of the business, nor particular interest in it, unless perhaps to worry, obstruct, or advertise themselves.

The House—once relieved of the weary work of passing, in unwieldy meetings of a desultory kind, interminable strings of technical clauses, relieved of the idle worry of trumpery 'questions,' the moving for 'returns,' nomination of commissions, &c., all which purely departmental business would go to the proper departmental committee, not to the full House—would get rid of sources of delay, trifling, and solicitation ; all need or excuse for prolonged public sittings would be at an end. Sittings from 2 P.M. to midnight, even with a break, and still occasionally prolonged to the small hours of the morning, are utterly irrational and destructive of true legislation. They exhaust ministers ; they encourage lounging in and out ; they make the whole atmosphere of the place desultory and unreal. The average man does not keep his mind on the stretch upon the same business for more than four or five hours to any useful result. When the House sits for eight, ten, or twelve hours, even with a dinner interval, the practice grows up for ordinary members to drop in once, or it may be twice, making up four or five hours of actual attendance at debate. The ordinary member may spend three or four more hours somewhere within reach. But the professional or the 'smart' M.P. is satisfied if he can put in an appearance in debate of an hour or two in the course of the week, and turn up in time to vote when he has received 'a three-line whip.' All this make-believe of being a legislator is encouraged and almost excused by prolonging the sittings to ten hours, which is far more than flesh and blood, body and bones, can bear.

This scandal can only be removed by making the public sittings of the House half as long—say, four to five hours—but ensuring that these shall be sittings of real continuous work. If this limit were observed, and the House rose at 7 P.M. (and never sat later than 10 P.M.) members could be required to attend regularly ; the division lists and perhaps even attendances could be recorded and published ; and constituencies could know next morning where their member had been. But public sittings of five hours could only be secured by relegating

the whole business now done in committee of the whole House to departmental committees sitting simultaneously 'upstairs.' In county councils and in most deliberative bodies it is the rule to require members attending to enter their names in the register of the day, and a wholesome rule it is. M.P.s who are proud to have their names recorded at a public dinner or a grand society 'crush' would find their energies stimulated if their attendances at St. Stephen's crush received the same publicity. The mischief is that the old superstition of eighteenth-century gentlemen still survives, that the House of Commons is an aristocratic club, not the engine-house of a mighty empire, burdened with the hard lives of countless millions who toil and cry for help.

It will be said that the method of special or select committees has been tried, and with no great result. But 'grand committees' have usually been far too large, and selected only to gratify friends or to placate opponents; and they often admit the very men who give most trouble. The ~~wreckers~~ of Bills may be heard, but they are not the right persons to decide on the issue. Permanent standing committees, carefully chosen by the whole House, and in fact an authentic mirror of it, with the minister or his deputy in the chair, would be free from many of the evils which neutralise the work of 'select' committees. And when these select committees had reported, the old machinery had still to be gone through, so that the result was too often waste of time as well as futile labour to all concerned. There would be no difficulty in adding a qualified member occasionally to a committee, or in members exchanging from one to another. If a minister were chairman of a committee, and it were thought essential to examine him for information, the chair would be taken for the time by a deputy-chairman, nominated for the occasion. A special select committee might even be formed to hold occasional or emergency sittings during the recess. On some such plan as this every foreign parliament, every county council, every company, bank, or public institution does its work. The British House of Commons, alone of modern chambers, tries to settle committee details in a fluid crowd, where garrulity, obstruction, and desultory habits have forced ministers to resort to the scandal of 'closure by compartments.'

Any such scheme of standing departmental committees involves the surrender of the whole of the work of Private Bill legislation. The system on which railways, corporations, and companies obtain their Acts may not be so rife as it once was of glaring scandals, but it is still an anomaly charged with mischief and hardship. It survives, just as the trial of election petitions by the House itself survived, owing to powerful vested interests, and the jealousy of Parliament not to part with any of its privileges. Landlords and capitalists in Parliament struggle to keep all dealings with property under their own eye, and they shrink from giving outside authorities judicial and

legislative powers. But they will have to do so. The civilised world can offer no spectacle of 'how-not-to-do-it' more grotesque than the sight of a committee-room in the Lords sitting on a complicated Bill promoted by a great railway or a corporation. The room is hung with plans, sections, huge tabulated schedules, or engineers' models. Great lights of science are examined by consummate masters of every forensic art. Expert witnesses (the 'd—d liars' of a great judge) are heard day by day to expound mysteries which only a trained professional can follow. The evidence would fill a Blue-book and costs 1,000*l.* a day. All this time the chairman (usually a man of sense and experience) does his best to follow the discussion, and he gets a fair notion of what the main points are. By his side sits a master of fox-hounds yawning; a weather-beaten colonel picks his teeth; a dandy writes answers to 'smart' invitations; and a young guardsman works out calculations in his betting-book. After three weeks of this dreary farce, when 50,000*l.* have been sunk, my lords find that the preamble is passed.

If this putrescent scandal of Private Bill legislation were done away, the rooms, staff, and machinery upstairs would be set free, and the call on members' time and labour immensely reduced. Committees—the permanent departmental committees—would meet at 10 A.M. for two or three hours' sitting, three-fourths of the House being free from attendance altogether. There would then be ample time for a sitting of the House itself, of four or five hours—say, from 2 P.M. to 7 P.M. Abolish night sittings altogether, excepting for some urgent occasion for one or at most two hours, but always rising before midnight. That is how all other parliaments, county councils, senates, boards of companies, and every business chamber in civilised countries do their work. There ministers get to work at 8 A.M. or even 6 A.M.—sovereigns and autocrats abroad have to do it, to say nothing of the 'strenuous' presidents of the West like Roosevelt and Diaz. British ministers retain the obsolete habits of the Harleys, Walpoles, Pitts, and Norths of the eighteenth century, when men dined in the early afternoon, and supped, gambled, and gossiped at midnight.

French statesmen, German, Italian statesmen, do not rush off to the Alps or the seaside for 'week-ends' in the midst of session. Nor do bank and railway managers, chief clerks of great industries, run away from the office, every five or six days, for forty-eight hours or even a week. Those who are responsible for the tremendous concerns of the British Empire tear about the country, even in session, to Scotland or Cornwall, Cromer or Torquay, by rail or motor, as if they were travelling 'bagmen' doing their trade round. And when a cabinet council is summoned noble lords and right honourable gentlemen rush up to town, just as 'bookies' gather in haste to a race meeting or a football contest. We pay British ministers 5,000*l.* a year, without expecting them to 'attend to the shop,' as foreign ministers on a fifth

of their salary have to do, as business managers on a tenth of it have to do.

The excuse for this gad-about habit of British rulers is that, in the first place, they are country gentlemen and have to look after their estates ; and in the next place, they are so much exhausted by parliamentary duties of ten or twelve hours a day, that they must refresh themselves with sport, golf, or house parties. Now, the temper of the new democracy is against paying the owners of great estates 5,000*l.* a year, and it is in favour of requiring men who undertake public duties to stick to them. If ministers were obliged to sit in Parliament not more than four hours in a day, twenty to twenty-four hours a week, their health would gain, and they could prepare their Bills, compose despatches, and meet in council without any hurry or strain at all. Since one-fourth of the present M.P.s do not own carriages and cannot afford cabs at night, late sittings are a gross social injustice and offence. To reduce the hours of sitting in Parliament is the first condition of 'efficiency' in Government—as it is also in legislation.

The preposterous arrangement of sessions in the year is another scandalous survival of ancient custom, entirely due to habits of 'sport,' foreign touring, and 'society functions.' Parliament seldom meets till fox-hunting is ended, and by ancient superstition is supposed to rush off to kill grouse on the 12th of August. It goes to races, balls, Lord's, and courts, from April to July. Then it goes to the Highlands, 'globe-trotting,' or country seats from August to February. A shameless neglect of duty. A serious business Parliament would arrange to hold sessions in all the four quarters of each year, as all business and professional men do. It would meet, say, in four sessions of eight weeks each, leaving twenty weeks for recess—perhaps a long summer recess of ten weeks and three others of three weeks each. Why Parliament should swelter in London during July, August, and even September, and then spend the autumn in the Highlands, and the winter killing vermin and poultry in the shires, bleak moors, and boggy woods, no one can say, unless that it suits sporting men, magnates, society queens and their daughters. No other Parliament behaves with such insolent indifference to public demands, and such eager care for its own pleasures. The needs of this vast empire do not vegetate or hibernate between August and February. They say, of course, that the ministers get on as well without Parliament, and indeed, very often, even better. But from August to February ministers also are scattered up and down the three kingdoms, hundreds of miles apart, and hundreds of miles away from their offices, permanent officials, papers, and libraries. When a war breaks out, a revolution abroad or a riot at home, the minister telegraphs to a clerk in town to send down the more important papers to peruse in the country.

The usual reply is that when the hot war of Parliament is over, and the Temple of Janus at Westminster is closed—the ecumenical

Temple of Janus is very rarely closed—ministers require a close time to meditate and recruit. Were ministers and parliament men denied these indispensable holidays, great magnates would hardly consent to sacrifice their ease by serving the State; great capitalists would not give us their financial experience; lawyers could not afford to assist the nation by their learning; and eldest sons would not gain the necessary training for public life. This is a dilemma which alarms the classes more than the masses. The latter simple folk cannot be brought to see why magnates, capitalists, men of fashion, and turfites should want to sit in the House of Commons at all. Perhaps the value of their assistance hardly compensates for the inconvenience that during six months on end the House of Commons is idle, and even the Government of the Empire is dispersed about the nation in a round of house parties, 'local functions,' and country amusements.

This is not the place—nor is a mere outsider the man—to enter on many smaller, more or less material and formal, changes which are needed to make the House of Commons a really business chamber. The trouble comes from retaining forms inherited from the days of Plantagenet and Tudor kings. We submit to trammels fatal to serious work, because they come down from the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The 'Mother of Parliaments' is really the great-grandmother of parliaments in its old-fashioned furbelows. First of all comes the huge absurdity of meeting in a chamber which will not seat comfortably half the members, and into which only three-fourths of them can be crushed at a pinch so as to hear worse than in the shilling gallery at a theatre. The inevitable result is that a third, or even half, of the members habitually stay away or lounge about the precincts. As the nation will not give them sitting room and hardly even standing room, it seems plain that the nation only expects them to look in by groups, and for special occasions. The first condition of a working House is a chamber wherein every one of the 670 can have his own seat. The indecent scramble for places, the silly trick of ticketing seats at midnight, the crowding the gangways and balconies as if it were the pit of a theatre, is utterly unworthy of a rational people and an Imperial Parliament.

We all know why, when the Houses were rebuilt, the absurd narrowness of space was retained. Simply because the oblong form of the old thirteenth-century chapel of St. Stephen had to be preserved. All other parliaments, councils, and large deliberative chambers have adopted the semicircular form, which alone enables a body of some hundreds to see and hear each other. Half the waste of time, obstruction, disorder, and lounging habits of the House of Commons is due to the fact that members have no places of their own, no room to sit, cannot be got into the House all together, and, when in it, can sleep on the back benches as quietly as in their own libraries. An oblong chamber that could seat 670 members and the clerks and staff would

only increase the difficulty of hearing, the noisy ways, and the opportunity of slumbering unseen. If the House of Commons often looks like a club smoking-room, the reason is that it has to squeeze itself into that Procrustes bed—the palace chapel of the Plantagenets.

I hesitate to suggest how great a reform would be a time limit of speeches. Honourable members would regard that as worse than sacrilege. But the time limit for speeches at the London County Council has worked admirably. It is always extended by a vote whenever necessary. It never suppresses any serious argument, whilst it annihilates bores. Speakers avoid verbiage or repetition. The House listens to speeches which cannot last long, and will soon be answered from the other side. It gives life and point to every debate. It makes obstruction impossible. If in the last Parliament there had been a time limit for speeches, the late Government would have been beaten a dozen times over. Even Sir A. Acland-Hood could not have found relays of Bartleys and Flannerys. Twenty minutes, or at the utmost half an hour, is enough to enable the average speaker to say what he has to say. Indeed, it is very often found to be more than enough. A front bench speaker or the spokesman of any group or cause could always rely on the courtesy of the House extending the limit on good cause shown. At the London County Council I have heard the time limit on a Budget opening extended four successive times by a general vote. A time limit of twenty minutes for ordinary speeches would do more to give life to Parliament and to reduce desultory habits than any other single reform.

At the end of an article I abstain from touching on some other reforms, trivial in themselves, but highly significant and not unimportant. Official costume, court dress, swords (swords in the twentieth century in a democratic Parliament!), all this is a silly remnant of extinct manners, and now even a cause of offence. There are now at least 150 members to whom these badges of social classification are both ridiculous and odious. The men chosen and supported by barefoot Irish peasants and by British miners, spinners, and carpenters cannot afford these clothes and accoutrements, nor would they consent to appear in the guise of Lord Mayor's footmen or actors in the *School for Scandal*. The age has outgrown this playing at the manners of Queen Anne. And the House of Commons, with some fifty workmen, eighty Nationalists, and a score or two more of men who were not bred at Eton and Oxford, and do not attend at levees or 'At Homes,' is a very different place from that in which members required a property qualification, and where Edmund Burke was held unworthy to enter a Cabinet.

We all trust that, with the scandalous bonus given to the rich by the system of plural voting, there will disappear also the unjust and mischievous practice of prolonging a general election over several weeks. As in other countries, elections should be held throughout

the four nations on the same day, which ought to be made a Bank holiday. I would also prohibit the use of motors and carriages for men, unless actually occupied by their owner or his agents. The lavish use of vehicles to carry electors to the poll is a very squalid kind of bribery which ought to be suppressed like 'treating' and 'hired vehicles.' We need not labour the payment of all *bona fide* election expenses with the House and the Government we now have secured. The antique paraphernalia of writs, returns, re-election on taking office, 'swearing-in,' and other mummery, will have to go. Nothing should prevent the Dissolution of Parliament by Royal Proclamation, and the holding of a general election on one given day, at any convenient day at a future and reasonable date. The mediæval rules about dissolutions and elections, with the obsolete jealousy of the Crown which forces both into one Royal Proclamation, cause nothing but trouble and serve no useful end. The superstition that the British Constitution, like Nature, 'abhors a vacuum,' and insists on the formula—*Le Parl.ment est mort—Vive le Parl.ment!*—is hardly worthy of the twentieth century.

The twentieth century is here, and (*pace* the Editor of this Review), it has come to stay. 'The new democratic Parliament is also here. And 500 Liberal, Labour, and Nationalist M.P.s will have to conform their practice to the new conditions, or the nation, at last roused to assert itself, 'will know the reason why.'

FREDERIC HARRISON.

*ENLARGEMENT
OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS¹*

[THE following article by Mr. Charles Barry (eldest son of Sir Charles Barry, the designer of the Houses of Parliament) has been written in reply to the inquiry whether a structural alteration of the House of Commons is not easily practicable, which, without interfering with its traditional arrangements, would provide every member with a convenient seat in it, and thus obviate the unseemly struggles and manœuvres to obtain places which now too frequently occur.

The existing state of things is almost incredibly absurd, and so long as nearly 250 members—considerably more than one-third of the whole assembly—are deliberately deprived of the accommodation in their own Chamber to which they are entitled, disorderly scenes must and will arise.

It is satisfactory to learn, on such authority as Mr. Barry's, that a prompt and efficacious remedy can be applied whenever the House chooses to rectify its original mistake of building a Chamber too small to hold all its members.

ED. *Nineteenth Century.*]

In reply to your inquiry whether I have given the subject of the necessary enlargement of the present House of Commons any attention, I beg to say I have done so more or less for many years past; and I now send a plan and design for meeting the requirements you mention, in case you may think it worthy of being brought before Members and the Public.

You are doubtless aware that in 1867-68 a special Committee was appointed by the House to consider and report on the subject of its deficient accommodation for the members. They did so, and seem to have exhaustively considered the question as it then appeared.

The result of their deliberation was their Report of the 12th of May, 1868, which contains three resolutions then passed by the

¹ Republished from 'The Nineteenth Century' of March 1893 (now out of print) as being still appropriate and applicable to the unaltered condition of things.

Committee, viz. :—(1) ‘That no increase of accommodation which can be obtained within the existing four walls of the present House of Commons will be sufficient to meet the requirements.’

(2) ‘That, in the opinion of this Committee, any plan for lateral extension of the present House is tantamount to a reconstruction of the House, and *cannot be undertaken without the provision of a temporary House.*’

(3) ‘That, in the opinion of this Committee, it is not desirable to lengthen the present House of Commons.’

As a result, they approved of a suggestion then made by my late brother, Mr. E. M. Barry, R.A., that, in order to preserve the continuity of public business, it would be desirable to construct an entirely new House, to occupy the whole area of the Commons Court, so that business might proceed in the present House during its erection, and be transferred to it when completed.

It is, of course, obvious, as the Committee say, that it would not be possible by any internal alterations or rearrangement only to accommodate the number of members (then put at 541, but now amounting to 670) within the four walls of the present House. The Committee condemned (and I think rightly) any scheme for lengthening the House; but they dismissed (I think too hastily) the possibility of so increasing it laterally as to meet the requirements.

The plan I now send you is for so doing, and I think it perfectly feasible, and indeed the best solution of the problem.

By this plan none of the traditions of the House as regards its internal arrangements and usages would be interfered with, while the symmetrical arrangements of the entire building, as planned by my late father, Sir Charles Barry, R.A. (whose assistant I was for many years), would be preserved—a matter which I, at least, think of some importance.

The communications with other departments which now exist would be preserved; and last, but not least, the cost would be less than that of any other plan which has been suggested.

It will be seen that by my plan the natural desire that every member should have his own seat, and that all seats should be practically on the floor of the House, would be complied with, as I propose to do away with all galleries intended for the use of members.

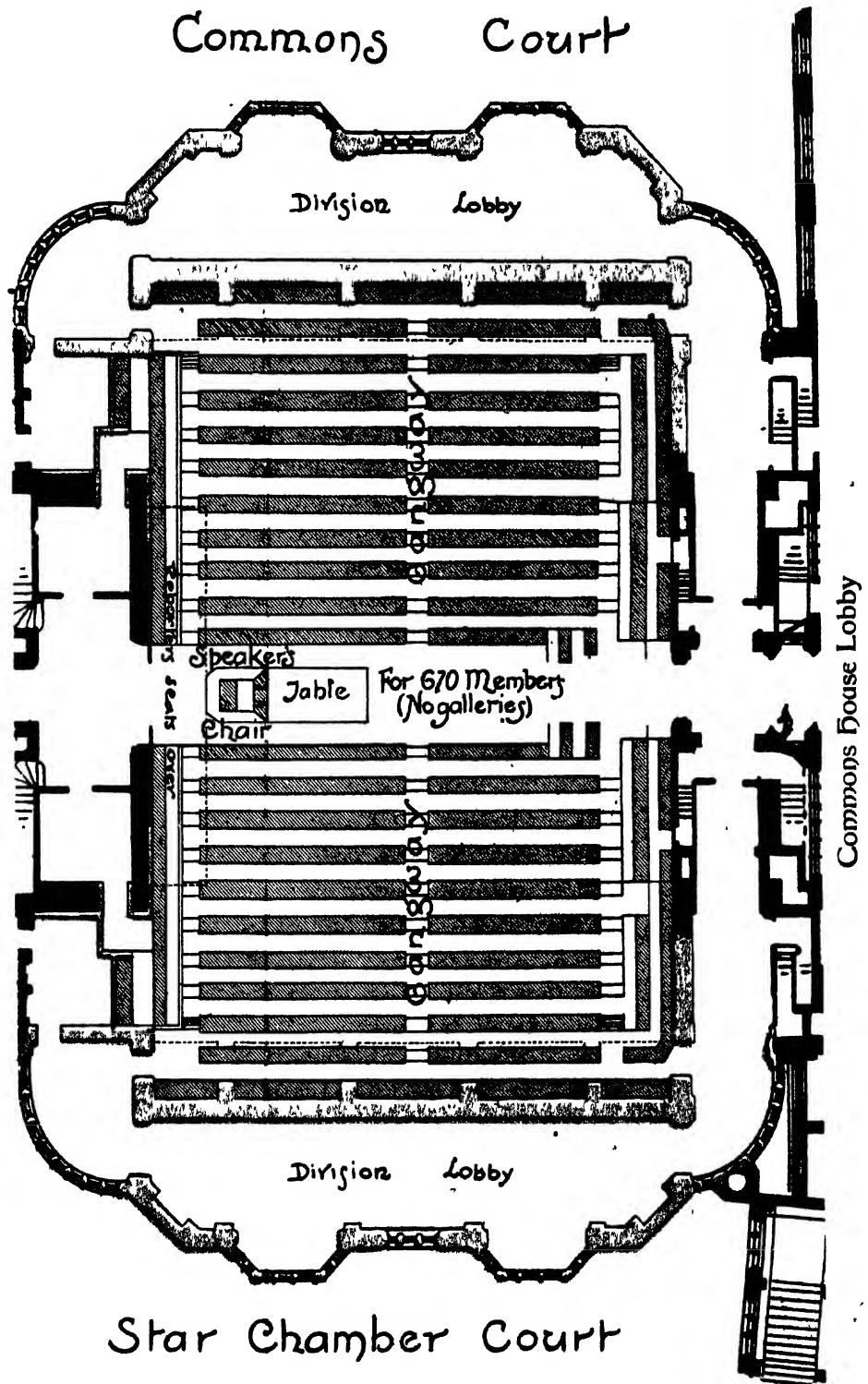
Nearly double the present accommodation for the reporters would be provided; and by arranging an additional Ladies’ Gallery over the present one, the accommodation in that respect would also be doubled, while the corridors on each side of the House available for divisions would be very largely increased.

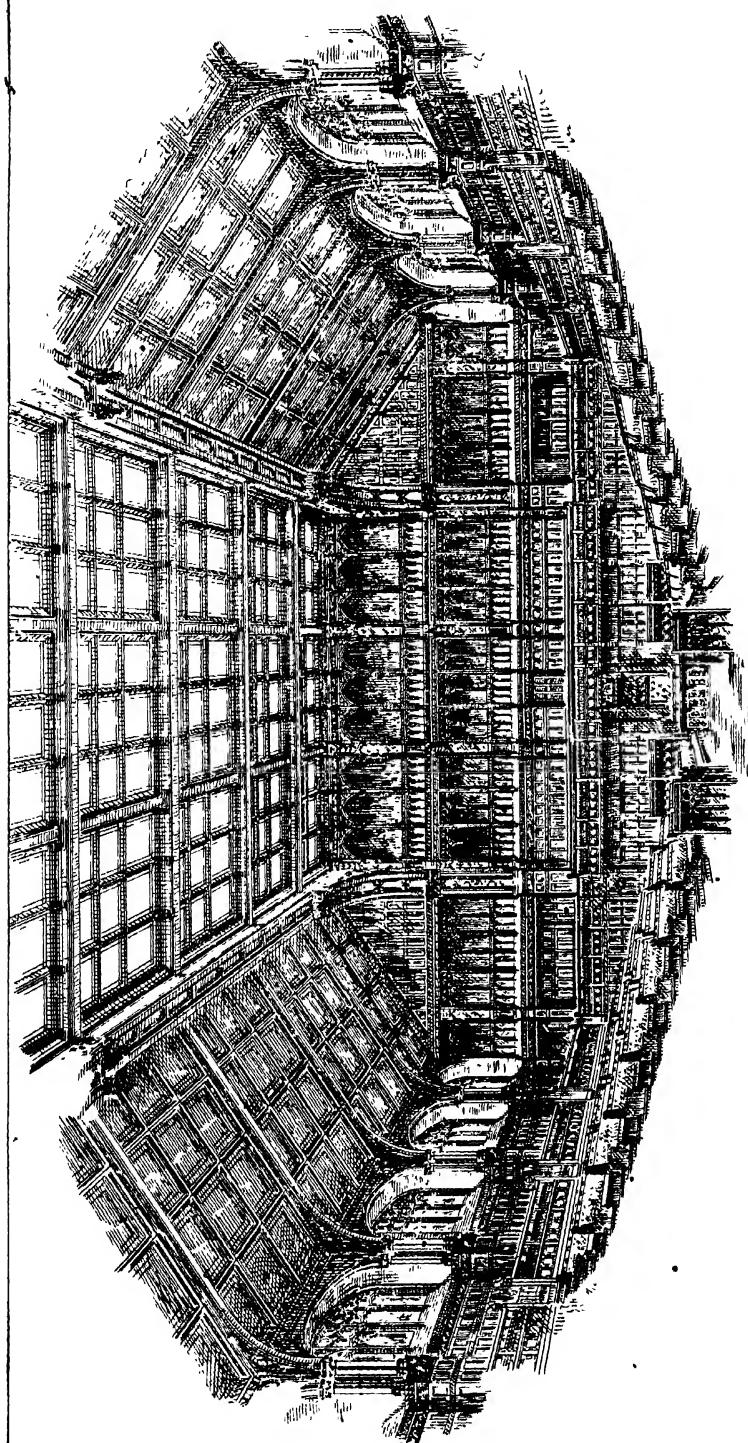
(I may here remark, that these new division lobbies would be nearly double as wide as appears in this plan, additional width for them being obtained under the rising seats of the House.)

The shape of the new ceiling would be similar to that of the

Mode of Enlargement proposed by Mr. Charles Barry

Commons Court





— Design for proposed Enlargement of the House of Commons —
— Charles Barry — Architect 1893 —

present House, only extended over the additional space to be taken in, and thus may be expected to have the same acoustical advantages that the present one is found to have.

The mode of ventilation and lighting would remain unaltered.

There would be no constructional difficulty in carrying out the scheme, for by means of two lattice iron girders, such as are familiarly in use at the present time, the existing external roof could be easily maintained in its present position and unaltered in form.

The new division lobbies would be constructed respectively in the Commons Court and the Star Chamber Court, slightly diminishing their present area, it is true, but not to such extent as to materially interfere with the light and air they afford to rooms opening upon them.

The House can thus be altered and enlarged without any interference with Sessional business, and *without any necessity for a temporary House*, such as was apprehended by the Committee of 1868. Facilities for rapid construction have largely increased in the twenty-five years which have elapsed since then, and there would be no such difficulty now as was then impressed upon the Committee.

The mode of proceeding with the work would be as follows, and would not be attended with any real difficulty.

During one Parliamentary recess the new buildings in the Commons Court and Star Chamber Court would be erected up to the level of the existing House, and during that time, and during the following Session, the masonry, roofing, girders, and other works would be prepared *elsewhere*, ready to be put in their places. No work whatever would be done in or near the House during the Session, but in the next Parliamentary recess the prepared works would all be placed in their positions, and the enlarged House entirely completed in time for the Session of the second year after the order was given to begin it.

It will, I think, be admitted, on inspection of the plans, that a House altered as I propose would well enable all members to hear and take part in debate, and it must be remembered that in the English House of Commons each member addresses the House from the seat he occupies.

It will also be noticed that the distance between members and the Chair and table of the House—which would not be altered in position—is less than it would be by nearly any other form of arrangement.

The advantages of my plan, as compared with the present House, will be seen by the following items of comparison, based upon the reprinted Blue-Book of 1886:—

Members' Seats	Present House	Proposed House
On the floor	806	670
In galleries	124	(none)
	480	670

Reporters' Accommodation	Present House	Proposed House
In front row	19	87
On seats behind	19	28
	<u>38</u> ^a	65

The Ladies' Gallery is now on one floor only ; but in the enlarged House there would be a second gallery over the present one, thus doubling the accommodation for ladies.

The cubical contents of the present House are 127,000 cubic feet, affording for 430 members who now have seats a cube of 296 feet each member.

In the altered House the cubical contents would be 230,000 cubic feet, affording for 670 members a cube of 343 feet each member.

The floor area in the present House per seat is 9 feet 9 inches ; in the altered House it would be (per seat for 670 members) 9 feet 10 inches ; the width of each seat would be as now 20 inches ; but the width from back to back of each seat would be increased from 3 feet 8 inches to 4 feet, thus materially adding to the comfort of the members.

The accommodation in the Speaker's Gallery and Strangers' Gallery would remain unaltered.

With the plan I am sending you, I also send a perspective view of the interior of the House as proposed to be altered and enlarged, which will sufficiently explain the scheme.

CHARLES BARRY

^a This has, I think, been temporarily increased since 1868.

WANTED! AN END TO POLITICAL PATRONAGE

MANY years ago a great Prime Minister wrote to me as follows :

There can be no doubt that the organised attempts of servants of the State to use their political influence at the cost of the taxpayer is likely to become a serious danger. I agree with you in thinking that it can only be effectually met by agreement between the two sides of the House.

The civil servants of the Crown are, taken as a whole, an admirable and efficient body of workers, of whom England is justifiably proud, and whom—as was held, I think, by the late Mr. Gladstone—she rewards on a generous scale. They build our battleships, forge our cannon, make our rifles and warlike munitions, carry our letters and parcels, speed our telegrams, and collect our taxes with really whole-hearted zeal and devotion. It is the more to be regretted that large classes of them should have fallen into the hands of agitators, who incite to the systematic intimidation of members of Parliament with a view to the extortion of larger and larger votes for salaries. This evil is rapidly becoming formidable. The object of this paper is to suggest an effectual check for it.

A CALL TO PLUNDER

Any official raising the cry of 'Higher wages' is sure of popularity among his fellows, who instantly regard him as a born leader. The pleasant prospect of an increase of income without working for it is a bait that never fails to appeal most strongly to the least energetic and deserving. A postman or dockyard hand finds that he can win promotion and increased pay only by strenuous hard work, just as if he were a mere artisan or shop assistant. But the agitators point out that he can attain an equivalent result by bullying the local M.P., and so he joins the league or union formed for the purpose.

Where is this to stop? The late Sir W. Harcourt wrote (to me) that the demands of the postal employees reached a depth, or abyss, which no plummet would fathom. We know now that they claim the postal surplus, which amounts to nearly five millions. Since

1881 they have secured increases of pay amounting to 1½ millions. There are 192,000 of them, and of these probably 100,000 have votes. Adding these to the dockyard, arsenal, and stores factory hands, and other Government employees, we have a political force that may turn the scale at a General Election. Candidates are tempted to bid against one another with the taxpayers' money. 'Let us be charitable!' said Sydney Smith, and put his hand into a bystander's pocket. Our legislators were proof against the hectoring of the Tudors, the violence of the Stuarts, and the blandishments of the Georges; surely they will never yield to the menaces of demagogues.

'JUDICIAL' COMMITTEES

We had an acrimonious discussion in the House a few nights since over the constitution of a Select Committee on the Wages of Postal Servants. The Postmaster-General said he wanted a 'judicial' Committee, and he naturally objected to a certain member, of pronounced views, but otherwise unexceptionable. As the Prime Minister confessed: 'Undoubtedly fears of the retroactive effect on this Committee, when it was appointed, of promises extracted from candidates at the General Election in moments of agony (laughter)—had made the nomination of members to this Committee a more delicate and important duty than usual.' In the hope apparently of securing a sprinkling of 'judicial' or unintimidated members, the number to serve was raised from five to seven, and ultimately to nine! So long as a shilling of the surplus remains there will be a call for these committees—unless we have a 'Public Service Board.' On both sides of the House thoughtful men recognise the danger of winking at this organised coercion of Parliament; and I have reason for asserting that the leader of the Opposition holds as strong an opinion on this extraction of pledges 'from candidates at the General Election in moments of agony' as was playfully but unmistakably pronounced by the Prime Minister. I would treat postal and other civil servants justly, and even generously, but the state of things into which we are drifting is fast becoming a degrading Parliamentary scandal, and a serious public danger.

INTIMIDATION OF M.P.s

At this point I would like to state briefly my own experience. No one charges me with want of consideration for postmen or any other body of working men. Last year great pressure was brought to bear in the House of Commons on members of Parliament, and, with thirty other members, I was threatened with loss of my seat unless I voted to meet the demands of the postal servants. It was further intimated to me that the postal servants' vote, 100,000

strong, would turn out any Government. A few minutes afterwards it fell to my lot to address the House on the question of increase of postmen's wages, and I read out the evidence given before the Select Committee. Sir George Murray had stated in his evidence that men in the Post Office began with 18s. and rose by increments of 6d. per annum to 160*l.* per year. He further stated that they had three weeks' holiday, medicine and doctors' attendance free, they were partly clothed, they had Christmas boxes, and were paid for overtime; and, finally, they had pensions. It was shown by other witnesses that they were better off than policemen. Medical witnesses proved that they had healthy employment, and lived to a good old age. One particularly eloquent witness for the postmen described their hard lot through being deprived of Christmas joys at the festive season, &c. But in reply to this an alert superior official stated that this particular witness had forgotten to state that he had received a very substantial sum of money for overtime at Christmas, which he used for the summer holidays. I ended my speech by declaring that civil servants who threatened members of Parliament for refusing to vote them increased salaries ought to be disfranchised. Result—a meeting called in my constituency, my opponent placed in the chair, and a vote of censure passed on me. The London postmen came to Canterbury and addressed my constituents at the meeting. It is not surprising, therefore, that at the recent election my agents informed me that forty-six postmen voted solid against me. I do not blame the postmen; they were perfectly justified in using their power; but, if I had not had at my back one of the most intelligent bodies of electors in the United Kingdom, I should have been defeated through the postmen's action.

It was some consolation to me to receive in the House of Commons, after my speech, hearty, though private, congratulations from hard-working, earnest working-men representatives, who expressed their entire approval of what they were pleased to call my courage. But something ought to be done to prevent a recurrence of such a scandal.

AN OBJECT-LESSON

This evil was, not many years ago, rampant in Australia. It is now unknown there. Instead of allowing public servants to prescribe the amount of salary each is to receive, to badger ministers for appointments, and to threaten conscientious members with defeat at elections, each State Parliament has transferred the appointment, control, and remuneration of civil servants to an independent tribunal, constituted for the purpose, called 'The Public Service Board.' The Board is composed of three members, irremovable, like our High Court judges, except by the vote of both Houses. It inquires into the qualifications of applicants, determines (like our Civil Service

Commission) the nature of the examinations held for the higher classes, regulates (by comparison with the wages paid by private employers for similar work) the remuneration for each class, recommends all appointments and promotions, and hears all appeals and complaints. I append some official correspondence relating to these bodies, and would call special attention to the masterly account of the constitution, powers, and working of the New South Wales Board, from the pen of its president, Mr. J. Barling, I.S.O., J.P.

The Agent-General for Queensland, Sir Horace Tozer, writes :

When Colonial Secretary I put through a public Service Act in Queensland which had the effect of removing all patronage from the Government. A Board was appointed which dealt with all appointments and promotions. The system worked well when I was there.

The Hon. J. G. Jenkins, Agent-General for South Australia, says :

No political interference is tolerated in the Civil Service of the Colony of South Australia.

The Hon. J. W. Taverner, Agent-General of Victoria, says :

In response to your letter of to-day's date, I desire to inform you that appointments in the Civil Service of Victoria are made and controlled by the Public Service Board, a body which is quite removed from any political influence.

The Board also deals with questions affecting pay, promotions, and retirements. I send you along a copy of the Act.

Public Service Board, 50 Young Street, Sydney :
28th November, 1905.

DEAR MR. HENNIKER HEATON.—In compliance with your verbal request to give you an informal statement of the provisions of the Public Service Act of this State, and some facts relating to its administration, I have much pleasure in submitting the following information.

The Public Service Act was passed at the instance of the then Premier, the Right Hon. G. H. Reid, on the 23rd December, 1895, and was subsequently consolidated on the 16th August, 1902, and has thus been in force nearly ten years.¹ The Act provides for the appointment of a 'Public Service Board' consisting of three members, who are appointed for a definite term of seven years, and the members so appointed are only removable for misbehaviour or incompetence.² On the suspension of any member of the Board by the Governor it is provided that the Minister shall cause to be laid before Parliament a full statement of the ground of suspension within seven days after such suspension, if Parliament be in Session and actually sitting, and when Parliament is not in Session, or not actually sitting, within seven days after the commencement of the next Session or sitting. The Act further provides that member of the Board suspended in this manner shall be restored to unless each House of Parliament, within twenty-one days from the time such statement has been laid before it, declares by resolution that the member ought to be removed from office. Of course the object of this provision is to make the members of the Board absolutely independent.

It may be mentioned that the members of the Board have

¹ Public Service Act, 1902, sec. 7.

